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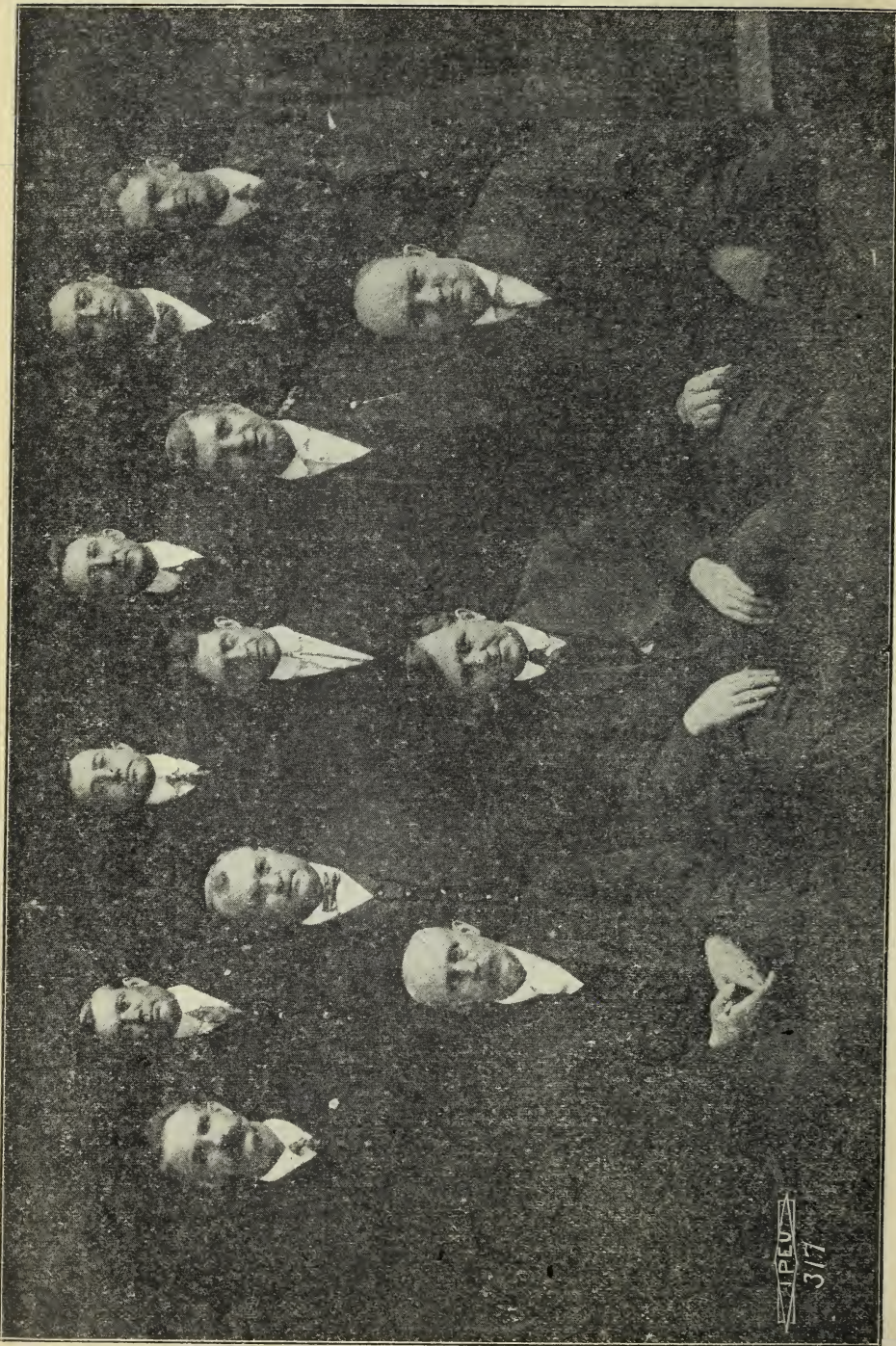
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PROCEEDINGS
Thirty=Second Annual Convention

Illinois
State Federation
of Labor

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PEORIA, ILL., OCTOBER 20 to 24, 1914.

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PROCEEDINGS

Thirty-Second Annual Convention

Illinois State Federation of Labor

Peoria, Ill., Oct. 20th to 24th, 1914.

FIRST DAY—MORNING SESSION.

The Thirty-second Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, October 20th, in the Coliseum, Peoria, Illinois, Mr. Joseph Lord, President of the Peoria Trades and Labor Assembly, presiding.

Chairman Lord: It has been customary in years gone by to have an extended program at the opening of the convention. The local bureau, in view of the fact that so many delegates were elected to this convention, felt it would be good judgment to eliminate as much as possible the preliminary speeches and give more time to the transaction of business the delegates are here to perform. We will have a few minutes of the things that are of interest to the delegates, and later perhaps we will have a night session to hear those things that are not directly concerned with the business of the convention.

It would not seem right to open a convention of this kind without a few remarks from the Mayor. Our Mayor happens to be a rather queer sort of fellow, a sort of half brother to the iron workers, but he absolutely refuses to work at his trade. And he is a rather lazy fellow, and the reason he claims he is not working at his trade is that the Law Enforcement League is taking up so much of his time he cannot do it. We have learned to respect our Mayor because of the gentlemanly attitude he has shown towards organized labor in times of

trouble. I therefore take exceedingly great pleasure in introducing to you our honorable Mayor, Edward N. Woodruff.

Mayor Woodruff: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, Delegates to the Illinois State Federation of Labor—You can never tell where a chairman or a toastmaster is going to break out. Your chairman would intimate that I am a rather versatile fellow, because he says I am a sort of half brother to the structural ironworkers, and still I am lazy, and still have other duties thrust upon me by other organizations.

I desire to say to you, representing this great state as a federation, that you are indeed welcome to Peoria. I don't know that I should deliver a lecture on trades unionism, but I have had many good things, including what Mr. Lord said this morning, said about my attitude towards organizations of labor. But I want to say to you the pleasure has not all been mine in my dealings with organized labor as an official. The citizens of Peoria may well thank themselves that there was a man in the administration at the city hall that had the friendship of organized labor at times when they really needed it. People of the city of Peoria, perhaps some of them wilfully, many of them honestly, misunderstood this great movement that some day they must take recognition of, have never known and never will know that the friendliness expressed by the organizations—and I might say the good sense and discretion of the officials representing the local organ-

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izations—has kept many an industry and many times the city of Peoria out of trouble. Some day perhaps they will arise to an appreciation of this great movement.

I don't think any one, particularly a man who misunderstands or does not understand this movement, can appreciate its influence politically. I don't mean where they are affiliated with a party as republicans, democrats, socialists or prohibitionists—I mean politics in its best sense. I don't mean politics that has what is sometimes called the Chicago golden rule for its motto—do others before they do you—but I mean the politics that has to do with the science of government. And this organization, not only in this state, but in this great country of ours, is exerting an influence in the study of governmental affairs that is making itself felt. You are to be congratulated on the legislation that has to do with you and with mankind, and it is in this manner that you are asserting yourselves in the great matter of politics, as I call it, the science of government.

Perhaps I am endeavoring to lecture you or telling you of your duties, but I came here as an official to say to you for the citizens of the city of Peoria—and I say all of them, because I know they are all really glad you are here—but I want to say as an official representing the city that you are indeed welcome. As an employer, by preference, of union labor, holding a card in the American Federation of Labor, I say to you that we are happy and glad that you are here. We take it as a compliment that you selected our city for your meeting place. We feel it is an honor, and we hope when you leave the city you will not forget us. You have the privilege to come back any time and if you do we will be happy to welcome you.

I thank you for the opportunity to say these few words to you.

Chairman Lord: About two years ago the Peoria Trades and Labor Assembly decided, instead of electing committees to entertain the various labor organizations that came to Peoria, to establish an entertainment bureau to look after that matter. We

were very fortunate in getting on that bureau a young man who has given his entire time, so far as this convention is concerned, to the welfare of the delegates in attendance. I take great pleasure in introducing him to you, Brother Clifford Hinkle, Chairman of the Convention Bureau.

Mr. Hinkle: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—In behalf of the Convention Bureau of the Trades and Labor Assembly of the city of Peoria, I welcome you. I hope your stay here will be an enjoyable one, that your deliberations will be profitable to you, that when you leave the city it will be with best wishes for Peoria. This Bureau and every one affiliated with the trade union movement of Peoria will endeavor to make your stay a pleasant one. We think a great deal of our city; we think it is the garden spot of the world, and before you leave we will try to convince you that it is. We have outlined some entertainment for you. Tomorrow evening there will be an entertainment at the Marquette Club, on South Adams street, for the men delegates. There will be a theater party at the Majestic Theater for the ladies. Thursday evening the garment workers will give a ball for the delegates at the South Park pavilion. We intend to do everything in our power to make your stay a pleasant and enjoyable one.

Chairman Lord: In behalf of over 7,000 trades unionists of Peoria I extend to you a hearty welcome. I do not extend this welcome merely as a matter of courtesy; but I extend it in the way you expect to make the local organization a little bit better by the time you go away than it was when you came here. The most important thing, I think, that can be done by the delegates will be to encourage the growth of the waitresses' union and the retail clerks, if you will do it. Lately the waitresses have established a union in one of the hotels—I believe you often call it your home—and the retail clerks have some semblance of an organization. I presume all the delegates demand the union label on the goods they purchase, but they do not always demand the card of the person who sells the goods. If

you will do that it will help boost the retail clerks more than they have ever been boosted in the history of their organization. I assure you they need it at this time.

About six months ago, during the time the miners of Illinois were formulating a wage scale, the general feeling was that they were entitled to a good substantial advance in wages. They gave the scale committee to understand that if they did not get something of that kind, so far as their aspirations were concerned as future labor leaders they would not be much good, and possibly they would not be as good looking when they returned home as when they left. The scale committee considered all these things and presented the things to the operators they thought they could get without any very great trouble. Among other things they presented was a demand for a four cents advance for the men in the southern part of the state. The miners in that part of the state were only getting 57 cents. The operators there have the best seam of coal in the state and can get into any market. In the other parts of the state they haven't such a good seam and cannot get into the market as readily. As a result the men in the southern part of the field were working all the time and the other poor fellows were not getting more than three days a week.

It was pointed out at that time that conditions were very bad in the country, particularly in the mining industry. We held our sessions here in this building a number of times. The operators decided they would not sign up for the four cents, and the miners felt the best they could do was to sign for the old scale. When they saw there was no chance to get an increase in their wages they decided to do something to better their conditions. Some of the officials of our state organization had done something along the line of the co-operative movement. They advised the miners to save up all the money they could grab hold of and start co-operative stores. At that time the Gillespie co-operative store had declared a ten per cent dividend. The miners began to

realize that although they could not get the four cents as a matter of wage contract they could get the equivalent by purchasing the necessities of life from themselves. That parable has been carried out through the state; stores are being started in all the mining towns, and about five weeks ago one was started here in Peoria. The workers of all trades have put \$1500 in the store. We have not been in business long enough to declare a dividend as yet, but we have saved, even to the people who are not in the society and do not hold stock, a great many dollars by giving them full weight and full measure.

It strikes me that if there is an opportune time for the workers of Illinois in this great convention to do something of real value to the people they represent they will set aside a day or a half day to discuss this all-important question. If you cannot agree to do that, if you feel it hasn't that much merit, at least put in a night session discussing the co-operative movement. I know of organizations that cannot expect to go much farther, so far as their wage scale is concerned, and they must resort to this other method if they expect to get some of the things they need while on this earth.

I want to extend a hearty welcome to the delegates on behalf of our local store. It is located at 1003 Garden street. You will be shown through the store and will be given a copy of the by-laws by making application for it. There is another organization in Peoria from which I desire to extend fraternal greetings. We happen to have a socialist party in Peoria. The socialists sometimes make mistakes—they are something like other political organizations, they are not always right—but I think, so far as the Peoria socialist movement is concerned, they have offset every mistake they have made in the past by nominating for membership in the legislature of Illinois L. A. Allton, our First Vice-President.

There are times in a man's life when the greatest delight comes in the most unexpected manner. When I was a boy at home, before I thought of going into the coal mines, I had a

big brother who had given the most of his life to the labor movement. He used to come to our home in Farmington and tell us about a man who was doing more good for the miners in his part of the district than all the organizations put together had done. I took that as a matter of form for the time being, but I used to get a little of the same account in the Mine Workers' Journal and hear it from other members who attended conventions. I finally started to work in the mines and took an active part in our organization myself, and as time went on I came in closer touch with the man I refer to. But I never expected to be placed in the position I am in this morning. I am glad this morning, because of the respect I have for this man and the respect the Illinois miners have for him, to be in a position to turn this gavel over to him. I will go away from here this morning feeling proud that I have had the honor of turning the gavel over to the real leader of the Illinois workers, President John H. Walker.

President Walker: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mayor, Chairman of the Entertainment Bureau, Fellow Delegates and Friends—I am sure I can say I represent the feeling of the delegates here when I say that we appreciate, not only the spirit of the real welcome extended to us this morning by the Mayor, the Chairman of the Convention Bureau, the President of the City Central body, representing the whole labor movement of Peoria, but I think, too, I can say that we appreciate the judgment and good sense and their consideration for us and our movement in doing it in such a way as not to be embarrassing; while expressing the real feeling of the people they represent it in a way that will appeal to us without occupying the time of this great convention that the men and women throughout the state who are working must pay for.

There has been, nearly all through the history of the human race, about three types of human beings; those who were like the birds and beasts of prey, who got what they could out of the rest of the race by any means within their power, regardless of how

they got it or how it affected others; there has been that element that was stolid and indifferent, that did not seem to know or care; and then through all the ages we have had records of the individuals who have had big human hearts in them, who have been exceptions mentally and who cared more for the progress of the human race than they did for anything personal, who gave of their time and energy, who sacrificed all that they had to make things better for those who were to come in the future as well as to make them as good as possible for those who were then living.

I think the labor movement typifies the last named element in the human race in our day. I believe every human being of that kind is either in our movement directly or in sympathy with it. They are those who believe in earning by performing useful service the things they get in life, and by lending their efforts to making things better for every one now living and for those who are to come in the future. We believe those are the only men and women worth while, and it does not make any difference whether they are in our movement or outside of it, if they are performing useful service for the rest of the race we feel they are akin to us, that they are one with us.

And I might say in a personal way that I believe the Mayor of Peoria is that type. I think I have occupied the chair when he has made some four or five addresses of welcome, representing the people of this city, and telling us they wished us our own best good and would do what was in them to make what progress for us it was possible. And he not only has extended that welcome to us on these occasions, but in many instances when the real trouble was on, and when sentiment could not alone indicate what attitude he took, he stood out and was counted and has really helped. And I am glad to see the Mayor with us this morning, and I want you to know that I feel his welcome was given in all sincerity. The people of Peoria have proved it was not any false sentiment or courtesy on their part in having their representatives come here to

welcome the labor movement. Nowhere can you get a readier response to the movement when you need it than right here in what I consider one of the best towns in the state. The trade unionists of Peoria—and I speak from experience, I happened to occupy the position of a general in a war that lasted some time—not only the mine workers of Peoria, but every other trade unionist, lent their assistance to make our struggle a success. And I am glad to say it was a complete success.

Before closing I want to say—I think it is no news to the Mayor, to the general citizenship or to the labor movement in Peoria—but I believe this convention when its work has been done and the delegates have gone home will have left a better impression on the minds of the uninformed in your community as to the make-up of the men and women of the great labor movement in our state and as to their purposes than they ever had before. I think I can assure you that will be done. We will take advantage of your hospitality to the limit; and if you ever come to any of the towns we come from I expect you will do the same with us. We are a friendly bunch of people, but at the same time we do not expect to impose on your kindly offer and your cordial welcome. Above all, we owe a duty to the constituency we represent and to the great labor movement of the world that is fighting to make things better for humanity, and I feel that no delegate during the time of our stay in this city will do anything that will reflect on him and have a reaction on the movement in this state and the general labor movement. We are glad to have you with us this morning and hope you will be able to attend our sessions from time to time.

The convention will now come to order and we will proceed with the regular work.

Secretary-Treasurer James F. Morris read the following:

CALL FOR CONVENTION.

Springfield, Ill., Sept. 1st, 1914.

To All Central Bodies and Trade Unionists Within the State of Illinois:

Greeting—You are hereby notified that the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor will be held in the Coliseum at Peoria, Illinois, beginning at 10:00 o'clock A. M., Tuesday, October 20th, 1914, and continue in session until the business of the convention is completed.

All affiliated Unions are requested to send representatives.

This will be the largest and most important State Federation meeting ever held in the history of the American labor movement.

Those Unions not already affiliated are cordially invited to join and be represented at the coming convention.

Every Local Union of one hundred members or less shall be entitled to one delegate, and one additional delegate for every additional one hundred members or major fraction thereof. No delegate can cast more than one vote. All central and district organizations shall be entitled to a representation of three delegates. No organization or central body shall be represented by proxy.

No person shall be eligible as a delegate to the convention of this Federation who is an employer, or who holds an appointive political position, or who is not otherwise actively engaged at his or her trade, and a member in good standing in the organization from which his credentials come at the time of holding this convention; nor shall delegates from central bodies be seated unless such Local Union is affiliated with the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Delegates to the convention must have the Union Label on all articles of wearing apparel if it is possible to secure the same, and the Secretary is instructed to notify all organizations of this rule on the call for convention.

No person shall be eligible as a delegate to the conventions of this Federation unless his local organization is paying a per capita tax upon its full membership.

If every Labor Union in the State of Illinois will affiliate with the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and work in harmony with each other, we

will be able to get the maximum of benefits more in every way possible for our membership, and at the same time, be in the strongest position possible to go on with the work of organization itself, until every man, woman, boy and girl in the State who works for a living are within the folds of the labor movement, partaking of its benefits, and in a position to contribute intelligently their full strength in resisting oppression, or in making progress and establishing better working conditions, shorter work-days and a higher rate of wages for those who toil, with all that signifies for them and their loved ones.

We, therefore, most earnestly urge every Local Union and central body in Illinois to be fully represented in this Convention.

Each organization should have their delegates instructed on all matters of legislation in which they are interested and which, in their judgment, should be considered by the Illinois State labor movement.

Headquarters for the Federation officers will be at the Fey Hotel.

Any further information you may desire or any request you wish to make will be cheerfully considered by the Peoria Union Labor Convention Bureau, Fred B. Elgin, Secretary.

Fraternally yours,
J. F. MORRIS,
Secretary-Treasurer.
J. H. WALKER,
President.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: I move that the Call be accepted and placed on file. (Seconded and carried.)

President Walker: If there are no objections, before we read reports, I

would like to appoint the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, so that when the convention is organized we can proceed with our work as rapidly as possible. Hearing no objection, I will appoint the committee as follows:

W. R. Boyer, Broom and Whisk Makers, Chicago; William Clark, Brewery Workers, Danville; Robert Wilson, Bartenders, Kewanee; Ed. Carabine, Machinists, Chicago; Charles Wright, Cigarmakers, Decatur, D. F. Farley, Carpenters, Coal City; George P. Leisher, Typographical Union, Springfield, Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Second Vice-President John M. Irish presided during the reading of the President's report, printed copies of which were distributed to the delegates. President Walker's report was not completed at 12 o'clock.

Delegate Downie, Gillespie, moved that an adjournment be taken, as the President had been reading for nearly two hours, and he desired all of the delegates present while it was being presented. The motion was seconded, but not carried.

President Walker continued his report until it was completed.

Delegate Connors: I move you that the report be accepted, referred to the Committee on President's Report, and that a vote of thanks be extended to President Walker.

The motion was seconded, and carried by unanimous vote.

At 12:30 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 p. m. of the same day.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

To the Delegates to the Thirty-Second Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

Greeting: In accordance with the established custom, I am herewith submitting for your information and consideration, a few of the important occurrences of the year, together with some observations and recommendations which I feel are of interest to our organization.

Of course as this was an off year so far as legislation is concerned, there is necessarily nothing in that direction to deal with at this time, except as we may prepare for the future, and deal with prospective legislation.

Increase in Membership During Past Year.

During the year passed, since the Decatur convention, there has come into the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and are now affiliated with it, the following organizations:

Horseshoers' Local Union, Chicago, Ill.
Dist. Council, Switchmen, Chicago, Ill.
Carpenters and Joiners, No. 1544, Coal City.
Carpenters and Joiners, No. 496, Kankakee.
Carpenters and Joiners, Taylorville.
Flat Janitors, Chicago.
Women's Union Label League, No. 9, Chicago.
Steam and Operating Engineers, No. 402, Chicago.
A. A. of Street and Electric Ry. Emp., No. 241, Chicago.
A. A. of Street and Electric Ry. Emp., No. 260, Chicago.
Firemen's Association, Chicago.
Barbers' Union No. 439, Champaign.
Barbers' Union No. 430, Herrin.
Federation of Men Teachers, Chicago.
Machinists (Die and Tool Makers), No. 113, Chicago.
Post Office Clerks' Union No. 1, Chicago.
Hospital Nurses Union No. 337, Chicago.
Switchmen of North America, No. 16, E. St. Louis.
Broom and Whisk Makers, No. 15, Galesburg.
Central Labor Union, Johnston City.
Central Labor Union, Mt. Carmel.
Central Labor Union, West Frankfort.
Federal Labor Union, No. 13178, Marion.
Federal Labor Union, No. 10977, Spring Valley.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters, No. 466, Ottawa.
Teamsters' L. U. No. 176, Ottawa.
Sheet Metal Workers' L. U. No. 317.
Hod Carriers and Bldg. Laborers, No. 134, Ottawa.
Laborers' Protective Assn., No. 14483, Oglesby.
Bartenders' Local Union, Royalton.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, No. 1, Chicago.
Meat Cutters and Butchers, No. 320, Chicago.
Typographical Union, No. 265, Ottawa.
Cigar Makers L. U., No. 99, Ottawa.
Teamsters and Ice Handlers, L. U. No. 660, Peoria.
Musicians' Local Union, Galesburg.
Women's Union Label League, Johnston City.
Women's Union Label League, Peoria.
Union Label Council, Springfield.
Printing Trades Council, Peoria.

No. 176, Electrical Workers, Joliet.

No. 14171, Hospital Nurses and Attendants, Kankakee.

No. 661, Carpenters and Joiners, Ottawa.

No. 444, Waitresses' Union, Peoria.

No. 569, Hoisting and Portable Engineers, Chicago.

Bartenders', Ottawa.

No. 10, Brick Layers, Ottawa.

Because of the Legislature not being in session since the last convention, most of the work has been organization work. A considerable number of letters and circulars have been sent out to the different unaffiliated locals and Central Bodies, urging them to become a part of the State Federation, and many times I have arranged to speak at their meetings on the subject, and give them a direct personal invitation to come with us, and while we have not been successful in every instance, we have increased our general membership outside of the Miners' Union about 200 per cent, which is, to say the least, encouraging and I hope that this work will be continued until every local union and central body in the State, becomes a part of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, contributing their full share towards labor's progress in Illinois, thus enabling our Federation to do the best possible for it to do for the toilers and their families in our commonwealth.

Adjusting Disputes, Negotiating Agreements and Organizing Locals and Central Bodies.

I am pleased to report that I was able to assist in adjusting a dispute between warring factions of the Teamsters at Witt, Ill., also in bringing about agreements that carried improvements for our people, and which tended to build up and strengthen our whole movement at Harrisburg and Hillsboro, and for the Leatherworkers on Horse goods at Chicago.

I also lent what assistance I could to the Waiters in Chicago; Teamsters at Ottawa; Bakerworkers and Building Trades at Springfield, and a good many other organizations that requested me to, and assisted in the organization of Central Bodies and Federal Local Unions at Canton, Royalton, Hillsboro and Harrisburg.

Meetings and Conventions addressed in the interest of the Trades Union and Co-Operative Movement.

I have, during the yast year, addressed at least two hundred meetings at the request of Local Unions and Central Bodies throughout the State in the interest of the Trade Union and co-operative movements.

Amongst them, three Legislative Conventions of the Railway Brotherhoods, a meeting of the Fireman and Locomotive Engineers' organizations at Decatur, also a meeting of the Locomotive Engineers at Chicago, as well as a Farmers' State Convention and a State Convention of the Brick Layers at Ottawa, Illinois, a Brick Makers Convention at Peoria, and the International Convention of the Mine workers at Indianapolis, Ind.; the Steam and Operating Engineers' and the Structural Iron Workers at Peoria, Illinois.

Federal and Detached Local Unions Under a State Charter.

I took this matter up with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and appeared before their meeting in Washington, D. C., January 19-24, 1914. After going over the matter thoroughly with them, I retired and later received the following communication, which explains itself.

“ Washington, D. C., February 17, 1914.

“Mr. John H. Walker, President,
Illinois State Federation of Labor,
304 Pierik Bldg., Springfield, Ill.

“Dear Sir and Brother:

“ The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at the meeting held at headquarters January 19-24, considered the proposition submitted by the Illinois State Federation of Labor that the Federal Labor Unions and detached local unions of the State of Illinois be organized into a State organization, under the control of the officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. The Council decided that they could not agree to the formation of a State Body of the directly affiliated local unions, as there is no provisions in the laws of the American Federation of Labor for such arrangements for the organizations of members who belong under the jurisdiction of international unions. This is a proposition which the officers of your State Federation would have to take up with the respective international unions in interest and adjust with them.

“ Yours fraternally,
(Signed) “Frank Morrison, Secretary.”

Election of Officers by Referendum Vote.

The instructions of the Decatur Convention to the Executive Board to prepare a plan for the election of officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor by referendum vote, to take the place of the present method, beginning next year, to be presented to the Convention on the first day's session, has been complied with.

The plan may not be perfect, but it can be used as a basis for this Convention to improve upon, and I hope that each delegate will take a copy of it, read it over carefully, and then try to make it as near perfect as possible, so that if this plan is adopted by this Convention, we may have the best arrangement of that kind, that can be provided for by us.

Conditions of State, County and Municipal Employees.

One of the conditions which I encountered in my travels in the State, and which appealed to me most strongly as being absolutely wrong, and which should be remedied, if possible at all, was the fact that in many State, County and Municipal institutions men, and women, boys and girls were compelled to work as much as twelve hours per day, seven days a week, for a wage that ran as low as twenty dollars per month and board. That these conditions are unjust to the toilers is obvious on the face of it, but when we realize that our own State government, we ourselves, are the employers, the inconsistency and unfairness of it all is more apparent, and

if we expect to ask private employers to give us better wages, hours and conditions of employment, they should not be tolerated one moment longer than is necessary for us to remedy them. Accordingly, I would recommend that the effort to thoroughly organize those employees be continued, and that the incoming officers be instructed to introduce a bill in the next session of the Legislature, providing for eight hours to constitute a day's work in all State institutions, and for six days' work to constitute a week's work, and to do that they can be sure that a minimum wage is paid, that will enable the employees of our commonwealth to raise their families properly in the way of food, clothing and education, and a place to live, and that they use their influence to see that the employees of the counties and municipalities are given the same consideration.

Labor Temples.

One of the things that has built up and strengthened the labor movement everywhere that it has been put in effect, is the building of labor temples where the local unions could hold their meetings free from any influence other than that created by the labor movement itself. It has generally resulted in all the unions making it a common headquarters, thus keeping them in close touch with each other. They have generally had reading rooms and libraries which were supplied with all the labor papers, local, national and international, as well as all the best books and other literature on the subjects of interest to labor, this creating the best possible educational influence in the right direction that could be created.

They generally too have a coffee and lunch room where union men, their wives, children and friends can gather after a lecture or meeting and spend a social hour in friendly discussion. They often times too, have rooms where card games, dominoes, checkers, pool, billiards and ten pins can be played; gymnasium, swimming pools and shower baths, and dancing halls, all of which furnishes clean, healthful recreation and pleasant instructive entertainment, and makes for a more human feeling for each other and draws them closer together to say nothing of their having a meeting place that they can use at any time, with the knowledge that no one can put them out, and the added interest that a personal ownership creates, and I hope that this convention will strongly recommend that such temples be built wherever possible in our state, that the delegates to this convention will take an active part themselves wherever they are located to see that a temple is erected at that place, and as wherever it is located, it will mean all of this in building up and strengthening the local labor movement, and an influence similarly for the State Labor movement and because we ought to have a suitable place to keep our official records for future reference, and much greater and better facilities for constant use. If we are to do our best work in the state now, I believe we should have a State Labor Temple built in the Capitol City of the State, and would urge that you authorize the incoming State officials to take whatever steps are necessary in that direction to get one built, if they can, or have a plan to bring before the next convention for its consideration by which the work can be done, then.

**Labor's Education, the Need for it, and the Vital Importance of Seeing That
it Comes From Friendly Sources.**

Education, or rather informing ourselves thoroughly as to the actual facts in every phase of our conditions, industrially, commercially, politically and socially, learning the real truth about them, not only what they have been and what they are, but what the improvements are that can be made now and later, the processes we have gone through in the past and in the light of experience and sound logical reasoning, the processes or methods we should use now to make whatever progress there is possible. This is a basis absolutely necessary before we can be positively sure of our being able to render the greatest service as Trades Unionists. Indeed this is absolutely necessary before we can be sure that we may not unconsciously or mistakenly be used to obstruct or prevent or even to actually fight against our own best interests or progress as workers and Trades Unionists.

But above all things in this connection is the supreme need of our not allowing the enemies of the workers' organizations, while posing as friends, to educate the workers along wrong lines on these matters and lead them to believe that the policies and lines of action, which leaves them most helpless or leads them into a trap, that in REALITY, are most inimical to their interests, are the best for them to pursue. The mistakes we make ourselves are a large enough handicap without adding to them by following or accepting as correct, statements, as a basis of forming our opinion and action, that come from sources whose material interests are in opposition to ours, and who naturally are our enemies. And, in order to avoid these things, it will be necessary for us to see that our means of information, learning and education at least comes from unmistakably friendly sources. The possibility and danger of our people being deceived, led astray and trapped if they accept the statements of the owned, controlled or kept press and speakers or through the books and pamphlets written by them or their hirelings on the part of the labor hating employers and business interests, should be driven home in the minds of the workers at every opportunity, until they are made keenly alive to the danger there is and the tremendous injury that is being done them, because of their not avoiding this pitfall, and in addition, the extreme urgency of their developing and building up a system of publicity of their own, so that at all times there will be available from reliable, responsible sources that they can absolutely trust and depend upon, through which they can get all the facts and the truth about the labor contests that are going on either where they are striving to better their conditions or the employers and business interests are endeavoring to crush them, reduce their wages or impose unfavorable conditions.

The most important element in all this work is the labor press which deals with the immediately live problems. They are absolutely indispensable, and as they cannot or will not get substantial permanent support from any source, except the workers themselves, and as it is absolutely impossible for the workers to keep informed unless they do get and read these papers, no trades unionist can be doing his or her duty unless they are sub-

scribing for, getting and reading enough of them to keep themselves informed and up to date on the live labor issues. And, as every one who is ignorant or misinformed, no matter what their intention may be, are more likely to be a draw-back and hindrance to the movement and themselves, than a help, it is imperative that it be branded in burning letters of living fire into the hearts and minds of all workers that they must patronize, subscribe for and read the Labor papers, read Labor's books and pamphlets and go out and listen to, and give earnest consideration to the speakers from the bona fide Labor Movement on whatever occasion they may be able to. Each Trades Unionist should, at the very least, get and read the official organ of his own International Union, the general Labor Movement, and the Local Labor Paper, and get all the information possible on the Trades Unionist movement, the co-operative question, workers political problems and the different other phases of our work.

Unemployment.

I may say on this subject that although the last session of the Illinois State Assembly adopted a resolution providing that the governor appoint a commission to investigate the causes of this condition and to report to him, recommending remedial legislation on this problem, they failed to appropriate any funds at all with which to do the work, hence there was nothing done.

In further connection with this most serious condition that affects the workers' lives, unemployment, I attended as a delegate, representing the State of Illinois, the first national conference on that subject, called by the American Association for Labor Legislation held in New York City, N. Y. February 27-28, 1914.

The meeting was attended by men and women from all walks in life. I may say that I do not believe that every individual there was a real sincere friend of the labor movement, but the labor movement was represented by a good many delegates and I think the large majority of those present were in sympathy with it.

For your information I shall read the main statement made by myself at the meeting, also the resolutions adopted which is really all that was done, outside of the advertising the question got, and the educational effect of the meeting:

"I suppose that most of you have heard the old saying, 'Beware of the Greeks when they come bringing gifts,' and as one of the army of workmen, I put myself in the category of those who have to fight for just about everything they ever got. Consequently, when promises of relief from possibly the worst problem that we have to deal with are held out from a source not actually the workers themselves, the old saying comes to my mind. And, still, the problem is so acute and it does mean so much, and the possibilities are that there are so many people in this world who, although they are not actually workers themselves, would like to see it all put on a just basis, that I felt I would like to be at this meeting. Anyhow, I figured it is a vital problem; and whether those who attend are friends or enemies in disguise, to have the problem brought home, to all the people of our country

in such a way that they can not help but understand something about what it really is, will be worth while.

“ But, the unemployment problem in so far as it affects the honest workers, is not going to be solved ultimately by charity. It is not going to be solved, either by voluntary action of humane individuals who are not directly involved in the industrial questions of our country. You know we have been double-crossed and deluded so often that when anything is held out to us the first thing we look for is to see where we are going to get the worst of it; and one of the first things that came to my mind was that it was possible that these well-intentioned people, taking an interest in this question of unemployment, might organize the labor exchange bureaus in such a way that the entire unempolyed army would be mobilized and that employers would have such access to it as to be enabled to use it at any point, at all times, to break down the things that the organized workers in our country have already established by fighting for them long and hard.

“ Referring to the last gentleman's statement I want to say that I do not like to see suffering. I do not like to suffer myself. But there is a doubt in my mind whether I would be doing the most honorable thing, if I were out of employment, if I took a job where I had to work four hours a day to enable me to earn twenty cents. I know that it is well-intentioned people who furnish that avenue of relief to men who are out of employment; but I tell you frankly that I believe that the man who has to work four hours a day for twenty cents for any length of time, will soon get to the point where he will not only be worthless, but will be a menace to the community.

“ If this problem is going to be solved properly, we are going to have to go to the root of it, and to deal with the employers, without considering their feelings very much, or the amount of money they are to make out of what they call their industry.

“ One of the things that brought this point home to me was the statement by our friend from the Boston Chamber of Commerce. He said a law had been enacted which took the girls between the ages of fourteen and sixteen out of the factories, but made no further provisions for them, and that instead of helping, that had added to the complications of the unemployment problem.

“ I might say that it was about a hundred years ago since they enacted laws in Great Britain that took the women and children out of the mines, and for the same reason it could be said that that law added to the problem. In Illinois, we have a law that prohibits a boy from going into the mines until he is sixteen years of age, and I suppose that is going to add to the complications of the unemployment problem. But, I dare say there is not a man or woman in this meeting but will agree that, if it were his or her child that was under consideration, sixteen years would not be thought an excessive period for that child to spend in acquiring the education it would need to equip it properly to give to the world the best that was in it and to do for itself the best that it could, and not to become a burden to itself and to the nation.

"We have taken this unemployment problem up in our State. We sent out a circular to ascertain the extent of it; and I say to you, it is difficult to find out how many are unemployed and how many women and children are suffering, for the ones who are suffering the most, would die almost rather than allow the fact to become public property.

"For that reason we cannot find out just what the actual conditions are. But everybody who deals with this problem knows from the things they meet in everyday life, that industrial conditions are bad in our country today, more seriously so, than they have been for a very long time. We have asked each local union in Illinois to find out which of its members are out of work, and try to arrange matters so that they won't starve or freeze. The organizations are doing this, but they are being taxed to their utmost.

"I suppose there are hundreds of ways of solving this problem. I have in my own mind something I am going to give you for what it is worth. In the first place, I believe that we should have employment agencies established in the different municipalities to take care of the immediate local problems.

"I think we should have bureaus established under the direction and in charge of the different states, and I think we ought to have an organization of that kind under charge of our Federal Government. I believe that there should be an insurance provision, providing that men who are willing to work and who could not find employment would be paid, not as a matter of charity, but as a matter of right; enough to keep them and their families and enable them to live decently. But to prevent these bureaus from being a curse instead of a help, they should not be allowed to ship workers where there is any labor trouble, where there is a strike on, either for better conditions or against a reduction of wages, or because employers have refused to allow their working people to organize or for any other good cause. I believe that in order to have this thing operated right the government itself should endeavor to employ in Federal, State and Municipal undertakings, every man and woman who is unemployed. In the event that this cannot be done without reducing hours beyond the minimum necessary for practical operations, those who still cannot find work, should be maintained by a tax, levied on all industry. That will mean that in so far as the government can give it to them, the men and women of the country will have employment; and in so far as the government with the undertakings it has in charge, and the private employers who own the other industries, are not able to furnish employment for these men and women, the private employers and the other citizens will be required to keep them until they are furnished employment. I feel that it is the private owners of all industries in our country, and not the workers who are really responsible for the conditions existing which make it impossible for a man or woman, willing to work, to get a job; and I think they should be required to keep the unemployed until they do find work for them. The workers themselves, also, having the right to vote and the right to make laws and to select men to enforce them, indirectly have a responsibility in this matter, and if they were made to pay their share of the penalty for a man's or woman's being

unable to get work, I think it would help bring the responsibility home to them.

"The gentleman from Virginia this morning made a plain statement of the case. The only reason that people are out of a job at the present time is because there is not a job for them. Immediately providing jobs is the thing that will immediately furnish relief. We have a considerable number of projects that could be utilized by our government, but first I want to say that as long as there is an unemployed working man or woman in our country who cannot get a job, there should be no further immigration allowed.

"If they will stop labor immigration into our nation for the next ten years, we will solve the unemployment problem by the development of our industries. In the meantime, I believe that there are a considerable number of forms of employment that can be furnished through our national and state government, and through the different municipalities, and that they won't have to go into bankruptcy while they are doing it either. The labor furnished will pay back to the people at least all that it has cost them, in the very near future; and, ultimately, it will be almost impossible to compute the value that it will bring to our nation.

"We need waterways—I suppose if there were a deep waterway made from New Orleans to Chicago, there would be millions of acres of the best land in the country reclaimed. The cost of transportation would be reduced and that would be a permanent source of benefit to all the people in the nation. I suppose 200,000 or 300,000 of the unemployed could be put to work immediately, and I do not know of anything that would pay greater returns to the people than to have this done. Those water routes could be used for generating power, and the installing of that equipment and river docking facilities would absorb for years and years, almost if we cut out the immigration now, all the unemployed of our nation. As has been mentioned by Professor Sanford, home projects, such as sewage, drainage, road building, etc., could be started, employing great number of men, so that it really is possible to improve conditions almost immediately.

"In closing I want to emphasize what the Representatives of the Mayor of Philadelphia said: The intelligent workers and the intelligent humane people outside of the workers' ranks are either going to solve this problem on the basis of reason in an orderly, progressive way, some time in the near future, or this feeling of bitterness that is being generated in the minds and hearts of the workers of our country will precipitate a condition that will make the solution still more costly."

Professor Charles R. Henderson, as chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, presented resolutions to the meeting, which after discussion and amendment were adopted as follows:

"Whereas, The reports presented to this National Conference, by delegates representing twenty-five states and fifty-nine cities, show a complete lack in most sections of the country of accurate statistical information in reference to the extent and nature of unemployment; and

"Whereas, Notwithstanding some difference of opinion as to whether unemployment this winter has been more wide-spread than usual in all sections, there is general agreement that there is a large amount of unemployment and that this irregularity of employment at all times is among the most serious problems of modern industry; and

"Whereas, There is also general agreement that the first step toward a solution of the problem is the organization of a connected network of free public employment exchanges and that other steps should be taken as soon as agreement can be reached as to what they should be; therefore, be it

"1. Resolved, That this conference urge the establishment in the Federal Department of Labor of a Bureau of Distribution, with power to establish employment exchanges throughout the country to supplement the work of state and municipal bureaus, to act as a clearing house of information and promote the distribution of labor throughout the country, provided that such distribution shall not cause the deterioration of the present standards of wages, conditions and hours of employment of American workers or impair their efforts to improve them.

"2. That we also urge upon the legislature of the various states the establishment or reconstruction of free state employment agencies conforming to the following essential principles:

"First. That appointments and tenure of office be governed by the merit system and be placed beyond control of political parties:

"Second. That appropriations should be sufficient to make the agencies effective in the highest possible degree;

"Third. That the agencies constitute a network of central bureaus and branch offices under central control and direction:

"Fourth. That these agencies be so administered as to co-operate with municipal and federal bureaus so as to constitute a truly national system;

"Fifth. That every bureau or office be required to register every application as well as every position secured;

"Sixth. That frequent reports, publications and other notices give prompt information as to those seeking employment:

"Seventh. That these agencies may be held true to their character as belonging to the public and remain neutral in all trade disputes.

"3. We recommend that municipalities direct their attention to the local problem of unemployment, closely defining its relief and industrial phases with a view to dealing with the latter in a business like, efficient way through a central labor bureau which shall distribute employees to its various departments.

"4. We recommend that private employment agencies for profit be brought under the inspection and control of the federal government, where they send labor from state to state, or to persons or corporations engaged in interstate commerce in case of interstate business, and of the state authority where they are engaged in distributing labor within a state.

"5. We recommend that the American Association for Labor Legislation, in affiliation with the American Section of the International Association on Unemployment, prosecute a thorough investigation of the following aspects of the problem of unemployment, and at the same time initiate and promote public action:

"First. The labor market, exchanges, statistics, facilities for special classes, advertising, emergency measures, relief agencies;

"Second. Regulation of industry—seasonable industries, dovetailing of industries, adjustment of large contracts to run longer periods, casual labor, civil service methods;

"Third. Vocational guidance:

"Fourth. Legislation—employment agencies, unemployment insurance."

The Co-Operative Movement. ✓

This is one of the divisions of Labor's army that we have given very little consideration to in our country in the past year. However, it is being more seriously considered now than ever before and a great deal of work is actually being done throughout the nation in the direction of establishing permanently this added bulwark for the protection of the great mass of the common people. It was designed to reduce the cost and improve the quality of living, but it works out to the substantial advantage of the working people in a great many different other ways. It is intended, of course, that when once established firmly that not only the Consumers' Co-operative stores will be established but that in addition, just as soon as there are enough Consumers' Co-operative stores established to warrant it, there will be a wholesale department established and then wherever the workers are being charged the most unreasonable prices or where the prospects of economizing will justify it, factories, flour mills, packing houses, etc., will be established, thus in the end guaranteeing positively that the purest and best of all food stuffs, the best material and workmanship and in all other articles they can use, full weight and measure will be given to the people at actual cost. This, of course, means that the workers employed will be union men and women, getting the kind of wages, hours, conditions of employment and treatment that they are entitled to.

In accordance with the instructions of the last convention along these lines, a circular was sent out along with copies of the Gillespie Co-operative Society by-laws a considerable number of meetings have been held to consider the proposition and a number of stores have been started, notably at Christopher, Kort Kamp, Rock Island, 6500 W. Madison St., Chicago and one at Peoria. Some have been started at other places and a very considerable number are in process of formation as a result of the work of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and the Illinois Mine Workers' Union, and much work is being done in quarters outside of the Federation itself which was started by the publicity given the question, and the educational work done by I. S. F. of L. I may say, too, that our work has helped at least, in a small degree, the stores already established at West Frankfort,

Harrisburg, Glen-Carbon, Gillespie, Sawyerville, etc. These stores or most of them are now firmly established, have weathered the storm of the opposition of the enemies of Labor, have proven their worth and are now permanently contributing their benefits to make life's burden lighter and at the same time, build up and strengthen the forces of labor in every direction.

According to my information the West Frankfort store paid seven per cent of the shore capital invested by the members, and distributed \$1,900.38 or an average of \$16.67 each among the 144 members on the basis of their purchases up to June 2, 1914, besides putting away two per cent as a reserve fund. The Gillespie store has done even better and most of the others have given returns along similar lines or have good prospects of doing so in the future.

They are now arranging for combining their purchasing power through groups where the stores are conveniently located to each other, which will add to their ability to economize. A recent report to the Mayor of Chicago by a committee appointed from the City Council to investigate the causes of the high cost of living, reported that the retailers added 77.7 per cent to the total amounts received by the producers, commission men, transportation and storage concerns, jobbers and wholesalers, as their price for acting as a medium between the consumers and the wholesalers.

This is an outrage and should not be tolerated, but it can not be prevented except the workers do it themselves by establishing their own stores.

Amongst the many advantages of the co-operative movement are protection from short weight or measures, disease, tainted, rotten food stuffs, or those which although not infected to begin with, were treated so as to preserve them, to a bath in embalming fluids, or sterilizing chemicals; from cheap imitations or shoddy clothing or poor materials and poor workmanship in them, and shoes, and all other manufactured commodities, which they use, it results in giving them a first hand knowledge of industrial affairs from all angles, also of commerce, finance and all kinds of business, and in the degree that co-operative institutions supplant private institutions, so does the powers of government, elected or selected from those localities change from representatives of the employing or business interests to representatives of the people, this is also true with regard to those same influences in this application to industrial disputes, strikes. Their educational value for the benefit of the workers is also of inestimable value.

In Brussels, Belgium, the workers were unable to organize the bakeries, and after long years of effort and failure, they started co-operative bakeries and today in Brussels alone, they have thirty shops of that kind, all union.

In many instances in Great Britain where the Retail Clerks and shop assistants were unable to establish their organization, they started co-operative stores and by that means have organized all the clerks in the town. This method of establishing and building up their organizations could be utilized in our country by organizations in many cases to successfully and permanently establish their unions when all other means have failed.

Our circulars and news items on this question have also been published in many papers outside of Illinois, and we have had many requests for information from other states, all of which we have supplied to the best of our ability, so that we have helped stimulate an interest in this movement generally, and assist in its being started throughout the entire country.

The co-operative movement of the wage earners also tends generally to bring all of the different Trades Unionists closer together as it has a direct, immediate, material interest for all of them, no matter what calling, they work at or what organization they belong to, and it does away with all unnecessary middlemen and brings the consumer close to the producer, it generally brings about a better understanding between the farmers and wage earners which works out to the advantage of both, thus making for the solidarity of and greater sympathy with each other, and closer co-operation of all of the great army of toilers.

And I would recommend that this convention commend to all the organizations of labor and every Trades Unionist the careful study of this question what the co-operative movement is doing for the workers in the older countries, what it is doing here and what it is possible for it to do, and that the Illinois State Federation of Labor continue to contribute what it can to the informing of our membership on this subject and the development of an American Retail, Wholesale, and Manufacturing Co-operative Association.

And, while we continue to build up this great movement, under the present by-laws agreement plan, let, us in conjunction with the farmers' and the miners' organizations, who have both volunteered, and all other workers' agencies that will join us, continue to do everything in our power to have a law passed, even if necessary to amend the constitution to do so, which will enable us to protect ourselves legally in every way, in all forms of legitimate, honest, co-operative enterprise.

Compensation Law.

During the course of their employment, each year many workers are killed in accidents, a great many more are severely injured and a much greater number to a lesser extent, a very considerable number are mutilated so badly that they are never able to work again.

In other instances diseases are contracted from different causes in connection with the work that they are doing. These are known as occupational diseases. Among them are tubercular troubles caused from dust, close confinement, and bad air, etc. In the mines many fall victims to what is known as Coal Miner's consumption. In reality it is bronchial trouble. Fumes from dynamite and blasting powder, deadly damp and gases, dust and other impurities in the air, eat out their lungs and bronchial tubes and render them helpless burdens to themselves, their friends and the public, in many instances before they have reached the prime of life, and in nearly all of these cases, too, their loved ones, an aged mother or father perhaps, their wives and little boys and girls are left to live in misery without means to secure food, clothing or shelter, to stare and freeze, homeless except for what they may beg or receive as charity, deprived of any hope or chance in life. Even the little children who have committed no crime, lose the pleasures that of right, common decency and humanity, child-life is entitled to, their education and their chance for the future.

We can not pay the victims for the suffering that they endure. No money can recompense them for the agony and anguish they bear. No

financial or other recompense can pay the widow or orphans for the death of their loved one, their provider and protector. And because of this every precaution that can be taken should be taken to see that these dangers are minimized to the lowest possible minimum and eliminated entirely wherever that can be done, and where employers are proven guilty of carelessness, lack of continual watchfulness or compliance with the laws providing safety and protection or any other thing that within reason at all could or should be done to avoid accidents, they should be specially punished and severe penalties inflicted, because where men are responsible for and have in their hands other men's health, safety of limb and protection of their lives, no excuses of any kind should be accepted where it was possible at all for them to prevent accidents from occurring or unhealthful conditions from obtaining, and they failed to do so.

But above all things I think no well informed, honest really humane person can disagree with the necessity for, and the means being actually provided, of seeing where accidents do occur that the injured ones and their dependents or the widow and the orphans are at least fully provided for in the things they need in every day life, to see that they are at least as well taken care of and provided for financially, as if the accident had not occurred, (along with, in case of injury, every surgical and medical assistance, the skilled care and medicines that are needed).

There ought to be no delay or any uncertainty about the widows and orphans or injured ones being cared for, at least to this extent.

It should be provided by law that every case of that kind is amply cared for, and this can only be done through the establishment of a compulsory compensation law providing for these things. The fund out of which the victims and the dependents would be provided for to be a State insurance fund into which all the people who use the products of industry and are consequently benefited thereby, pay their proper contributions or share.

In connection with State insurance funds the following information is interesting and illuminating:

Table 11, page 37 of the annual report of the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, for the year ending June 30, 1914, gives the experience of employers carrying their own risk there as compared with the insurance rates in that state. The average cost for all employers carrying their own risk was fifty-five cents per \$100 of pay roll, or just a little over one half of one per cent. This includes both indemnity for injuries and medical attention. The insurance rate corresponding to this was \$3.32 per \$100 of pay roll. In every single class for which the comparison was made, the insurance rate was from three to ten times as much as the actual cost.

Table 7a, page 25 compares insurance rates in Wisconsin, New York and Ohio. Ohio has state insurance. The Wisconsin act is very similar to the Ohio act in the scale of indemnity, the main difference being that Wisconsin has private insurance. The Ohio average is about thirty per cent of the Wisconsin stock company rates.

Table 7, page 22 and 23 compares insurance rates in various states, with Wisconsin. The Ohio state rate in this table is the rate that was in effect last February. The Ohio state rate on page 25 is a rate that went into effect in July. The July rates are lower than the February rates. As a mat-

ter of fact the Ohio rates have been reduced three times and have never been increased since the act went into effect.

On table 75, page 22, the Illinois rate is somewhat higher than the Wisconsin rate, though the act is a good deal cheaper. These figures indicate that with compulsory state insurance like the Ohio plan, we can give substantially higher compensation at a considerable decrease in the cost of insurance.

The present Compensation Law has in a very large degree eliminated the cost for attorneys' fees where employers are under the law, and facilitated the payment to the injured one or the dependents of those who are killed.

But in the last year, according to an expert on this subject, Mr. Henry W. Bullock of Indianapolis, insurance companies collected from Illinois employers \$4,218,283.24 for Workmen's compensation and paid out of that sum during the same period to the injured workers and their dependents only \$1,233,054.46. During that year, according to his records the Casualty companies doing compensation business in states where their lobbies secured passage of compensation laws favorable to the interests of the insurance companies, they collected in premiums \$14,647,323 and paid out to injured workmen and their dependents out of that amount \$3,787,700 leaving \$10,647,233 which should have gone to the widows and orphans, the injured men and their dependents, to be divided among the agents, officials and stock and bond holders of the Insurance companies.

This really makes clear that if we had a general State insurance fund out of which were paid the amounts we pay to those entitled to support under the Compensation Law, we could practically double the amounts that are now being paid in our state without adding another cent to the cost for the industry and almost eliminate what, in my judgement, is among the most inhuman and cruel of all the cold blooded, sordid, greedy influences that are preying on our people, and making for evil conditions in every direction in our life, and I trust that this convention will go on record in no unmistakable terms in favor of this much needed legislation in the interests of the soldiers of industry and their dependent ones, the workers who are stricken in the course of their labor in creating the means of life with which to supply all of our people's needs.

However, as there is serious doubt as to whether or not under our present constitution, a compulsory compensation law would stand the test of constitutionality, let us (in the event we are satisfied that the risk of losing all is too great to take by enacting it, until the constitution is amended, permitting it to be done), further amend the law increasing the amounts, also providing for absolute surety of benefit, collection, provide for a state insurance fund for those who do come under it, and making the liability law so strong as to drive the unfair and inhuman employers under the compensation law.

Injunction Proposition.

In my judgment, the most infamous injunction ever issued by a so-called Judge or court in the history of our country was the one issued

by the notorious Republican Injunction Judge, Otis Humphrey, of the United States District Court of the Southern District of Illinois, in the strike between their employes and the labor crushing Corporation known as the American Steel Foundries Company of Granite City, Illinois, and that it may be a matter of record and kept as a continual reminder to the workers of our State of the danger of allowing any individual to have the right to exercise the powers of a despot over them, no matter what name he may go under, or of their permitting a despot or a corporation tool to be elected or selected to any position, with authority over them.

I am incorporating the actual document in my report. He not only denies the right of peaceful assemblage, free speech or free press, but in addition, in three different places in the order, prohibits even peaceful persuasion on the part of the individual, and makes himself and his court ridiculous, by forbidding compulsion by persuasion, which in my opinion, not only shows an utter lack of conscience or scruple or regard for his oath to enforce the law and protect the people in their rights, under the law, but leaves room for believing that there may be a deficiency, mentally.

**“ UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS,
SOUTHERN DIVISION.**

“ American Steel Foundries, a corporation,

Complainant.

vs.

The Tri-City Central Trades Council, Harry McKenny, Ted Ishman, Earl Galloway, William Thornberg, C. Holmes, C. L. Burton, Eddie Roach, John Aldridge, Isaac Cook, Benj. F. Lamb, J. P. McDonough and C. E. Gerlich,

Defendants.

In the United States
District Court, A.
D. 1914.

In equity for
INJUNCTION.

“FINAL DECREE.

“This cause came on to be heard at the Term on the 9th day of June, A. D. 1914, and was argued by council; and thereupon upon consideration thereof, it was ORDERED, ADJUDGED AND DECREED as follows, viz:

“That the restraining order heretofore issued on May 18, 1914 and which on May 28, 1914, was continued in force as a temporary injunction, be and is hereby made permanent as to all of said defendants, with the exception of the defendant, C. L. Burton, and as to the said C. L. Burton the said restraining order and temporary injunction be and is hereby vacated.

“It is further ORDERED, ADJUDGED AND DECREED by the Court that the said defendants, the Tri-City Central Trades Council, its officers and agents and Harry McKenny, Ted Ishmann, Earl Galloway, William Thornberg, C. Thornberg, Tom Churchill, Clay Holmes, Eddie Roach, John Aldridge, Isaac Cook, Benj. F. Lamb, J. P. McDonough, and C. E. Gerlich and each of them and all persons combining with acting in concert with or under

their direction, control or advice, or under the direction control or advice of any of them and all persons whomsoever be and are hereby perpetually restrained and enjoined from in any way or manner whatsoever by use of **persuasion**, threats, or personal injury, intimidation, **suggestion** of danger or threats of violence of any kind, from **interfering with, hindering, obstructing or stopping**, any person engaged in the employ of the American Steel Foundries in connection with its business or its foundry in the City of Granite City, County of Madison, State of Illinois, or elsewhere, **and from interfering by persuasion**, violence or threats of violence in any manner with any person desiring to be employed by said American Steel Foundries in its said foundry or plant; **and from inducing** or attempting to compel or induce by persuasion, threats, intimidations, force or violence or putting in fear or suggestions of danger any of the employees of the American Steel Foundries or persons seeking employment with it so as to cause them to refuse to perform any of their duties as employees of the American Steel Foundries; and from preventing any person by persuasion, threats, intimidation, force or violence, or suggestion of danger or violence, **and from protecting, aiding or assisting any person**, or persons in committing any of said acts; **and from assembling, loitering or congregating** about or in proximity of the said plant or factory of the American Steel Foundries for the purpose of doing, or aiding or encouraging others in doing, any of the said unlawful or forbidding acts or things; **and from picketing or maintaining at or near the premises of the complainant, or on the streets leading to the premises of said complainant, any picket or pickets, and from doing any acts or things whatever in furtherance of any conspiracy or combination among them, or any of them, to obstruct or interfere with said American Steel Foundries, its officers, agents or employees, in the free and unrestrained control and operation of its plant, foundry and property and the operation of its business; and also from ordering, directing, aiding, assisting or in any manner abetting any person committing any or either of the acts aforesaid; and also from entering upon the grounds, foundry or premises of the American Steel Foundries without first obtaining its consent; and from injuring or destroying any of the property of the said American Steel Foundries.**

"IT IS FURTHER ORDERED, ADJUDGED AND DECREED that the complainant shall cause not less than 100 printed copies of this FINAL DECREE to be posted in conspicuous places about and in the vicinity of its said plant at Granite City, Illinois; that the affidavit of the agent of the complainant so posting said notices shall be filed in the Clerk's office stating when and where such notices were posted, and such affidavit shall be prima facie proof of the posting of such notices at such time and place as shall be therein stated.

"IT IS FURTHER ORDERED, ADJUDGED AND DECREED that this injunction shall be binding upon each and all of the above mentioned defendants and upon all other persons from and after the date of this decree.

"IT IS FURTHER ORDERED, ADJUDGED AND DECREED that

the defendants pay the costs of the above entitled cause to be taxed by the Clerk.

“ OTIS HUMPHREY,
“ Judge, United States District Court for the Southern
“ District of Illinois.

In connection with this matter, I am appending an opinion, rendered by a well informed attorney of high standing who has had twenty-five years experience practicing law:

“You desire an opinion on the final decree made by Judge Humphrey, of the United States District Court for the Southern District of Illinois, in the case of American Steel Foundries v. Tri-City Central Trades Council et al., handed down in the June, 1914, term. The right of employees to organize for the purpose of fixing a price on the sale of their services to employers and to seek to obtain better working conditions is no longer questioned in this country. After a careful review of the authorities the Michigan Supreme Court in a well considered case laid down this rule. “Organizing into Unions by workmen for the securing of better and uniform wages, and the use of persuasion to induce other workmen to join the Union and to refuse except for the established wage, the presentation of their cause to the public in newspapers or circulars in a peaceful way and with no intention of coercion are lawful.” Beck v. R. R. Teams’ Protective Union 118, Michigan 497.

“The decree made in the case under consideration in various places uses these terms: “By use of persuasion,” “and from interfrerring by persuasion,” “and from inducing or attempting to compel or induce by persuasion,” “and from preventing any person by persuasion.”

“Surely as daring an invasion of the right of free speech as any ever attempted in an English speaking country. Without the right to agitate, to persuade, the bill of Rights in England, the declaration of Independence in America would be but the symbol of thoughts yet unuttered by the tongue or pen of man, and would be still surging for expression in his breast under the tyranny of the darker ages. To agitate for improved conditions, to agitate for the right for employes to organize, to agitate for any legitimate end is the right of every citizen. The right of persuasion necessarily is co-existent with the right to agitate. The denial of the right to agitate and persuade cannot, and ought not to find expression in judicial utterances and decrees.

“A labor union, the members of which are on a strike cannot be enjoined from attempting to persuade by argument strike breakers to refuse to work for their former employers and to join the union with its attendant advantage of traveling expenses and strike benefits.” Everett Waddy Company v. Richmond Typographical 51 R. A., N. S. 792.

“No citizen should ever be enjoined from the performance of a lawful act. The Constitution of the United States, in the very first amendment made to it provided: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging

the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." This stands as the fundamental law of the land, the rights secured by it cannot be cut short, nor abridged by legislature or courts.

"Without the right to agitate and persuade, liberty and the power to advance industrially, socially, or politically, are abridged. It is to relegate us back to an age when the will of the ruler was supreme and no heed was given to the will of the populace. Today in every civilized country the wishes and will of the populace is sought. To deny an individual or organizations the right to go among the populace and seek to inspire or arouse and convince to what the preacher deems a lofty purpose or ideal, presages the end of not only government by the people, but of concerted, consistent and intelligent advancement on the part of the masses. To say that one may not attempt to persuade his neighbor would be the end of advancement in civil liberties. To say that a laborer may not seek to persuade his fellow men who also labors to refrain from taking employment except at a living wage and under fair conditions is to forever place the laborer in a position from which he dare not, and cannot rise.

"Capital has assumed the right in this country to send envoys throughout the country organizing, persuading others of the same class to join in one great national organization, the better to protect their purposes and interests, and the better to fight the ever encroaching advancement of organized labor. Should we deny to the man who is on strike, not alone seeking his own betterment and advancement, but likewise of his fellow, the right to go to the individual laborer who he thinks is not sufficiently enlightened and seek to persuade by argument and cogent reasoning this man that he is destroying the only available opening and avenue through which he and his children who follow him can attain that liberty and independence, which is his dues and will some day surround those engaged as employees. If language counts for anything, Judge Otis Homphrey has sought in the decree mentioned above to take every last vestige of this from men who dare go upon strike.

"The right of an employer to free labor is subject to the right of the laborer to hamper him by many expedients short of fraud or intimidation amounting to injury to the person or property of those who desire to enter his employ, or threats of such injury. For instance, persuasion not amounting to such intimidation is lawful, and perhaps the same may be said of social pressure even when carried to the extent of social ostracism, not including, however, any threat in a business point of view." *Cooke Combination Monopoly and Labor Unions* Page 746. *L. D. Willcut & Sons Company v. Driscoll*, 200 Mass., 120, 85 N. E. 902.

"The law seems to be settled that to induce another to quit an employer or refrain from employment where it does not involve an inducement to violate the terms of a contract cannot be made the subject of a restraining order.

"You ask what remedy is there? I should say in this case an appeal to have the injunction so modified as to take from it the vicious element which

in my opinion greatly invaded the Constitutional rights of citizens. A right which in time of strike practically prohibits every active and useful member of the labor movement from upholding the solidarity of the men on strike and of spreading the gospel of organization. But after all the appealing from decisions of courts and judges, while they set a precedent in a particular case, do not reach the spot. Judges are interpreters of the law. They should not legislate. The fact that they have done so makes what I have to say more important and forceful, and, that is that the only remedy worth while remaining to the labor movement in America, to secure absolute, uncontrovertible and unmistakable legislation defining their rights under the Constitution and absolutely pointing out to them the law in detail, so that no individual Judge may come along and by a system of missfit judicial legislation create, and add to, an already over-burdened judge-made legal code.

"I may close this with the many-times suggested and repeated admonition that no effort should be spared to give to the people another important right which I believe the framers of the Constitution intended, that is, that before there should be imprisonment, a jury of the fellow citizens of the accused shall declare him to be guilty. Surely the time have advanced too far for it longer to be a question that at the instance of a private suitor, the individual who happens to occupy the office of judge may issue a restraining order, and, without personal service of that order, and, in the great majority of cases with the language of the order so obscure and obtuse that even lawyers of training and experience cannot correctly advise their clients, of permitting that same judge to deprive claimed offenders of their liberty as that same judge sees and interprets his orders.

"In this country the use of the injunction in strikes has too frequently been used in conjunction with a misdirected militia force and gun men.

Every member and friend of organized labor should insist that the man who speaks for him and acts and votes for him in legislative halls shall do away with the pernicious system and give to every citizen what the founders and framers of our government intended. That before a man shall be deprived of his liberty he shall have a right to go before a jury of his fellows, and demand of those who would incarcerate him that they establish their right so to do by competent and satisfactory evidence.

"In no country in the world, and the law books prove it, have the people, and the laboring people especially, permitted those who handle our legislation, and the judges who interpret it, to build up such a terrific instrument against them as has the laboring people of America in the injunction. No wonder the man on strike becomes discouraged and loses hope, when, with this instrument against them, thousands may be thrown into jail within a few days, when in their minds they feel and know they have done nothing wrong. It leads strikers to give up the fight, they feel that all the powers of government are turned against them, that there remains no refuge in the law and in the much talked of constitutional rights of citizens."

With further regard to this matter, I desire to say that I believe and hope that the newly enacted Clayton Bill will forever prevent the issuance of such unfair, despotic, and tyrannical structures on the people's right by

venal judges in the Federal Courts in the future.

But it is necessary, in order to fully protect ourselves, that we secure the enactment of a law, by our State Legislature, to prohibit State Courts from having the power to do these things in State cases, and with that end in view, the last convention of the A. F. of L., held in Seattle, Washington, instructed the Executive Council to prepare a model bill to be presented to the different State Legislative bodies for enactment, which would safeguard the workers' rights in these respects.

On my application to Secretary Morrison for the results of their labors in this matter, he sent me the following bill which, if in your judgment meets the requirements, I recommend that this convention endorse and instruct the incoming officials to have introduced into the next session of the Illinois Legislature, and that they do all in their power to secure its enactment:

"An Act to make lawful certain agreements between Employees and Laborers, and to limit the issuing of Injunctions in certain cases.

"Be it enacted, etc., as follows:

Section 1. It shall not be unlawful for persons employed or seeking employment to enter into any arrangements, agreements or combinations with the view of lessening the hours of labor or of increasing their wages or bettering their condition; and no restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of the commonwealth or by any judge thereof in any case between an employer and employees, or between employers and employees, or between persons employed and persons seeking employment, or involving or growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, or any act or acts done in pursuance thereof, unless such order or injunction be necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property or to a property right of the party making the application; for which there is no adequate remedy at law; and such property or property right shall be particularly described in the application, which shall be sworn to by the applicant or by his agent or attorney.

"Section 2. In construing this act, the right to enter into the relation of employer and employee, to change that relation, and to assume and create a new relation for employer and employee, and to perform and carry on business in such relation with any person in any place, or to do work and labor as an employee, shall be held and construed to be a personal and not a property right. In all cases involving the violation of the contract of employment either by the employee or employer where no irreparable damage is about to be committed upon the property or property right of either, no injunction shall be granted but the parties shall be left to their remedy at law.

"Section 3. No persons who are employed or seeking employment or other labor shall be indicted, prosecuting or tried in any court of the commonwealth for entering into any arrangement, agreement, or combination between themselves as such employees or laborers, made with a view of lessening the number of hours of labor or increasing their wages

or bettering their condition, or for any act done in pursuance thereof, unless such act is in itself unlawful.

Vocational or Industrial Education.

In accordance with the action of the Decatur convention, I appointed a special committee of fifteen to investigate, consider, and make a report to this convention, on the subject of Vocational Training, or Industrial Education. The committee have given a great deal of time to the question, and have worked faithfully to cover the matter thoroughly, and in such a manner as would reflect credit on our organization.

And, while I do not want to detract from the impression it will make on being reported to you by anticipating what it contains, still I can not help saying that it is a very valuable contribution to the literature on this very important, problem and I hope that each delegate here will not only read it over carefully, him or herself, but that you will see to it that the organizations you represent are given enough copies and that they are read and discussed sufficient to enable all of our membership and the friends of our movement generally, to understand the need for and value of this phase of the equipment for the coming generations, with which to meet life's battles as well as to enable us to avoid the danger of the misuse or abuse of the educational machinery by the enemies of the common people of our country.

Union Label.

The importance of this influence being used by them for their advantage on the part of the Trades Unionists in our State, is becoming recognized more and more than ever before in all our history. All are becoming conscious of the fact, that every time they buy a union-made article, they are giving some other union man or woman work; they are making it possible for them to stay in their organization; they are encouraging them to stay in it; they are developing a grateful feeling on the part of the Trades Unionists for each other, that in times of peace enables them to mingle with each other as brothers and sisters, with a feeling of confidence in each other, and respect for one another; it is developing the tie that binds us to each other, a bond of love, stronger than bands of steel, and in times of stress or struggle, causes us to stick to and help each other, and to go farther for one another than anything else in this world would.

They are realizing, too, that every article bought without its being union made, where a union made article could have been gotten, means that they are hiring a non-unionist or scab to do their work; they are encouraging a non-unionist or scab to stay out of the union; they are making it possible for them to stay out of the union.

The Trades Unionists of Illinois are becoming fully conscious of the fact that every time they buy a union label or union made article, they are helping another union, and that in the same proportion that they build up any other organization, either materially or in favorable sentiment, they are strengthened their own union, and that every time a Trades Unionist hires a scab or non-unionist to do their work, that they are strik-

ing a blow from behind, at the entire labor movement, which is weakening all the rest, and even their own organization.

I would recommend that a State Label Department including in its membership all the women's organizations (as they are the real purchasers), be formed by this convention, for the purpose of even more systematically and thoroughly doing the work of education and label propaganda, and that every effort possible be made to the end, that no non-union or scab made goods be bought in the State of Illinois, by any members of organizer labor, and, if possible, that the farmers' organizations may be reached with the truth on this matter, and that they, too, be induced to refrain from assisting the labor-crushing corporations that are crushing their brothers of the Railways, Mines, Mills, Factories, etc., and that above all things they do not use their purchasing power towards endorsing child labor sweat shop industry, unsanitary conditions, long hours of labor and low wages, and as a scab-producing influence.

In connection with our work of pushing the label, I am incorporating the following letter which explains itself:

"Mr. John Walker,

President, Illinois Federation of Labor,
Springfield, Illinois.

"Dear Sir:

"Our new general catalog is due to come from the presses this week and I take pleasure in giving you an idea of what we have accomplished and arranged to do towards recognizing and in dealing with organized labor.

In the first place, you are aware that the Universal Trading & Supply Company is friendly to organized labor, not because the Illinois organization of the United Mine Workers of America have selected our company as their mail-order trading place, but because the principles of organized labor represent in the wage earning field what **our co-operative organization's principles represent among the farmers in the productive fields.**

"Although we have handled Union-Made goods in the past yet have not specialized on them because our trade being mostly with farmers there was practically no demand for the label. We are now specializing on Union-Made goods wherever possible and recognizing organized labor. The following will indicate how far we have gone in this regard.

"Every employee is a Union man, so far as our knowledge of what divisions of labor are organized. We operate a woman's suit and cloak factory which is strictly organized. Mr. Samuel Glassman, Vice President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union inspected our place several weeks ago and was satisfied. Thus our women's garments will bear the Union Label (and in so doing, I believe, we are the only general mail-order firm that has taken this action) and we intend featuring it on every occasion for the purpose of educating the farmers to demand Union made goods.

"We handle or have made the necessary trade arrangements to furnish the following Union made goods: Men's Clothing, Belts, Hats, Suspenders, Garters, Gloves, Mittens, Overalls, Mining Tools, Cigars, Tobacco, Ladies' Shoes, Cloaks, Skirts, Suits and brooms. Our letter head and envelopes

bear the label. Our last two special grocery catalogs bear the label. The request cards for our general catalog bore the label. The type for our new general catalog was set by Union men, and electrotyped by a Union shop. The new cut for illustrations were made by members of the Photo-Engravers and Wood Cutters Union. The book is being bound by a Union bindery. The color work was done by a Union shop. The cover of the new book is what is termed in the printing trade as an "off-set" which division we were told is not organized. The wrappers in which to mail the catalogs bear the label and the cartage about town of the material used in printing the book was hauled by Union men.

"Negotiations are now pending for the following, Men's Neck Wear, Ladies' Belts, Boys' Hats, Dress Gloves, Men's, Women's and Children's Hosiery, Dress and Work Shirts, Men's Linen Collars and Cuffs, Underwear, Leather Grips, Bags and Suit Cases.

"As you know, the European war has unsettled trade conditons generally and we have been hampered more or less on that account. Then, too, there are firms who refuse to do business with any co-operative store in general and a mail-order house in particular. Business houses, as a rule, are not any too favorably inclined toward the principles represented by co-operation and as we catalog practically everything a person eats, wears and uses from the cradle to the grave, you can appreciate what we have to contend with in making the necessary changes in our various lines.

"Our prospects though, for handling more Union made goods are good. Some of the people we wrote to replied they would have their representatives call with his samples the next time he made Chicago on his trips. Others ignored our letters but this was not a new experience in the co-operative mail-order field. Whenever we had reason to believe people did not want to sell us on account of their not wanting to risk jeopardizing their trade relations, with local stores, we promptly got in touch with other manufacturers to supply us.

"You are aware of the fact that thousands of Union men patronize Sears, Roebuck & Co. and Montgomery Ward Co. Neither house, to my knowledge, specialize on Union made goods and you are fully conversant with their attitude towards organized labor. The workers cannot afford to deal with any firm that is not friendly to organized labor because their trade only furnishes the unfriendly concerns with that much more ammunition to oppose any efforts made to equalize the present living conditions. The Universal Trading & Supply Company is friendly to organized labor and offers it a remedy for the high cost of living by permitting your members to join our co-operative organization and not only buy first class merchandise at reasonable prices, but also to become a part owner in the business and share in the profits. While our company is a farmers' co-operative organization and others joining right along. In addition, we have a large outside trade from those who prefer to deal with a co-operative company rather than with one owned by private interests. From a 10x12 rented office on Lake Street, we now have our own building which contains five stories built entirely of brick and we own enough vacant ground adjoining to put up several more of equal foundation and several times as high.

"We are organized to deal collectively in our buying and supply our

customers with goods direct from the factory or manufacturer, thus cutting out the numerous middlemen and their expenses. The trade of the farmers and wage earners made Sears, Roebuck and Montgomery Ward what they are today. We firmly believe that the consumers can do at least as well if **not better** for themselves.

“At the last State convention of the Illinois Mine Workers an official committee headed by Duncan McDonald was appointed to investigate our company, its principles, its methods of doing business and our facilities for supplying the mail-order trade of the miners. After a very thorough investigation, they reported back to their members and had a copy of it printed in the Mine Worker's Journal. In order to bring about a closer relation between the farmers, or producers, and the miners, or wage earners, Mr. McDonald was elected to and has accepted a position as a member of our board of directors, every one of whom serve without pay. Thus he is in a position to render valuable assistance in linking the farmers and wage earners together and to develop more of a demand for Union Made goods.

“Our attitude with reference to handling additional Union lines is that we shall do so as quickly as possible. The farmers have made our company what it is today and many have made personal sacrifices to develop the business. Common loyalty naturally demands that we handle such goods and at such prices as the farmers are accustomed to pay and could get for at other mail order houses. We shall push Union goods, however, and we feel that the most effective way of educating the farmers to ask for the label is by bringing them in contact with the labor organizations through our company.

“All great and important undertakings move slowly and in consideration of the great Co-operative movement which is now under way, we trust that your organization will bear with us and give us your patient consideration. We possibly shall make some mistakes but if we do they will be of the mind and not of the heart so we ask that you call our attention at any time to anything which in your opinion might be objectionable from a Trades Union standpoint. In this way, we can no doubt straighten out matters satisfactorily to all concerned.

“I shall be pleased to have you acknowledge receipt of this letter and will appreciate it if you will favor us with an expression of your opinion as to whether you are satisfied with what has been accomplished so far, etc.

With best wishes, I am

Yours for Co-operation,

The Universal Trading & Supply Co.,

E. L. Dare, President.

This is the first large established mail-order house in the state that I am aware of, that is going as far as this, in recognition of organized labor, and I recommend that the incoming officers be instructed to do what they can to extend their recognition of Union labor as far as possible by whatever honorable, legitimate means they can, that may encourage or enable this, or any other similar concern to do so.

Conclusion.

Before concluding, I want to express my sincere appreciation of the many courtesies and kindnesses extended to me by my associates and colleagues in official position in our organization, the officers and representatives of the American Federation of Labor, the Chicago Federation of Labor, and of the different International organizations who were in our State during the past year, as well as the active members and officers of the different State organizations, Central Bodies and Local Unions throughout the State.

The many helpful acts performed by them has contributed substantially to the success of the work of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, during my term as its President, as well as made it a pleasure to do that work.

Expressing the hope that our labors in this convention will result in the greatest measure of progress possible for us to make for the toilers and their families in Illinois, and the general labor movement, and that I may have the support of every delegate here, in maintaining order during our deliberations, so that we may perform our work amid the best kind of surrounding and at the least cost to our constituency, I am,

Yours Fraternally,

J. H. WALKER.

President Illinois State Federation of Labor.

FIRST DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Tuesday, October 20th, President Walker in the chair.

Secretary Morris: My report is an itemized report of the finances of the organization, and not only an itemized report, but a verbatim report of all the finances of the organization for the past year. In making my thirteenth annual report to the Illinois State Federation of Labor I wish to do as I have done in the other twelve, read a recapitulation.

Secretary Morris read a recapitulation of the work done in his office for the past year.

Recapitulation.

Balance in Treasury October 1, 1913	\$ 3,325.66
Tax and initiation fees for year ending Sept. 30, 1914	15,293.75

Total receipts from all sources for year ending Sept. 30, 1914	\$18,619.41
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Total disbursements for year ending Sept. 30, 1914.....	15,293.04
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Leaving a balance in treasury October 1, 1914.....	\$ 3,326.37
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Respectfully submitted,

J. F. Morris,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Printed copies of the report of Secretary Morris containing detailed account of receipts and disbursements were distributed to the delegates. The report of the Secretary was referred to the Committee on Officers' Reports.

President Walker: We have with us this afternoon President McAndrew, of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, who is here representing the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. If there are no objections I will invite Brother McAndrew to deliver his message at this time.

President McAndrew: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Brother

Delegates—About three years ago I had the pleasure of speaking before the Illinois State Federation of Labor in the city of Springfield. It gives me a great deal of pleasure to be here three years later to address such a large number of delegates. I wish to congratulate organized labor throughout the state for the number of their achievements in the past three years.

Now I hope that what I am about to say will start something. Last evening two Irishmen were standing down by the Fey Hotel, and one said, "Pat, I believe Corbett is a better man than Sharkey." "So do I, Mike, so do I." The first one said, "Pat, I believe Sharkey is a better man than Corbet." "So do I, Mike, so do I." Mike said, "What do you want me to do? Do you want me to punch you in the jaw to start something?" I hope the talk I will give you this afternoon on the union label will induce you to start something after you return home.

In behalf of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the Tobacco Workers' International Union, I wish to extend fraternal greetings for a harmonious and successful convention. I hope it will be beneficial, not only to the State Federation, but to the organized labor movement generally. Some years ago the American Federation of Labor was of small caliber, but it grew until it was necessary, in order to expedite the workings of the convention, to form departments. The first department was that of the Building Trades. Men working at that craft would exchange views and come before the convention and ask for what they wanted. Then the Metal Trades Department was formed, the Railway Employees' Department, the Mining Department, and last, but not least, the Union Label Trades Department. This Department is an educational department, formed for the purpose of educating the wives and daughters of the organized men as well as the men themselves to the necessity of purchasing union label goods. The efficacy of the Department is shown by the increased demand for the union label. We are appealing to you who repre-

sent central bodies to form label leagues in the different central bodies and become affiliated with the Union Label Department of the American Federation of Labor. We realize that our employers do not use the union label on any of their products because of their undying love for organized labor; it is for the commercial value of the label alone that it is used. Through that label the workers in the label trades are able to demand higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions.

We realize that every man and woman is an employer of labor; no matter what you buy, whether it is a penny paper, a five-cent loaf of bread or any other of the necessities of life, you are giving employment to labor. Time after time an organization will go out on strike in some trade because there is one man not a member of the organization, but those same men will go out and buy nonunion goods, thereby employing nonunion labor. We are bound by our obligation to buy union label products.

The state federations throughout the United States have done a great deal for the toilers through compensation laws, child labor laws, the shorter work day for women, and other things, but there is one thing that should not be forgotten, and that is the union label. By calling for the label you are helping the unions organize the unorganized throughout country. Now help those already organized by purchasing union label products. Help them better their conditions. I have seen children working in the canneries of Maine from 18 to 20 hours out of the 24 for the meagre wage of \$1.00 and \$2.00. I have seen women working in the sweat shops of the United States making shirts for 12 cents a dozen, working from early morning until late at night and burning the midnight oil. In the textile mills of the South I have seen whole families of four or five working and earning only \$5.40 a week. Those conditions are not any more deplorable than the conditions of those who are employed by the American Tobacco Company, that gigantic trust, now separated into four companies. Children are com-

pelled to work with sponges over their mouths and nostrils to keep from inhaling the dust. They work for twelve hours a day for \$1.20. Organized men who will go out and buy tobacco manufactured under those conditions help create dividends for the trust.

Years ago before the Barbers were organized and the shop card displayed they were compelled to work from five in the morning until the last customer left the store. These things have changed, the barbers have higher wages, a shorter work day and better sanitary conditions. The same is true of the baker. Formerly when a baker came to this country he worked in unsanitary shops and received eight and ten dollars a week. These conditions have changed. We who work in the label trades appeal to you when you are spending your hard-earned dollars to see that you buy something that bears the union label and thus give employment to union men and women.

Knowing the conditions we have been obliged to work under in the past, and knowing the conditions we have now where the label is used, I can agree with what a minister in Baltimore said in a sermon: "What is more entitled to the reverence of men and women than the union label, which signifies that human life has been more highly valued in the production of commodities than the mere profits sought for by greed? The union label, the shop card, the button is an emblem of justice, right and humanity. It is a symbol. As the cross is a symbol of the church and christianity, so the label is a symbol of organized labor. One teaches the Fatherhood of God and the other teaches the brotherhood of man."

When you go to buy an article and find a label attached to it you will know that no childish fingers have been compelled to sew on buttons or paste labels in the hours of the night that should be devoted to childish sleep. I have been asked what the union label stands for. It stands for the noblest sentiments and the loftiest aspirations of the human race. By it the working people are delivered from industrial thralldom and its beneficent influences extend to the home and the

fireside. It is the emblem by which the working people through their purchasing power can conquer humanity's high-handed oppressors. It is the only guarantee of industrial peace. A child that demands a union label wields more influence for human betterment than men and women with cards in their pockets who go out and buy non-union goods, thereby giving employment to nonunion men and women in that industry.

I know what chattel slavery means. Even at the present time the people working in the tobacco and other industries are worse off than the black slaves were before 1865. Some of you, or at least your ancestors, shouldered guns, went out and endangered their lives, their families suffered, they even gave up their lives in order to free the black man. It is not necessary for you to endanger your lives to free the white slave. All you need to do to gain a bloodless victory is to put your hands in your pockets and spend your money for union label goods. We don't ask you to chew tobacco or smoke tobacco or cigars, but we know you are going to buy necessary articles, such as shoes and clothing. There is a little company in Rochester, New York, that employs about 25 girls. They make men's collars. They are idle two days a week. And there are 2,000,000 organized men who buy and wear collars! In spite of that those girls are idle two days in the week. Patronize the label. Not only your organization, but my organization will benefit, you and I, the whole world will breathe all the better and purer for it.

I wish to thank you for your kind consideration, to say God speed and success be with you.

President Walker: We have with us a representative of the official organ of the National Women's Trade Union League. Their official organ is "Life and Labor." This representative of "Life and Labor" wants to tell you the purposes for which it is being used at the present time. If there are no objections she will be extended an invitation to deliver her message to the convention. Hearing no objections I take great pleasure in introducing to you Mrs. Dinah P.

Wolf, representing "Life and Labor," I believe the best paper of its kind published in the world.

Mrs. Wolf: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Workers—Your President took me by surprise. I intended to get my word in tomorrow morning instead of this afternoon, but the sooner the better. I suppose some of you are acquainted with the work of the National Women's Trade Union League but since I allow myself the benefit of the doubt I am going to tell those who may not know about it what it is. We are an organization of women, organized for the purpose of organizing women and girls so they can demand better conditions and shorter hours. Of course you as trades unionists realize that the only possible way to get those conditions is through organization. Some years ago I worked at millinery. There was an eight-hour petition circulated. Those who signed it signified their desire to work more than eight hours a day; those who did not sign it did not want to work more than eight hours a day. I knew very well I did not desire to work more than eight hours a day, consequently I did not sign the petition. Three days after the petition was circulated I found myself out of a job. I wondered why it was, because the foreman and proprietors taught us to always tell the truth, that when I told the truth I was fired.

Shortly after that I began to work at men's neckwear. It was through the organization in that industry I got acquainted with the League. The Women's Trade Union League brought us our charter, and as we did not have much money we paid them for it on the installment plan. It took us a good many years. We are educating the girls through "Life and Labor" to the necessity of organization. But our official journal does another important work. You heard from Mr. McAndrew the necessity of demanding the union label. Some of the barbers in their convention at Indianapolis last week told me that the women spend nine-tenths of the men's wages. Now if that money is spent for union-made goods instead of for scab goods you know what would happen—a thorough organization of

all workers, especially women workers, who need organization badly.

There is a strike of the broom-makers on in Chicago. These are the only girl broom makers in the United States. A few years ago that employer did not employ women at all, he used to get his brooms made in prisons; but when a law was passed forbidding him to do that, naturally he employed women as the next cheapest labor. Those girls employed at broom making earned the wonderful amount of \$3.50 to \$3.61 a week. If the women in the homes who do most of the buying would demand the union label on all their brooms there would be no need for those girls to work for such a miserable pittance.

Now we ask you as trades unionists to help us do our work, that of educating girls to the necessity of organization and educating the women in the homes to the necessity of purchasing the union label goods. I don't think there is any woman who read the article in the October number of "Life and Labor" about those girl broom makers who will buy a broom without the label. "Life and Labor" is published by labor for labor; it tells the girls to work co-operatively, not only for themselves but for the benefit of the entire movement.

I will be here until the end of the convention. I hope you will subscribe for "Life and Labor" while you are here. I will not take up any more of your time except to say that I hope you will accomplish all the work you intend to accomplish for the Illinois workers and for all the workers in general.

President Walker: While we are waiting for the Credentials Committee to complete its report we will hear another report from the Women's Trade Union League. If there are no objections, I will introduce a representative of the League to make a brief report on a matter affecting their organization in connection with the State Federation of Labor. I take great pleasure in introducing to you Miss Agnes Nestor, of Chicago.

Miss Agnes Nestor, President Chicago Women's Trade Union League: Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the

Convention—All of you who were delegates to the last convention of the State Federation of Labor in Decatur will remember a resolution that was introduced by the Women's Trade Union League, asking that the State Federation of Labor assist us financially to arrange meetings in different parts of the state. The result was a recommendation that a donation of \$200 be made to the Women's Trade Union League to be spent for organization work. The report I am going to make, which is very brief, is of the work which we have been able to do with that fund.

Early last year some representatives from Dunning came to our office complaining about the low wages and long hours. The particular complaint—there is always some particular grievance that drives people to want to organize—was the loss of one day in each week. We advised them to organize. That was the beginning of organizing the nurses and attendants in the various state institutions. It was so successful we carried it to the other institutions, and this is a report of it:

Report of the Illinois State Committee of the National Women's Trade Union League to the Illinois State Federation of Labor, on Organization Work Done During the Year 1914.

To the Officers and Delegates of the State Federation of Labor:

In conformance with the recommendation of the Finance Committee on the resolution introduced by the delegates from the Women's Trade Union League at the last convention of the State Federation of Labor, held in Decatur last October, we made application to your secretary for the appropriation of \$200 which you had voted to be used towards our work. We beg leave to report on the work that we have been able to accomplish through the use of this fund.

Representatives came to us from the Dunning State Hospital last March, complaining of long hours, and particularly the loss of one day off each week that they formerly had en-

joyed. We held a meeting with the employees, which resulted in organization, and a charter from the American Federation of Labor was applied for and granted. This was followed by similar organization work being done in Elgin, Kankakee, Jacksonville, and in the county institution at Oak Forest. In each of these places we have been successful in establishing most promising organizations.

Each organization is chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and two are now affiliated with the State Federation, one more applying for affiliation, and the other two are so recently organized that they have not had time as yet to affiliate. These organizations represent a membership of approximately 600 members, and two are represented in this convention.

Complaints.

The complaints of these workers are very largely the complaints of all other unorganized workers.

Long Hours: It is not unusual for them to be on duty twelve and fourteen hours a day, and in most of the institutions off from duty only two days a month, and some not any time at all, and for these long hours of work the wage is correspondingly low. These workers begin at \$20 per month with maintenance, and we find some of them still working for \$20 per month although having been in service two, three, and even as long as five years. A very few are advanced over \$30 per month no matter how long they have been in service.

It is shocking to think that this deplorable condition exists among the State Institutions, which are supported by almost one-half of the taxes paid into the public funds—and we look to our State to be a model employer.

In the Cook County service the minimum wage paid is \$40 per month with maintenance, eight hours a day, with one day off each week. Since the organization of the State employees the eight hour day has been instituted in Dunning, with the prom-

ise of an eight hour day in Kankakee.

Valuable assistance can be given these organizations during the coming session of the Legislature by the Legislative Committee of the State Federation of Labor. In order to make an effective organization, every institution in the State will have to be organized, and to continue this work will mean additional funds, which we trust the State Federation of Labor in this convention assembled will vote to appropriate to our State Committee. This work has been done with the active co-operation of Mr. Emmet Flood, organizer of the American Federation of Labor; Mr. John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and Mr. John H. Walker, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

An itemized statement of the expenses of our committee is as follows:

Financial statement of the expenses for organizing the Nurses and Attendants in the State and County institutions by the Illinois State Committee of the National Women's Trade Union League with \$200.00 appropriated by the State Federation of Labor at the last convention held in Decatur, October, 1913:

In all these expenses there is included only one week's salary in connection with the work as most of it having been done in near by places, and the work done from Chicago:

Dunning, Chicago State Hospital—Beginning in March and up to the time of this report about seventeen meetings were attended by Mary Anderson.

Postage for sending out notices for meeting... \$ 6.00
Hall rent for meetings.. 14.00

JULY \$20.00

Elgin—

July 11, Expenses of Mary Anderson \$ 1.49
July 28, Postage for notices 2.60
July 31, Expenses of Mary Anderson 1.65
July 31, Hall rent..... 4.00 9.74

Kankakee—

July 9, Expenses of Mary

Anderson 2.38
July 21, Expenses of Mary Anderson and Agnes Nestor 4.52
July 23, Expenses of Mary Anderson and Agnes Nestor 8.97
July 30, Expenses of Mary Anderson and Agnes Nestor 8.42

24.29

Total expenses July.... 54.03

AUGUST

Kankakee—

Aug. 6, Expenses of Emma Steghagen and Agnes Nestor \$ 9.57
Aug. 13, Expenses of Agnes Nestor 4.56
Aug. 26, Expenses of Mary Anderson 4.58

18.71

Total expenses brought forward (March to July) \$54.03

Total expenses brought forward for August... \$18.71

Elgin—

Aug. 7, Expenses of Anna Timius \$ 3.00
Aug. 13, Expenses of Emma Steghagen 1.30
Aug. 29, Expenses of Agnes Nestor 2.06

6.36

Oak Forest (County)—

Aug. 31, Typewriting notices for meeting..... 1.50
Aug. 31, Postage for meeting, notices 2.00

3.50

Total expenses during August 28.57

SEPTEMBER

Elgin—

Sept. 4, Expenses of Emma Steghagen 1.69
Sept. 18, Expenses of Mary Anderson 2.16

3.85

Jacksonville—

Sept. 15, Expenses of Mary Anderson	17.99
Sept. 21, Expenses of Mary Anderson	18.39
Sept. 28, Expenses of Mary Anderson	16.44
	<hr/>

52.82

Oak Forest—

Sept. 18, Postage for meeting	2.00
Sept. 18, Postage for notices	2.00
Sept. 4, Expenses for Mary Anderson and Agnes Nestor	1.00
Sept. 25, Expenses for Mary Anderson and Agnes Nestor	1.00
Sept. 30, Expenses for Agnes Nestor50
	<hr/>

6.50

Total expenses during September	63.17
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OCTOBER**Kankakee—**

Sept. 31, Expenses of Mary Anderson	5.16
Oct. 1, Expenses of Mary Anderson	4.08
Oct. 7, Expenses of Mary Anderson	5.25
	<hr/>

14.49

Oak Forest—

Oct. 7, Expenses for Agnes Nestor .....	.50
Oct. 14, Expenses for Agnes Nestor .....	.50
	<hr/>

1.00

Oct., Printing meeting notices for 9-21-14, Glennon & Kern	3.50
Oct., Printing notices for Kankakee meeting, William H. Pool	5.00
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8.50

Total expenses for work up to Oct. 14..	23.99
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Grand total expenses for entire time	\$169.76
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Total receipts, appropriation from the Illinois State Federation of Labor	\$200.00
Total expenses from March to Oct. 14, 1914	169.76
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Balance on hand	\$ 30.24
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Note.—While there is a balance on hand at the time of writing this report expenses will be incurred for the meeting to be arranged in Peoria to organize the Nurses and Attendants in the Peoria State Hospital. We left this city so that we might do the work while in Peoria attending the State Federation of Labor Convention and save some of the extra expenses of railroad fare, etc.

Respectfully submitted,
AGNES NESTOR, Chairman,
MARY ANDERSON, Organizer.

To the Board of Administration, State of Illinois:

Suggested Schedule of Wages for Employees in the State Institutions of Illinois.

Attendants, Nurses, Laborers, Domestic and Laundry Help:	
1st year, 1st 6 months	\$40.00 per mo.
1st year, 2nd 6 months	42.00 " "
2nd year	45.00 " "
3rd year	50.00 " "

Further advance in wages to be determined by the skill and ability of the employes in excess of the general average ability.

Attendants, nurses, etc., who have been in service for a period of two years or over, shall immediately receive not less than the minimum scale of wage fixed in the above schedule providing for two years' service. Those employes who are receiving a salary above the schedule, shall not be cut, but shall continue to receive the same regardless of the length of time of service.

In case employes have room and board outside the grounds of the institution, an additional amount of \$20.00 per month shall be paid.

Shop Foremen:

First year	\$50.00 per month
Second year	55.00 " "

Cooks:

Head Cook	\$70 to \$80 per month
Third Cook	60 to 55 " "

Second Cook .. 60 to 65 " "

Graduate Nurses:

(Who have received training in the State Hospital and other recognized Hospitals)

First year\$50.00 per month

Second year 55.00 " "

Supervising Nurses:

(Male)

First year\$60.00 per month

Second year 65.00 " "

(Female)

First year\$60.00 per month

Second year 65.00 " "

In case Graduate or Supervising Nurses have room and board outside the grounds of the institution, an additional amount of \$20.00 per month shall be paid in salary.

Hours of Labor:

Eight hours straight duty, with one whole day off in seven. They shall not be docked in wages or time in case of sickness.

Vacation:

Two weeks vacation annually, with pay.

Grievance Committee:

In order to bring about a feeling of absolute security in employment, and an adequate means of correcting abuses and redressing grievances, it is necessary to give employes an assurance that wrongs will be righted and the possibility of injustice removed. Such a feeling of security and justice is bound to enhance the employes' efficiency, and, by removing the fear and suspense which now surrounds them, enable them to render more valuable service to the State, to the patients and to the institution.

Therefore, we suggest that the Superintendent of the Institution designate a committee to comprise at least two members of his official staff (himself included, if necessary) who shall at stated and agreed periods meet with a similar committee of three members representing the Nurses' and Attendants' Union; which Joint Committee shall take up all matters of complaint or grievance. In case of failure on the part of the Joint Committee to satisfactorily adjust these matters, the Union

may appeal to the State Board.

Respectfully submitted,

HOSPITAL NURSES AND ATTENDANTS,

LOCAL 14655,

LOCAL 14714,

LOCAL 14715 of the

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Miss Nestor: I would like to say in connection with this work that nearly fifty meetings have been held, seventeen of them in Dunning. All the others have been in the other places named, Elgin, Kankakee, Jacksonville and Oak Forest. The reason we have been able to do so much work with such a small amount of money is that we have done things over night. We would leave the city at four or five o'clock, hold a meeting and come back the same evening. In all this time only one week's salary was paid. That was when Mary Anderson went to Jacksonville. We really stretched the money as far as we could and accomplished considerable work.

We cannot impress upon you too strongly the importance of following up this work and extending it to the other institutions. There is another institution in the southern part of the state at Chester. Another in Watertown and perhaps a few more we must organize. It is important to have the employes in every institution organized before next January, because what we want to get for them must be granted by the state, and as the appropriation is made at the time of the General Assembly meeting that is the time when the organizations will really have to make their fight. We have arranged a meeting at Bartonville for Wednesday night, for the Peoria state employes. The response has been fine in every one of these cities. It has only been a question of getting there and holding the meetings. The employes all realize they are overworked and underpaid, and that is the group of people that is ready to respond to organization. Of course they do not have the fear of dismissal so many employes do because they are under civil service. They cannot be discharged & at

tending meetings and daring to organize.

These attendants and nurses have a great vision of what this organization can do; they are already thinking of what a fine national organization they can have. They feel this work will have to be extended to other states. Of course that work will be done by other state federations or by the American Federation of Labor, but I feel we can build up a splendid organization of these employes all over the country, an organization that will do a great deal, not only in raising the standard of wages and hours, but raising the standard of service. These people do not have merely a selfish idea of what they will gain by it, but they realize it will better their service. Overworked attendants cannot give the best service. When you think of the kind of work these nurses and attendants do, caring for and associating with these afflicted people for nine, ten, eleven and as many as fourteen hours a day, seven days a week—well, it is beyond thinking about, to think that the public as an employer, supported by the taxes of the people should have such conditions prevailing! They employ their own people and have not given any thought to decent wages or shorter hours. Everything else has been given consideration except the people that are in there giving their time and the best that is in them to the service.

I hope sufficient funds will be appropriated to allow us to extend this work to other institutions and build up the organizations we have already established. They are all very new and for a time they will need some attention and assistance. I hope the appropriation will be enough to allow this work to be continued. Attached to the report I have read is a list of the demands that have been drawn up by representatives of these organizations. It will go into the records. They held a joint meeting in Chicago about two weeks ago, with representatives from Elgin, Dunning and Kankakee. They intend to ask the next legislature to consider these demands and to make a sufficient ap-

propriation so that they can be put into effect.

President Walker: This report will be submitted to the Committee on Officers' Reports.

The chairman asked if the Committee on Credentials was ready to report. Delegate Kain, for the committee, asked for further time. He stated that in the neighborhood of 600 credentials had been acted upon, and as the committee was checking up the names with the books there would be no report ready until the morning session. He stated there was a protest that would be taken up later when the delegates against whose seating there was no protest had been seated.

Report of Committee on Vocational Education.

Delegate Olander, Chairman of the Committee: For the information of the delegates I would like to read the names of the members of this committee. They are as follows: V. A. Olander, Chairman; Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, Superintendent of Chicago Public Schools; H. H. Stoek, Illinois Miners and Mechanics' Inst., U. I.; Graham Taylor, Chicago Commons; Mrs. Raymond Robins, National Women's Trade Union League; Miss Agnes Nestor, International Glove Workers' Union; C. J. Anderson, Chicago Typographical Union No. 16; Duncan McDonald, United Mine Workers; John Carroll, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Local No. 10; Chas. D. Wheeler, International Sheet Metal Workers, Local No. 73; Clayton Pense, International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union, Local No. 7; William Neer, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local No. 753; Tony Weth, International Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Local No. 2; James McAndrews, Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union of Chicago; Matthew Woll, Secretary, International Photo-Engravers' Union.

Delegate Olander proceeded with the reading of the report, copies of which (see pages — —) were distributed to the delegates.

Chairman Olander: When we were

at work on this I was called upon by some members of the National Child Labor Committee. They are preparing for a nation-wide campaign for better laws. Yesterday I was in receipt of the following letter:

New York City, Oct. 19, 1914.

Mr. V. A. Olander, Chairman,
Committee on Vocational Education,
Illinois State Federation of Labor,
Peoria, Ill.

Dear Mr. Olander:

Supplementing our conference on October 17th in regard to needed changes in the child labor law of Illinois, I am writing to suggest that you present, in connection with your report to the Convention of the Illinois Federation of Labor, the request of the National Child Labor Committee for the co-operation of the State Federation in an effort to raise the standards of the law in Illinois at the next session of the Legislature.

A complete recodification of the old law passed in 1903 will be necessary to bring it up to a standard that meets present conditions. In the preparation of a new law and in supplying information for the educational campaign that will be necessary to secure its passage, the National Committee is ready to assist in any way that it can.

Yours respectfully,
HERSCHEL H. JONES,
Special Agent.

Delegate Turner: In one place you refer to special power, and leave it in the hands of the Board of Education. I think it would be well to investigate the law that governs the Board of Education. I want to give you a little explanation of what the Board of Education sometimes does. The school law gives the Board the right to take janitors and school teachers and put them in as judges on the day of election. They do that, and it seems as though there is no way of beating them in certain parts of Illinois.

At the last school election in Quincy, Adams County, they floated a bond issue of \$95,000 to build a new school. Those bonds are drawing 5 per cent interest, and not a cent to be paid on them for the first seven years. Therefore you are paying \$28,500 of

the taxpayers' money to some gigantic money shark before you will have paid a cent of the principal. The tax payers will have paid \$71,000 interest on that \$95,000 building. I think we should investigate these matters, and, above all things, bring these elections into the regular voting precinct so that we can go out on the regular election day and vote for those fellows the same as we do for others.

President Walker: These matters will all be properly before the convention when the Committee on Officers' Reports makes a report on them. The only question is whether we shall allow this to be referred to that committee. Outside of that, until the Credentials Committee's report has been accepted and the delegates against whom there are no protests have been seated we really have not authority to act officially on any of the important business of the convention.

Delegate Olander: This is a report of the Committee on Vocational Education. Its powers were limited to reporting upon that one particular question. There are a number of the members of that committee who have ideas on the school question in general, but of course we had no right to go into the general subject in this report any more than to touch upon the question under discussion.

The report of the committee and the letter read by Delegate Olander were referred to the Committee on Officers' Reports.

President Walker: There is still a little more than an hour we can utilize before the time for adjournment. There are a number of gentlemen who have been invited by the Board to address the convention briefly. I don't know whether any of them are here or not. I would like to know if Mr. Oscar Nelson is in the convention.

The announcement was made that Mr. Nelson was not in the convention.

Delegate Connors: Inasmuch as the Credentials Committee is not in a position to report and there is no business that can be transacted I make a motion that we adjourn to 9

o'clock tomorrow. (Seconded.)

Delegate Sumner, Chicago: While we are waiting to have the reports distributed I would like to have Brother McAndrew tell us of the diseased people that are working in the tobacco business, particularly on the brands known as "Duke's Mixture" and "Bull Durham" the boys like to smoke so well. It might do them some good.

President Walker: Brother McAndrew says he believes he has given you a sufficient installment on that proposition for today; if you digest it thoroughly you will get all the good there is out of it, and if he were to give you any more it might be an over dose.

Delegate Grampp, Brewery Workers: I would like to know if we are to have the printed reports of each day's proceedings as we have had it heretofore.

President Walker: You will get a verbatim report every day.

Delegate McArthur, Teamsters: The ice handlers have a special meeting for the visiting teamsters in the Trades Assembly Hall this evening.

Delegate Allton: There will be a meeting on co-operation tomorrow evening in the Assembly Room of the city hall. This meeting was arranged by the local co-operative society. I wish to invite all delegates who may be officers or members of any co-operative society in the state to be present. We also want any one else who may be interested to attend. The meeting will be at 7:30.

Delegate Wright: I have been reading the report of the Committee on Vocational Education with a great deal of interest. I believe it is one of the most important subjects, together with the allied subjects that cannot be separated from it, that will come before the convention. And I am going to request the chair to ask the Committee on Officers' Reports to bring this matter before the convention for debate at an early date; and I am going to ask the chair to set an hour, at his discretion, as early in the meeting as he may, so that we

can take this matter up and go into it thoroughly.

President Walker: The committee on Officers' Reports will be the first committee to report, and I suppose as soon as we are organized it will be one of the first things to be handled.

Delegate Wright: I also request that you set an hour, at your discretion, when it will be taken up so that those who are interested can be present.

President Walker: If you will remind me of this when we are organized I will try to have the convention agree to an hour so that everybody will know, and we will consider the report as early as possible. The chair agrees with Brother Wright on this report. I think it is about the best document written on the subject. I think enough copies should be printed at the expense of the convention so that everybody in the state who is interested can have a copy of it.

Delegate Wright: The committee makes about half a dozen separate recommendations. As this report does not come exclusively from members of the trade union movement I desire to know if we may amend this report as the action of this convention.

President Walker: The chair is of the opinion that we can have the report printed as coming from that committee as amended by the convention, so that outside members will not be considered responsible for the amendments.

Delegate Wright: If amendments are made they will be considered the work of the members of organized labor.

Delegate Olander: Only a limited number of copies were printed in order that there would be no general distribution of the report until after the convention had acted upon it and made whatever amendments were desired.

The motion to adjourn was carried, and at 4 o'clock the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9 a. m. Wednesday, October 21st.

**REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
OF THE ILLINOIS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR.**

Peoria, Illinois, October 20th, 1914.

To the Officers and Delegates, Thirty-second Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

Greeting:

Pursuant to the action of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, held at Decatur, Ill., October 14 to 18, 1913, this committee was appointed to formulate and recommend "a feasible plan" of vocational education. The subject being of particular importance to the workers of this state, and of general interest to the people of the entire nation, your committee has therefore given it a most careful study and submits the following report for your attention and consideration:

Vocational education and training marked the advance of civilization upward from the rude barbarian, whose only vocation was that of hunting to obtain food, clothing, and shelter, to the most advanced people of the present day, who practice a great diversity of vocations out of which come, in spite of many evils, much of that which is good and worth while in life.

Purposes of Education.

All schools of social reform are agreed that the importance of education in a true social and economic development cannot be over-estimated. The most enthusiastic individualist, who would not have the State participate in any education whatsoever and the extremest socialist, who would have the State do all, do not differ in the value they put on education itself.

There are, indeed, those who do not believe in a high degree of education for all classes and who hold that, while mobility for all classes should be easy, there must always be a working class to do the routine mechanical drudgery of the world, and that for this class much education would simply unfit them for the work they have to do that a high degree of education gives them aspirations that can only result in unhappiness when they are not realized. Then there is another class who disapprove higher education of women as unfitting them for home life and its duties, who simply, on the principle of division of labor, hold that all classes do not need the highest branches of study.

Discussion as to education, general and vocational, turns not upon its value, but upon the question of what a true education should consist, who should be educated, how far they should be educated, and what persons or institutions should conduct the education.

Education should have for its purpose the development of man's original to the ideal; the development of body and mind, affections and will; that it, it should be physical, mental and moral. Today, owing to the development of science, especially of biology, physiology and sociology, men are seeking the reaction of body upon mind and mind upon body and a better understanding of the fundamental laws and principles underlying all social phenomena. To develop mind and body, will and character is the problem of modern pedagogics. Education, everybody believes in it.

School Life of Children Too Short.

The ideal of the school implies, in the first place, leisure to learn; that is to say, the release of children from all non-educational labor until mind and physique have had a fair start and training, and the abolition of compulsion on the adult to work more than social necessities require.

The child labor problem is intimately associated with the schools. Reliable investigations and authentic reports evidence that only 7 per cent.

of the children who enter the public schools ever pass through them. Not more than one-third of the children who enter the public schools ever finish the elementary grades, and not one-half of them finish the sixth grade. Expressed in other words, one-half of all the children leave school before they have acquired the knowledge with which to read a newspaper intelligently. In Chicago, 43 per cent. of our children never reach the eighth grade and 49 per cent. never complete it. Nearly one-half of the children of Chicago fail to get the minimum education contemplated by our laws.

Opinions differ widely as to the real cause for our children leaving the school at the age of fourteen. There are those who believe that the financial needs of the family are responsible for this condition. Laborious efforts are made by others to refute this charge of economic necessity and who contend that it is the child's own lack of interest in the school, as well as that of the parents who believe too much time is given to merely incidental accompaniments of school and teaching. To say the least, it is unfortunate that many who favor introduction of vocational education in our public schools, predicate their desire and manifest this ambition upon a most unfair criticism of our entire public school system, which they charge with gross inefficiency because our schools are not so fashioned as to meet an alleged fancy of the school children, rather than to impart to them knowledge, the value of which they cannot possibly comprehend until they have reached a more mature age.

It is idle to intimate that children act as free agents and voluntarily leave school when they reach the age of fourteen years because of dissatisfaction with the prevailing curriculum. Economic conditions largely determine the school life of the children. Parents do not take their children from the school, and place them in the workshop because of lack of interest in the school or because they desire to press into economic service the labor of their children, but conditions are such as make it difficult to support them and keep them in the schools. That this conclusion is well founded is evidenced by the fact that wherever the free text book system has been established, the school life of the children has been prolonged.

In November, 1912, twenty state superintendents of states where free text book systems are in vogue were questioned with respect to the effect of free text books in educational efficiency, with the following results: ¹Seventeen of them testified that the free text book system tends to prolong the school life of the child. The other three had no data on which to base answers. One feature of the passage of the Massachusetts law was the immediate increase of 1 per cent. in high school attendance. This seems to prove that economic necessity, rather than lack of appreciation of our present school system, is responsible for many of our children leaving school at the age of fourteen. The advocate of vocational education who predicate their adverse criticism of our public schools on a lack of interest in both child and parent in general education, evidently are not actuated in the purpose of giving the children a broad and general education, but seek rather to substitute industrial training for general education.

Then there are also many who believe that extreme and minute specialization of industrial pursuits has had a marked tendency upon the desire of employers to attract to themselves the employment of child labor because of its economic advantages. It has likewise afforded the children the opportunity of employment in non-skilled industrial pursuits upon the immediate fulfillment of the compulsory school attendance period. That this is true is evidenced by the large number of employers of child labor in their constant efforts to evade our present educational laws.

¹A Comparative Study of Public School Systems in the Forty-eight States, Russell Sage Foundation, 1912.

Compulsory School Age Should be Raised.

Whatever cause may be rightly assigned for the leaving of school by our children immediately upon having passed the compulsory school age (generally fixed at fourteen years), this break from school comes at a most critical period in the life of a child, the time when he most needs control, restraint, guidance and cheer.

We are of the opinion that the most effective way of exercising this control, restraint and guidance over the children, is in the raising of the age of compulsory attendance at schools by law to the age of sixteen years, supplemented by the introduction of vocational education into our public schools between the ages of fourteen and sixteen as outlined and recommended in this report. It is our firm belief that the industrial and commercial life of the children should not begin until they have reached at least the age of sixteen years. We approve the viewpoint expressed in the recent report on vocational training of the committee on vocational education of the City Club of Chicago, wherein it finds no justification for the absence from school of our children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, and we heartily concur in the following expressed conclusions of that committee:

"The children lose morally, mentally and physically by this premature entrance into industry. The industries have no legitimate need for them. They bring in an insignificant return to the parents and they have gained no training for later occupations. We recommend, therefore, that when Chicago has introduced into her school system vocational training appropriate to the fourteen to the sixteen-year period, she should demand compulsory attendance upon school between the ages of seven and sixteen."

The time is opportune to appeal through our public schools to the vocational motives of our children having reached the age of fourteen, an age where the boy and girl are so much interested in the occupations of men and women. However, in so appealing to the vocational motives of the children, there is an element of danger which must not be overlooked. Class distinctions in our public schools must be avoided.

European Methods Not Applicable to Our American Ideals.

We hear much of the European system of vocational education and industrial training, and of its progress and effect upon the industries, particularly of the system in vogue in Germany. There is little room for question that industrial education as carried on through the public schools of Germany has proven a powerful factor in the commercial progress of that nation. However, if the fostering of mechanical skill were to be the only purpose and prime incentive of our public schools, and if we would consent to let birth determine the status of each child throughout its life, then we might well adopt the German system of education, but not otherwise. The system of education in Germany, though highly praised in many quarters, is not applicable to our democratic ideals and to conditions in the United States. The German school system is perhaps best explained in the language of two authorities on the subject, Dr. Georg Kerschensteiner and Dr. Holmes Beckwith.

Dr. Georg Kerschensteiner, 'in criticism of the German system, says:

"The secondary schools in Germany do not connect with the grammar schools, as in America, but with the elementary school. Thus only the first four school years in Germany are common for all children of the population. Our secondary schools follow directly these first four school years (in many north German States they follow the first three years). The secondary schools cover nine years and lead directly to university studies. In the United States, on the contrary, all the students, whether destined for the university or not, pursue without exception the entire elementary and grammar school course."

Dr. Holmes Beckwith² expresses the following view:

"At his tenth year the parents of a boy in the common schools must decide whether he is to continue his schooling beyond the compulsory attendance in the school. If so, he will leave the common schools at once and enter one of a number of types of school which offer themselves."

Thus it appears in practice the German public schools are common to all children only until they reach the age of nine years in some of the northern states of Germany, and the age of ten years in other parts of that country. The children are then separated into two distinct groups or classes, dependent upon the financial conditions of their parents. With the exception of the "Freischule," the cost of the schools of Germany is only partially borne by the state and is supplemented by tuition fees. It is against this economic barrier to a higher education that the German labor movement is protesting so vigorously. The German trade unionists are constantly directing their efforts toward a fuller democracy in the public schools which will give every child the opportunity for the best education.

Referring to the general status of working people in Germany, Dr. Beckwith¹ says:

"The position of the average worker is a humble one, with little opportunity to rise. The idea of "Stand," that is, business, or more broadly, social position, is a fundamental one in the German thinking. A man has a place in life of which birth is university it is somewhat perplexing to grasp the ideal of education where, as in to the type for the "Stand" and fails to change to another "Stand."

That this preference of education of classes is also manifested to a marked degree in other European countries is evidenced by what Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, superintendent of the Chicago city schools, relates in her report on the European methods of education and wherein she says:

"In considering the education of the child of the poor man much is made of the question of ability

"To an American accustomed to the open door of the public school and the state university it is somewhat perplexing to grasp the ideal of education where, as in Great Britain, the child of the rich man may enter upon higher education whether he has ability or not, but the child of the poor man, if not of marked ability, may take the three R's only."

It is not likely that the American public will ever consent to any system the purpose or effect of which is to divide the children into separate and distinct classes, after the fashion which appears to be the result of the educational system of Germany and of other European countries.

Evils of Extreme Specialization in the Industries.

It is interesting and vital to a fair discussion of the subject under consideration to note that in our industrial life many vocations, which formerly offered to the workers opportunities more than mere sustenance of physical existence, have been divided and subdivided until the vocation itself, in many instances, is rapidly becoming almost a lost art. Through this subdivision and extreme specialization of labor the workers are prevented from acquiring the skill and training necessary to the continued development, or even the proper maintenance of various trades and callings, without which the continuance of the industries is jeopardized. As specialization increases still further, these evil results will logically increase in proportion unless some stringent measures are adopted to avoid the evils of monotonous and

¹A Comparison of Public Education in Germany and in the United States. Bul. No. 534, U. S. Bureau of Education.

²German Industrial Education and its Lessons for the United States. Bul. 529. U. S. Bureau of Education.

automatic employment, which only results in a less mentally and physically equipped worker. The greatest evil to both worker and society by this ever increasing specialization in industrial pursuits, is not related so much to the development of mechanical forces as it is due to the industrial practices of today, which limit the worker to but one form of automatic employment, or confine him to but one part of a highly specialized craft or industry. Any system of production wherein labor power is placed in the same category with mechanical power, disregarding the human element involved in our industrial activities, is a menace to society.

It is not enough that the public school system be extended to include vocational education. Something more must be done. Extreme specialization of labor must be abolished in so far as it affects boys and girls under 18 years of age. The problem is a difficult one, but its solution must be found.

It is in the shops and factories that the skill, which the schools may assist in bringing into life, will develop if conditions are unfavorable to its development, or decay if conditions are unfavorable. What good will come from giving vocational training in the public schools if we continue to permit our children to be chained to machines which require but the repetition of a few muscular motions?

The extent to which extreme specialization, semi-automatic, and monotonous labor has become prevalent in this country is ably described by Mr. Charles A. Prosser, secretary of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, in an address before the fifth annual convention of that organization, 1911, as follows:

"Including men, women and children, more than twenty million people in this country are engaged in unskilled or low-grade skilled occupations, most of which call for service which is menial, monotonous or automatic in character. Practically no training is required for such occupations. Even the manipulative skill required is largely in automatic processes and can be developed by a few weeks' or at most a few months' experience in the calling better than in the school, which is not and could not even at enormous expense, be equipped as well as the factory or shop to confer this training. There is no body of related study in arithmetic, drawing or other subject by giving which, either before or after he has entered his unskilled work, the school can contribute to the wage earner's efficiency in it. * * *

"While no adequate study of the question has been made, physicians, social workers and most employers, at least, are agreed as to the deadening mental and probably physical effect of much of this work. Inasmuch as the further evolution of our industrial system seems certain to increase the number employed in monotonous or automatic processes or at specialized machines whose constantly increasing speed and productivity make new demands upon the operator, many are wondering what is to become of the wage-earner unless some program can be devised which will palliate the deadening effects of such employments."

Industrial skill will continue to decay under such conditions. Other effects may also be noted. Persons who are engaged in automatic tasks and monotonous labor are subject to peculiar temptations during their leisure hours, because, fatigued by the strain of the deadening work, they are impelled to constantly seek as a rebound experiences of an exciting nature which, though bringing into activity unused tracts, too often lead them into immorality and even into crime. What is to be done about this?

It is well that the American public is now discussing the subject of vocational education, because through that discussion public attention is being focused upon the terrible conditions prevailing in many industries.

The industries now seek the help of the public to furnish the necessary skill and the public in turn, while gradually consenting to do this, is beginning to offer suggestions, which in time we hope will become universal demands, that there be less division of labor, less extreme specialization. The Massachusetts Commission which investigated the subject of vocational education and reported in January, 1913, said:

"Monotonous work, especially that which requires great speed and uses up nervous

energy, should not be done for any long period by young people under eighteen years of age, and the years up to this time should be spent in physical and mental upbuilding in preparation for the years of industrial life to come."

Proper Standard of Education.

There is some apprehension on the part of the working men and women that this proposed industrial education, though conducted in the public schools and subject to public control, is but an attempt on the part of the employing interests to limit the opportunities of the workers for obtaining a general education and thus render them more submissive and less independent. To guard against this danger it is essential that a standard be set by which to judge and determine whether the education fostered and encouraged does tend to a full development of the spirit of American freedom and of American manhood and womanhood. We affirm the principles of education enunciated by Prof. John Dewey in his "Moral Principles in Education" wherein he says:

"The school is fundamentally an institution erected by society to do a certain specific work, to exercise a certain specific function in maintaining the life and advancing the welfare of society. The educational system which does not recognize that this fact entails upon it an ethical responsibility is derelict and a defaulter.

"Just in so far as the present school methods fail to meet the test of such questions, moral results must be unsatisfactory. We cannot secure the development of positive force of character unless we are willing to pay the price. We cannot smother and repress the child's powers or gradually abort them (from failure of opportunity for exercise) and then expect a character with initiative and conservative and consecutive industry.

"The ethical responsibility of the school on the social side must be interpreted in the broadest and freest spirit: it is equivalent to that training of the child which will give him such possession of himself that he may take charge of himself; may not only adapt himself to the changes that are going on, but have power to shape and direct them.

"Moreover, the society of which the child is to be a member is in the United States a democratic and progressive society. The child must be educated for leadership as well as for obedience. He must have power of self-direction and power of directing others, power of administration, ability to assume positions of responsibility. This necessity of education for leadership is as great on the industrial as on the political side."

This, then, is the standard to be set. Only by development of those qualities that make for initiative among the working men and women can we hope to accomplish the task before us, not only to fit our boys and girls for the industries but to fit the industries for boys and girls.

Workers Desire Vocational and Technical Training.

That there is a vigorous demand for vocational education is evidenced by the many industrial and commercial schools now in existence. In a number of industrial centers there are technical and trade schools maintained by private philanthropy, all well attended. This is also true of public vocational and technical schools. In addition, there are many private schools, charging a tuition fee, including correspondence schools and others, which do a thriving business and which, too often, do not fulfill the mission and requirements held forth as an incentive and inducement to the student.

We also desire to direct your attention to the importance of this subject to the mining industry. Where formerly practically all the coal miners of Illinois were English speaking and American by birth, or had come directly from England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland or Germany, at present much of the mining being done by men of southeastern Europe, who were mainly agriculturists in Europe. To assist these men and all required by law to pass state examinations in connection with mining, the state legislature established "The Illinois Miners and Mechanics' Institute" in 1911, and in 1913 provided an annual appropriation of \$15,000 for the purpose of preventing

accidents in mines and other industrial plants and to conserve the resources of the state. In the development of this purpose any or all means may be employed by this institution to promote the technical efficiency of all persons working in or about the mines and other industrial plants and to assist them to better overcome the increasing difficulties of mining and other industrial employments. While this institution has been in existence but a short time, the results obtained thus far command our favorable commendation.

Trade Unions have not been neglectful of the need for industrial education. A number of Trade Unions have established courses for apprentices, while others conduct a department of trade education in their weekly or monthly publications. Again, other Trade Unions in Chicago have arranged for the teaching of their apprentices in the Chicago public schools.

Among the international Trade Unions who have undertaken an extension of education for their members are the following:

- International Typographical Union.
- International Sterotypers' and Electrotypers' Union.
- International Photo-Engravers' Union.
- International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union.
- International Granite Cutters.
- International Horseshoers' Union.
- Pattern Makers' League of America.

Among the local Trade Unions that have arranged for the teaching of their apprentices in the Chicago public schools and where the apprentices attending school are paid their wages by the employers while in school are the following:

- Plumbers' and Steamfitters' Union.
- Carpenters' Union.
- Electrical Workers' Union.

The American Federation of Labor itself has given this subject considerable attention and has time and again expressed its approval of the extension of industrial or vocational education. The following expressions clearly indicate the position of the American Federation of Labor on this subject¹:

"Organized labor's position regarding the injustices of narrow and prescribed training in selected trades, by private and public instruction, and the flooding of the labor market with half-trained mechanics for the purposes of exploitation, is perfectly tenable, and the well-founded belief in the viciousness of such practices, and consequent condemnation, is well nigh unassailable.

"Organized labor's record for years in regard to better sanitary conditions in factories and workshops, and its continued efforts toward safeguarding women and minors, have been the subject of wide discussion and much helpful legislation.

"Its advocacy of free schools, free text books, and the raising of compulsory school age have been religiously adhered to, and closely allied to these proper kind of vocational training promotes discussion of the former.

"There is a strong reaction coming in general methods of education, and that growing feeling, which is gaining rapidly in strength, that the human element must be recognized, and can not be so disregarded as to make the future workers mere automatic machines. * * * * *

"It is believed that the future welfare of America largely depends on the industrial training of our workers and in protecting them. * * * * *

"The inquiries of the committee seem to indicate that if the American workman is to maintain the high standard of efficiency, the boys and girls of the country must have an opportunity to acquire educated hands and brains, such as may enable them to earn a living in a self-selected vocation and acquire an intelligent understanding of the duties of good citizenship.

"No better investment can be made by taxpayers than to give every youth an opportunity to secure such an education. * * * * *

"Owing to past methods and influences, false views and absurd notions possess the minds of too many of our youths, which cause them to shun work at trades and to seek the office or store as much more genteel and fitting. This silly notion has been shaken by the healthy influence of unions, and will be entirely eradicated if

¹Report of Special Committee on Industrial Education, American Federation of Labor, 1909.

industrial training becomes a part of our school system, and in consequence of this system of training he will advance greatly in general intelligence, as well as in technical skill and in mental and moral worth, he will be a better citizen and a better man, and will be more valuable to society and to the country."

It is quite evident from the foregoing that there is a demand on the part of the working people themselves for greater skill and less automatic and monotonous labor. They desire more skill and when the opportunity is denied them in the factory, the shop or mill, they seek the training elsewhere. They exhibit a willingness to do even more than their share in an effort to revive skill.

Dual System of Administration is a Menace.

An element threatening to retard and to divert this movement for vocational education in our public schools from our American ideals of democracy in education, is the effort which is made in Illinois, and elsewhere, to place vocational education under the direction of a distinctive board of management or of control separate from the board of administration governing the general education of the children. In extending our public school system to include vocational education, a division and separation of authority into two or more boards of administration will tend to confuse our educational system and bring into conflict with each other the several boards of administration, besides creating a division of educational systems in the minds of the school children and their parents, wherein the vocational studies, instead of proving supplementary to our present system of general education, will be generally looked upon as the main and more important public system of education.

In relation to this phase of the subject we quote with hearty approval Professor John Dewey of Columbia University, when he says¹:

"No question under discussion in education is so fraught with consequences for the future of democracy as the question of industrial education. Its right development will do more to make public education truly democratic than any other one agency now under consideration. Its wrong treatment will surely accentuate all undemocratic tendencies in our present situation, by fostering and strengthening class divisions in school and out. It is better to suffer for a while longer from the ills of our present lack of system till the truly democratic lines of advance become apparent, than to separate industrial education sharply from general education, and thereby use it to mark off in the interests of employers a separate class of laborers."

We disapprove the setting up of any separate state or district board of administration to have charge of vocational education. We believe that the vocational school courses should at all times be under the guidance and control of the school authorities having direction of general education, as the system best adapted properly to educate our children for their future activities as citizens, as workers, and as men and women capable of participating in all the benefits and enjoyments of a higher civilization.

Recommendations.

Prompted by the observations, opinions and conclusions expressed in the foregoing report, we recommend the enactment of state legislation which shall include the following requirements:

First.—Compulsory school attendance of all children between the ages of seven and sixteen.

Second.—(a) Authorizing the Board of Education of all school districts in the State to provide instruction in vocational subjects.

(b) Any school district of this state establishing or having established and maintaining vocational instruction in the industrial arts and in agricul-

¹Industrial Education and Democracy. The Survey, March 22, 1913.

ture and commerce shall receive increased financial assistance from the State.

(c) All courses in vocational education shall be administered in each school district by the same board of education or trustees that administers the general educational courses.

(d) In school districts maintaining vocational teaching, there shall be appointed, by the board of education, or trustees, an advisory committee or committees on vocational education; each committee to consist of an equal number of employers of labor and persons directly associated and connected with bona fide labor organizations.

(e) Vocational instruction shall include the teaching of the sciences underlying the various industries and industrial pursuits being taught, and their historical, economic and social bearings.

* (f) That whenever any employer engaged in any business whatsoever employs any person under 18 years of age, and whenever the services of such employe terminates for any reason whatsoever, the employer shall report such employment or termination of employment at once to the school authorities of the school district, giving name and address, age of such employe, description of character of work to be performed or having been performed by such employe while in the service of such employer, particularly with reference to the skill and knowledge which may be acquired by the employe in such employment, rate of wages paid, hours of service per day, and such other information as may be required by the school authorities of the school district in which such employment becomes, or has been, operative. The school authorities should also be empowered to require any employer of persons under 18 years of age to furnish such additional information as to the employment of such person or persons any time during such period of employment.

* (g) All boards of education shall prepare annually a report showing the number of persons under 18 years of age having been employed in the jurisdictions of their respective school districts, showing the ages of such persons employed, length of service character of employment, wages earned, hours of work required, and opportunities afforded and given for the acquirement of skill and knowledge of such persons while so employed. These reports shall be prepared for general public distribution by the boards of education and copies of same shall be sent to the state bureau of labor statistics.

Third.—To protect the public against fraud and misrepresentation, all private schools conducted for profit, and providing industrial, commercial, agricultural or domestic teaching, shall be subject to inspection and investigation by the board of education in whose district such school or schools are located and whenever such board of education finds that fraud or misrepresentation has been or is being practiced, a report of such finding shall be referred at once, for immediate prosecution, to the public prosecutor in that political district, wherein the fraud or misrepresentation has been practiced.

Fourth.—Not having been authorized to employ legal counsel to prepare these recommendations of proposed state legislation into proper legal form, and inasmuch as any legislative proposal must necessarily contain matters of detail not contained in the foregoing recommendations, we urge the employment of competent legal counsel for the proper preparation of these legislative proposals and presentation of same at the next session of the state legislature.

*Mr. H. H. Stöck is of the opinion that some agency other than the school authorities should enforce these provisions.

Fifth.—We further recommend the continuance of this committee or the appointment of a new committee to co-operate with the officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in securing the legislative enactments urged in this report, and to do whatever else may appear necessary in fully protecting the public and the workers of this state with reference to this question of vocational education.

Sixth.—We heartily commend the vocational courses as conducted by Trade Unions. We also note with approval the large sums of money spent annually by Trade Unions for education through the channels of their official journals and in a number of instances where its members are being trained for the teaching professions and preparation of text books. We believe these Trade Union activities and undertakings are entitled to the most enthusiastic admiration and to the most cordial and loyal support by both the general public and members of Trade Unions, and we therefore urge all affiliated unions and members thereof to inculcate the spirit for and encourage the extension of these Trade Union features and activities.

Respectfully submitted,

COMMITTEE ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION,

V. A. Olander, Chairman,
C. J. Anderson,
Ella Flagg Young,
H. H. Stock,
Mrs. Raymond Robins,
John Carroll,
Agnes Nestor,
Chas. D. Wheeler,
Clayton Pense,
Wm. Neer,
James McAndrews,
Tony Weth,
Duncan McDonald,
Matthew Woll, Secretary.

SECOND DAY—MORNING SESSION.

Peoria, Illinois, Oct. 21, 1914.

The convention was called to order at 9 a. m., Wednesday, October 21st, President Walker in the chair.

President Walker stated that the Committee on Credentials would be ready to make a report in a short time, and in the meantime announcements would be made.

During the Tuesday afternoon session President Walker announced that the Coliseum had been secured for Thursday evening for a joint debate between Mr. Roger Sullivan, Chicago, Mr. Lawrence Y. Sherman, Mr. Raymond Robins and A. F. Germer, four candidates for the United States Senate.

President Walker: Mr. Sherman

has advised us that he cannot be here Thursday evening. He sent a telegram in which he said he gladly accepted the invitation and would be here. Yesterday we received telegrams from both Mr. Sherman and Mr. Sullivan stating they could not be here. Mr. Robins said he would be here, although he had three important meetings for that evening he would like very much to attend. I advised him Mr. Sherman and Mr. Sullivan would not be here. He sent a telegram in which he said regretted Mr. Sherman and Mr. Sullivan could not be here Thursday evening, and, inasmuch as there would be no representative of the majority parties in the meeting he would not be there. Mr. Robins has agreed, however, to be with us Friday morning, as in form-

er years, as a friend of labor and without any political significance at all.

While waiting for the Credentials Committee we will occupy the time by hearing from a representative of another branch of the International movement, Miss Anna Fitzgerald, of the Women's Union Label League. Miss Fitzgerald has been president of the League for six years, and is serving in that capacity now, although she is here as a delegate from the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Miss Anna Fitzgerald: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—I assure you I deem it a privilege to have the honor of saying a few words to the delegates this morning. The work I am especially interested in, and in which I have been interested for a number of years, is that of interesting men and women in the union label. They are missing a great opportunity by ignoring the power in their hands, the power of the union label. Statistics show that women spend something like 80 per cent of the earnings of the wage workers of this country. If that is true it will not be difficult for us to understand that there is only one thing for us to do, and that is to interest the women in this particular line of work. We recognize in the union label a great power, a power for organization, a power that is going to be instrumental in placing the child in school instead of in the factory. When a union label appears on an article it is a guarantee that no child has worked on that article. You men know this, but it is difficult to bring it home to your wives and your daughters. This is a work that can be done in the smallest towns as well as in the large cities. Wherever women buy for the home they should know their duty to organized labor as well as to themselves.

Our organization has about 85 different branches scattered throughout the country. In a movement of this kind we should have several hundred branches, because I believe it is an organization that every union man and every union man's wife should be interested in. The reason, possibly, we have not extended our work more readily than we have is lack of oppor-

tunity. I am not here to appeal for financial aid, or anything of that kind, but you know unless an organization has finance it is a difficult matter to push it. What I want to ask the delegates of this convention to do is to take this home, take it to your locals and to your central bodies, discuss this matter, and I think the result will be that you will decide an opportunity has been lost.

There is no question that when we buy articles regardless of the conditions under which they have been made we are fostering penal institutions, fostering child labor, and doing the very thing organized labor in its organizations is trying to eliminate. This is inconsistent. I believe if the union man, the union woman and the wives of union men will take this seriously we can do a great deal more by our purchasing power than we can through strikes.

I think many of you are familiar with our organization, because right here in Illinois it is doing a splendid work, a work that, if you give it some consideration, will meet with your hearty cooperation. We do not ask for anything for ourselves, but we realize that when better conditions come to the fathers and sons better conditions will come to the home. For that reason women may have a selfish interest in this movement. I am glad to have this opportunity to bring this matter to your attention this morning. When you return to your homes I hope you will take this matter up in your locals and central bodies, and interest your women in it. It is not an expensive organization, it is not in order that we may make a great spurt at some place, it is not that we may settle some strikes—although we always will lend our assistance when we can—it is that we want to go on with the work of educating the women. We know that in a great organization like the American Federation of Labor, with 2,000,000 members, if we can organize the women in the homes of those 2,000,000 men and direct their purchasing power to build up the organizations and strengthen organized labor we will have accomplished a great mission. I believe it is a work worth while.

I hope the members here will think of this seriously, that they will not give it just a passing thought and say, "Oh, the label is all right, but we cannot put it into effect." The label is as powerful as the demand we make for it. The women can go from store to store and find it almost impossible to buy the articles they really need bearing the union label. That is not true of the men. Why? Simply because the men have had their organizations for a number of years. Their demand has made it possible for them to be supplied with the articles they need bearing the union label. No merchant, no matter how wealthy he may be, will refuse to supply the demand of organized labor for the label when it is strong enough. If we educate the women they will make their demand strong enough to compel the merchants to supply what they need. Some years ago we would have said it was impossible to get such a gathering in a convention of the State Federation. From day to day we find the women are becoming more interested. The communications that come into the office show a greater number of women are beginning to think along this line.

Mr. Walker in his address yesterday referred to the great cooperative plan and made certain suggestions to the convention. In that work alone can you not see the great power the women would be? No matter which way we look at it, I believe we cannot afford to go on ignoring the great purchasing power of organized labor, and in order to get that we must reach the women. That we hope to be able to do. I thank you for your attention.

Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Kain, Chairman of the Committee, read a list of delegates against whose seating there were no protests. He stated that it was but a partial report and that more credentials had come in that had not been acted upon. He stated that a separate report would be made on the protests. (Complete list of delegates appears elsewhere.)

A motion was made and seconded

to adopt the partial report of the committee.

Delegate Golden, Teamsters, Chicago: I protest against the seating at this time of Lyle T. MacArthur as a delegate in this convention.

President Walker: I take it the adoption of the report of the committee will seat only those against whom there are no protests. Those delegates will then be entitled to act upon the credentials that are protested.

Delegate Kain: On Monday when the committee was giving our credentials and cards we received a copy of a protest. I have a letter here I will read following it.

Delegate Neer, Teamsters, Chicago: Will a verbal protest from the floor prevent the credential of a delegate being accepted by a vote of the convention?

President Walker: If there is a protest of any kind it can hardly be made until it is known who are delegates.

Delegate Neer: Will the delegates against whose seating there are protests appear before the committee?

President Walker: If they desire to do so.

Delegate Wright (Typographical Union): Under the ruling of the chair, that the names be presented first, then the protest made, and then the protest taken up, I think the committee should submit names against whom protests have been made. I suggest that those names be read now.

President Walker: The chair did not make a ruling that it was absolutely necessary to have their names read before the protests could be made. It was thought possible there would be protests made against delegates whose credentials are here if they were known that could not be made if they were not known. Where there are protests by members of the organization against delegates that have been elected, even where they have not been reported, the committee would have authority to consider the

cases before reporting to the convention.

Delegate Wright: I think the names should be read and the protests made. I think the credentials of the Brickmakers should be read at this time.

President Walker: It is a matter for the committee to determine the course they will pursue, except as the convention may direct.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee seating delegates against whom there was no protest was carried.

Delegate Kain, Chairman of the Committee: This proposition came to the committee. It is to go to the committee after you have seated your delegates. It is no more than right that it should be settled if you are going to seat the delegates, so they will be seated as early as possible. This matter can be settled here this morning. I will read a letter to Frank Morrison, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Neer: If there are no protest against the seating of the delegate here, is there any reason why a letter to Frank Morrison should be read?

Delegate Kain: This is the protest.

Delegate Neer: Does this letter concern the seating of a delegate?

President Walker: It concerns the seating of a number of delegates against whom protests have been entered by other delegates who have been seated.

Delegate Kain read the following letter:

Peoria, Ill., Oct. 20, 1914.

Mr. Frank Morris, Secy-Treas.,

Illinois State Federation of Labor,
Dear Sir and Brother:

We the undersigned delegates representing Danville, Ill. Local Union No. 116 of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, hereby protest all credentials which may be presented to the 32nd Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor by the fol-

lowing Brickmakers' locals:

Chicago No. 1, Bernice No. 2, Blue Island No. 3, Pullman No. 4, Dolton No. 5, Chicago No. 6, Shermerville No. 14, Grant Park No. 34, Evanston No. 49, Streator No. 52, Glenview No. 186, Chicago Heights No. 203, Manteno No. 214, Galesburg No. 242, Galewood No. 253, Peoria Heights No. 255, and also District Council No. 1 with which thirteen of the above locals are affiliated.

The above named local unions withdrew from the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance in September, 1913, but continued to illegally use and are still so using the name and seal of the International Union and are at the same time misrepresenting the American Federation of Labor by claiming to be affiliated with that body.

At the Seattle Convention of the American Federation of Labor these local unions were instructed to re-affiliate with their International Union, but up to date those instructions have not been complied with.

We also wish to direct your attention to the fact that under date of October 9th, 1913, Secretary Morrison of the American Federation of Labor instructed the Illinois State Federation of Labor to enforce Section 1 Article XI of the constitution of the A. F. of L. by refusing to seat delegates from the seceding locals and by further refusing to grant any recognition to them until such time as they re-affiliate with their International organization. For some reason this communication was not presented to the 31st Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and the delegates in question were seated contrary to the law and instructions of the A. F. of L.

Since the seceding unions have not seen fit to comply with the action of the Seattle Convention of the A. F. of L. by re-affiliating with their International Union and are consequently not a part of the legitimate trade union movement, we hold that the instructions issued to this body by the A. F. of L. on October 9th, 1913 are still binding and should therefore, be enforced by this the 32nd Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federa-

tion of Labor.

Respectfully submitted,
ALVIN HARDIN, JR.,
Delegate.

OSCAR COON,

Delegate.

Danville, Ill., Local Union No. 116,
International Brick, Tile and Terra
Cotta Workers' Alliance.

Washington, D. C., Sept. 29, 1914.

Mr. Frank Kasten, Business Agent,
District Council No. 1, Brickmakers,
156 W. Washington St., Chicago.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Your favor of September 26th received, and I note that your convention unanimously rejected the proposition for amalgamating the two bodies of Brickmakers and that the matter is now in the hands of your Executive Board, the convention having adopted a resolution to try by all honorable means to amalgamate, the one condition being that the present officers of the Brickmakers' Alliance be not recognized. I have sent copy of your letter to President Butterworth and also to Organizer Fitzpatrick and have requested the latter to get in communication with both sides for the purpose of endeavoring to arrange another conference, and if possible reach some understand that will be acceptable to both sides providing for amalgamation. It will be necessary to make a report upon this subject to the Philadelphia convention of the A. F. of L. I most earnestly hope that we will be enabled to report that the difficulty has been adjusted.

With best wishes, and hoping to hear from you further, I am,

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President,

American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Kain: This leaves the matter still in the hands of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. They will meet next month and it will then be settled. I was asked by some of the delegates in regard to their per capita tax. The state organization have been receiving their per capita tax right along and they are paid up to date.

Delegate Nockels, Chicago: I move that the delegate from the Brickmakers be seated.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: We have a communication in reference to that matter in the hands of the committee which shows conclusively there is a difference between the Brickmakers that they are trying to heal up. A certain portion of them have seceded from the regular organization. A request has been made, according to the letter received from Secretary Morrison, that this matter be taken up before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at the Philadelphia convention, and it seems to me it is rather a unique proposition to seat the delegates of the seceding body. We have had those fights in our convention and in other conventions before, and we have refused to seat the delegates representing the seceding body of electrical workers. I don't see why we should recede from that rule and seat a seceding body of the brickmakers. I will offer as an amendment to the motion that the delegate be not seated and that the matter be taken up with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Nockels: I will raise a point of order.

President Walker: I did not hear a second to Brother Connor's motion. As the original motion was that the brickmakers' delegates be seated, the motion cannot really be considered an amendment.

Delegate Connors: I withdraw it because I see that it conflicts. I agree it is not in order because it is contrary to the original motion, but at the same time I believe we ought to be fair. I do not rise to protest against seating these delegates because I have anything particularly against them, but I believe we should follow the rule that has been established by this convention from time to time. You are establishing a precedent that is dangerous to the general labor movement. Let them settle their differences in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, as has been suggested by Brother Morrison, the secretary of that body.

President Walker: So far as the present administration of the State Federation of Labor is concerned we haven't got any communication from the American Federation of Labor that they should not be seated in this convention or that they should not be recognized. The communication was sent prior to the last convention at Decatur—the communication they refer to. I suppose it is in existence. I don't know, I haven't seen it. I have been requested by President Gompers to attend a number of conferences for the purpose of trying to bring about an adjustment of this dispute and get the two organizations together. We had a meeting in Peoria about a month ago, Brother Fitzpatrick representing the American Federation of Labor and myself representing the State Federation. We spent about three hours with them. We told them when the American Federation of Labor finally and definitely decided that they were to go out they would do so unless they got into their organization and got right.

I am satisfied every one of those men want to get the matter straightened out and become part of the old organization. They finally disagreed only on one point of the proposition offered by the regular International Union, and that was with reference to the election of officers themselves. President Gompers has a great deal of faith in the belief that he will be able to settle that dispute at Philadelphia. I am pretty nearly sure they will be able to settle it.

Of course everybody knows my position in these matters, that unless it gets right down to an actual outlaw proposition of fighting the general labor movement don't know that we make much by making outlaws of them. But here is a case where really we have not had official notification, so far as this organization is concerned. The letter was sent from the Secretary without direction of the Executive Council. It is rather an important matter. It is very important to these men. It is quite a good sized organization, with good prospects now, and I can see no good that can come by unseating them. I think they will feel better about it

and the membership at home will feel better about it if they are convinced we have done everything we could to get the matter settled before they were put out, than if they were put out now. I am satisfied the officials would have been glad to have settled the matter if they felt they could have got the approval of their membership back home. This better understanding has reached the membership back home now, and I feel by the time the Philadelphia convention adjourns we will have a settlement of this matter. I don't see what good we can accomplish by unseating them, and we may accomplish some harm.

Delegate Demlow, Danville Labor Council: Has this organization not already sent out a communication informing that organization they could not be seated?

President Walker: Not that I have knowledge of.

Delegate Demlow: This was brought up in the Central Labor Council, and a communication was read, signed by J. F. Walker and J. H. Morris, stating they had been informed of that fact. The central body instructed the delegates of that organization to vote against the seating of this delegation.

President Walker: In the Seattle convention the American Federation of Labor did not order those men to go back in as a condition to having their grievances taken up. I suppose the same secretary that wrote the communications you had, sent communications to all these organizations saying they had been instructed that they must get back in before their grievances would be considered by the American Federation of Labor officials. I did what I could in Seattle to get the matter adjusted. This was one of the things they were requested to do by Chairman Mitchell, of the Committee that handled the dispute. He wrote a letter to me stating the matter had been raised by the officials who sent out that letter, and he made clear to them it was not necessary as a condition to have the matter adjusted.

It is hardly safe to go into a discussion of this proposition. Statements have been made by both sides and things have been done that probably they think were justified that to outside impartial men would not seem justified. We ought to settle this without going into the controversy itself.

Delegate Ackerman: I understand those different locals have been paying per capita tax to the Illinois State Federation of Labor and it has been accepted without question.

President Walker: Yes.

Delegate Ackerman: Under those conditions I believe your recommendations are correct, and if the American Federation of Labor finally takes the matter up and decides it I believe it will be well to seat these men at this time.

Delegate Wright, Typographical Union: I think there is a vast difference between this case and the case of the electrical workers that came up a few years ago in this convention. The convention refused to accept credentials from the seceding electrical workers. We received a communication in that case from the American Federation of Labor, and there were no ifs and ands about it; they said the seceding electrical workers must not be recognized by any central body in the state of Illinois under penalty of losing its charter. That was the order we got and we obeyed it to the letter, and this organization to my knowledge, has not recognized any organization under the ban of the American Federation of Labor, and I for one will not be a delegate to let down the bars and to break down our constitution.

I think the American Federation of Labor, when they get down to business, should make a ruling in this case and upon a dozen other cases before them, not let the matter run along month after month and often year after year, keeping the central bodies in a turmoil and hindering their work. The American Federation of Labor has had a year to decide this case; they have not done it. The brickmakers in Chicago are not seced-

ers in any sense of the word. Those men are union men and they have carried out every principal of union labor. They have a difference with their International Union, yes, and the American Federation of Labor, in all right and in all equity, a year ago should have said to those boys: "Yes, you were right, you had a legitimate kick coming," and the forces of the American Federation of Labor should have been thrown on the side of right and justice in this matter. There never should have been a question at any time of those boys being seated and recognized as union men and members of the American Federation of Labor and the union movement all the way through.

I have no use for a seceder, but a man to be a seceder must secede, he must break the laws or organized labor, he must go beyond the pale, he must have committed an overt act. These boys have not done that. They have paid per capita tax, they have conducted their fights, they have been union men all the way through, and they should have a seat in this convention—and they are going to get it if my vote can give it to them.

Delegate Genry, Machinists: A brother said a few minutes ago this convention is in a unique position. I believe he is perfectly right. This convention is in the position of trying to refuse a seat to an organization that has paid per capita tax into this Federation, the Federation has accepted it, and, as Brother Wright has said, they have been as good and true and staunch union men as we have had in the state. I don't believe any of us could go back and face our constituents and say we voted to unseat these men who are pioneers in the brickmaking industry of the state of Illinois. I believe they represent a great majority of the brickmakers. In my experience with them I have found them to be gentlemen and loyal trades unionists. The organization has accepted their per capita tax, the Brickmakers have regularly elected delegates here, and I think we have nothing to do but seat them, not try to unseat them on a technical point.

Delegate Allton (W. E.): I am a little bit surprised that the Credential

Committee should have submitted this question to the convention for settlement, inasmuch as the matter has not been settled by the American Federation of Labor notwithstanding the length of time they have had to settle it. There is not a delegate here that is not aware that the fight that has been carried on in the State of Illinois against the Purington Brick Company has been carried on by the same men whose seats are contested here. I believe this should have been prevented from coming before the convention.

Delegate Strode: I move the previous question. (Seconded and carried).

The motion to seat the brickmakers' delegation was carried.

Delegate Kasten, Brickmakers: I would like to say to the delegates that voted No that it will rest a little bit easier on their stomachs to know that President Gompers has never yet called us seceders. In the last conference he had he said he would limit himself to calling us the unaffiliated organization and not seceders. The rank and file of the organization I am representing has almost unlimited confidence in the justice of the American labor movement. In the last two or three years that confidence has been stretched almost to the breaking point, but when we go back and tell them of the action of this convention they will work harder than ever for what they believe is right, confident that in the end right and justice will prevail. Mr. Chairman and Delegates, we thank you.

The Auditors submitted the following report:

Report of Auditing Committee.

Peoria, Ill., Oct. 19, 1914.

To the Officers and Members, Illinois State Federation of Labor, in Convention Assembled.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

We, the undersigned committee, elected by the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to audit the books of Secretary-Treasurer, J. F. Morris, for the year ending September 30,

1914, beg leave to submit for your consideration, the following report:

We find that all moneys are credited to the different organizations in conformity with the rules laid down by the constitution, and that all bills and vouchers are properly kept on file in the office of the Secretary-Treasurer, and after a thorough examination of the same, we find them correct. We also find the Treasury of the organization in a healthy financial condition, therefore we submit the following report:

Balance in Treasury Oct. 1, 1913	\$ 3,325.66
Receipts for October, 1913..	2,775.54
November	175.88
December	1,721.88
January, 1914..	454.04
February	1,841.42
March	289.65
April	2,143.62
May	400.78
June	1,703.73
July	522.89
August	2,291.97
September	972.35
Total Receipts	15,293.75
Grand Total	18,619.41
Expenses for October, 1913..	\$ 3,951.52
November	991.90
December	1,620.84
January, 1914..	968.07
February	937.86
March	937.18
April	1,008.43
May	1,404.56
June	863.38
July	941.50
August	1,010.89
September	754.91
Total Expenses	\$15,293.04

RECAPITULATION.

Balance in Treasury Oct. 1, 1913	\$ 3,325.66
Receipts for year ending Sept. 30, 1914.....	15,293.75
Grand Total	\$18,619.41
Disbursements for year ending Sept. 30, 1914.....	15,293.04
Leaving a balance in Treas-	

ury Oct. 1, 1914.....\$ 3,326.37
 Respectfully submitted,
 J. A. KAIN,
 TILDON BOZARTH,
 Auditors.

The report of the committee was adopted.

An announcement was made that a photographer desired the delegates to go to the Court House upon adjournment to have a group photograph of the convention taken.

Delegate Connors: Is that a union photographer?

President Walker: The chair is not in a position to say.

A member of the local committee stated that there was no union of photographers' organization in the state, but the man in question had been friendly to the members of organizations in Peoria, that whenever an automobile was needed to take delegates about the city he had been one of the first to offer his automobile to help the committee out.

Delegate Connors: That is just what I want to bring out. If there is no union connected with the photographers it is time we took the question up and made some effort to unionize those people. Because a man is a good fellow, stays outside of the movement but pays nothing in return does not make him a good fellow with me. The fact that he gives me an automobile with a scab chauffeur or anything of that kind does not make him a good fellow with me. We are here representing organized labor and it is about time we got down into these propositions, and the next time we go to the convention that there will be a union photographer in the city where we hold our meeting.

Delegate Neer: I move that Brother Connors be delegated as the organizer.

Delegate Cook: I move that we have this man take the picture if he joins the photographers' organization.

President Walker: I don't think there is such an organization. I am

like Brother Connors, I think if there is a chance to organize them we had better do it. I don't think the convention wants to do anything that is not fair.

Delegate McLeish: There is a photographer here who does not belong to the photographers, but belongs to the Moving Picture Operators.

President Walker: A man might be a moving picture machine operator and not a very good photographer.

Delegate Strode: I believe there is a federal labor union here. Those men might belong to that.

Arrangements were made to have the picture taken at the court house upon noon adjournment.

President Walker requested that all resolutions be submitted in duplicate, one copy to go to the printer and one to the committee.

President Walker: We have with us the chief factory inspector of the state, Brother Oscar Nelson. When there is a matter affecting the trade unionists in the state he has, in my judgment, forgotten everything about political affiliations of every kind and simply acted as a trades unionist in trying to do the best that could be done. I therefore take great pleasure in introducing Brother Oscar Nelson.

Mr. Oscar Nelson, Chief Factory Inspector: Mr. Chairman, Fellow Workers—I haven't forgotten a conversation I had with President Walker last evening. He reminded me of the fact that I was absent from the convention yesterday afternoon. He asked me if I knew how much the time of 700 delegates was worth for one minute. I said I was not an efficiency expert and could not calculate on the minute. I think what he wanted to impress upon me was that time is valuable and I ought to be brief.

I appreciate very much the honor and the opportunity offered me by the invitation extended to address this convention. I had the pleasure of addressing the convention in Decatur last year. That was two months after

my appointment as Chief Factory Inspector of the Illinois Department of Factory Inspection. I told the convention last year that, as a result of only two months' experience in the Department, in my opinion, a force of thirty deputy inspectors and two physicians made it absolutely impossible to fully and completely cover the situation. I made that statement repeatedly during the past year whenever I have had an opportunity to address a meeting of trades unionists or others, so that the blame would not fall on the Department if we did not cover the situation properly.

We are charged with the enforcement of nine separate and distinct statutes covering the entire state of Illinois, the third largest industrial state in the country, so it can readily be recognized that the force is not sufficient to cover the situation. I want to say, in justice to the governor of the state, that when I was appointed the appointment came to me with no strings attached to it, and at no time during the fourteen months I have been attached to the Department has he in any way attempted to interfere with my work. We have endeavored to do the best we could, and as a result of the experience gained in fourteen months' connection with the Department I want to say that most of the statutes, in fact, six of the nine that have to be enforced, are badly in need of amendment. We have had a number of prosecutions under all the laws and we have found flaws in them. Attorneys, not the attorneys of the Department, but the attorneys of the defendants have been able to pick technical flaws in a great many of the statutes we have been called upon to enforce. At the present time we have pending in the municipal court on a continuance the case against the Boston Store of Chicago. We were afraid to go to trial at an early date, due to the fact that the attorneys for the defendant had been able to find some technical flaws in that law. We are not agreeing to the technicalities they are ready to present to the court in an effort to have the Women's Ten-hour Law declared unconstitutional, but we think it is

best to have those cases come up just prior to the convening of the legislature so as not to leave a period of time without any protection in the hours of women should the courts decide it unconstitutional because the Senate failed to engross some of the amendments, it is charged, to that law some years ago.

I want to take advantage of this opportunity to invite all the trades unionists, all the organizations, to go over the various labor laws of the state that come under our Department. I would like to have those they are particularly interested in, those that affect their craft, gone over and if you have amendments to suggest to any of them, my report to the Governor will be open until the 15th of November and I will be glad to take into consideration any amendment you may suggest. The Consumers' League and the Women's Trade Union League, I believe, will have some amendments to suggest with reference to the Child Labor Law and the Women's Ten-hour Law. The men of the polishing industries may have some amendments to suggest in regard to the Blower Law. Metal polishing shops may be asked to be prohibited in basements. I want to invite any amendments you have in mind. If you will send them to my office before I make my report to the Governor I will be glad to forward your recommendations for amendments along with my report.

I have endeavored for the last eight months to give the newspapers, the trade union papers, the daily papers and others throughout the state a bulletin discussing some particular phase of the work of our Department in order that the citizenship generally, the unorganized as well as the organized men, may know something of the provisions of the law and what the Department is endeavoring to do. Particularly have I pointed out the weaknesses in the present child labor law. I think there is not the slightest question in the minds of the trades unionists of the state that the child labor law ought to be amended to prohibit the employment of any boy or girl under sixteen years of age.

I realize that the Mothers' Pension Law, which today makes provision for pensioning children of widowed mothers and wives whose husbands are incapacitated, only provides such pension for children up to fourteen years of age. That is practically placing a premium upon child labor; it makes it necessary for mothers to immediately send a boy or girl to work upon reaching the fourteenth birthday. In asking for child labor laws we ought not to forget to ask an amendment to the Mothers' Pension Law making the payment continue to the age of sixteen. In the enforcement of the Mothers' Pension Law there has been considerable red tape, a considerable number of technicalities resorted to, at least in Cook County, to keep down the cost of the law. I want to make a suggestion that it might be well for the various central bodies throughout the state to make an investigation to see how the Mothers' Pension Law is being carried on and enforced in the various counties throughout the state.

Another situation I attempted to give publicity to, but which practically all the newspapers refused to print a line with reference to, was the observations I had made and the deputies in my Department had made of the piecework system which prevails in so many establishments throughout the state. The laws provide that the employers must furnish seats to all female employees. We are compelling the employers to do that, but a seat in a factory where a girl is employed to do piecework is only mockery. The girls do not have an opportunity to sit down. The speed that is necessary, the nervous strain they are under in order to make enough for a mere existence is such that they haven't a minute to spare to take advantage of the seat that is often placed close to their machine or their post of duty. My personal opinion is that the labor movement could not devote its energies to anything better than to have enacted as a state statute a provision prohibiting payment by the piece, at least to any female laborer in the state of Illinois. I think it has a far more detrimental effect

upon those workers than any of the conditions we are complaining of. I recognize that the piecework system, even for men, unless the shop is thoroughly organized, is absolutely detrimental and brings on a pace that results in the breaking down of the man or the woman almost before maturity.

Another thing I have noticed and attempted to give publicity to is that a great number of the largest employers of the state, the large corporations, are instituting a medical examination before they grant a man or a woman a job. This system of medical examination is spreading very rapidly; in fact, it has reached the point that the employers tell me they have to adopt it as a matter of self-defense, so that they will not get the discards of the employer who already has it in operation. We are fast approaching the time, if that system extends, when no man or woman will be able to get a job unless a medical examination is passed and he or she comes up to a certain standard. That means that the unfortunate victim of child labor of ten or fifteen years ago, if physically imperfect in any respect at this time, will not be able to find employment and compete with the brothers and sisters who may have been fortunate enough to get by to this date with their physical condition up to the standard demanded by the employer. I do not suppose we can get legislation that will prohibit an employer from looking over the physical condition and inquiring into the capability of the person he is about to employ; but we can amend the child labor law and throw so much protection around the children of the present generation that when they reach maturity they will be in a condition to pass the physical examination the employers are going to impose upon them.

I do not want to take up any further time. I recognize how valuable the time of this convention is and what a variety of subjects you have before you. I was glad to read the thorough report made by the Committee on Vocational Education. In the small cities, if the Child Labor Law is amended to prohibit the em-

ployment of children under sixteen years, thorough vocational education should be furnished. That is a subject that goes hand in hand with your efforts to amend the Child Labor Law. We will be glad to co-operate with you in an effort to amend the laws now on the statute books, and we want your assistance to bring about an increase in the number of factory inspectors. Unless you get a sufficient number you cannot get the situation in the shape it ought to be, particularly with the number of duties that come under the Factory Inspection Department, varying as they do from the enforcement of the Child Labor Law, the Occupational Disease Law, the Structural Ironworkers' Law, and the most recent legislation, the Wash House Act. I was glad to learn that the courts held that constitutional last week. Our Department has been enforcing it for the last year. We have compelled employers to expend close to a million dollars in the installation of washing facilities; but we have only scratched the surface of the work, as it were, and have not been able to bring the benefit of it to the workers we probably will in the future.

Our headquarters are in the Transportation Building, Chicago, and if at any time you have complaints to make we are willing to act upon them. Sometimes we are a little slow, but we will try to get around and investigate every complaint that comes to our office. I thank you for your attention.

President Walker: Inasmuch as three of the candidates for United States Senator will not be here tomorrow night, the chair is of the opinion that probably we will be able to get better results, and it would really be a good thing, not only for the convention but for the local labor movement and the movement generally, if we utilize the hall which we have secured for the purpose of having all of our own delegation here and invite the trades unionists and their sympathizers locally to come to an open meeting. We might have a get-together meeting, with addresses from all the fraternal delegates who are here, and at the same time it

would mean a saving in time of the convention itself that we could use when we get to it to consider the reports of the different committees that have the actual work of the convention in hand. If the convention believes that will be the best thing to do I would like to have your expression so that we can arrange properly to have the meeting advertised thoroughly and arrangements made to make it as pleasant as possible for every one. In addition to all this we will be getting closer together and getting every particle of good that can be got out of such a gathering.

Delegate Kelly, Alton: I move that the suggestion offered by the chair be endorsed. (Seconded.)

Delegate Strode: As an amendment to the motion I suggest that we devote one hour of the time to a discussion of the co-operative store system.

President Walker: I am of the opinion we will have that discussed at the meeting without having a motion.

Delegate Russell, Mine Workers: I think we ought to have a talk on the union label.

A delegate stated that Mr. Roger Sullivan should be given a vote of thanks because of his refusal or inability to attend the meeting.

The motion offered by Delegate Strode was carried.

Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Delegate Boyer, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

Rules.

The convention shall be called to order at 9:00 A. M. each day of the meeting.

The noon adjournment shall be at 12 o'clock.

The afternoon sessions shall be called at 2 o'clock. The afternoon sessions to adjourn at 5 o'clock.

Evening sessions may be held by a vote of majority of the delegates.

A special order of business to be made at 4:00 o'clock, Thursday afternoon, to discuss the co-operative movement.

Instead of a roll call of officers and delegates we recommend the attendance card system be adopted and absentees be noted on day's proceedings, and that two delegates be appointed by the President to check the cards.

All delegates shall write on the back of their attendance cards a list of all union labels worn or patronized by them.

Order of Business.

1. Report of Committee on Credentials.

2. Reading of minutes of previous session.

3. Reports of officers.

4. Reports of special committees.

5. Reports of standing committees.

6. Consideration of bills.

7. Unfinished business.

8. Introduction of resolutions. All resolutions to be referred to respective committees, after reading without debate in convention. All resolutions to be in hands of respective committees by 12 o'clock, noon, on Thursday, in duplicate form.

9. Discussion of union labels.

10. Welfare of the body.

11. Each delegate wishing to speak on any question must rise and give his name and name of the organization he represents.

12. No delegate shall be allowed to speak on any one question more than five minutes, except by consent of the convention.

13. No delegate shall be allowed the privilege of the floor to speak on any question more than once without the consent of the majority of the convention.

14. Nomination of officers and selection of the next convention city shall be a special order of business at 3 o'clock p. m. on the third day of convention, and the election shall take place at 10 a. m. of the fourth day.

15. This convention shall be governed by Roberts' Rules of Order.

The committee recommends that reading of the minutes be dispensed with, and that copies of minutes be

printed and distributed among the delegates.

Respectfully submitted,
WILL R. BOYER, Chairman,
ROBT. J. WILSON,
WM. CLARK,
ED. CARABINE,
D. J. FARLEY,
GEO. P. FISCHER,
CHAS. WRIGHT,

Committee on Rules.

The above is the report as amended and adopted by the convention. The report as submitted by the committee contained the following:

Special Order of Business.

Section 1. The following label order of business shall be read immediately after opening of each session of the annual convention.

Session No. 1. All members whose clothing bears the union label will please rise.

All members who insist that union clerks wait on them will please rise.

No. A. Any delegate knowing of a brother delegate offending against this order shall report his name to the Secretary-Treasurer, who shall report the same to his local union.

Session No. 2. All members who purchase only union made cigars and tobacco will please rise.

All members who patronize only union restaurants and union barber shops, union saloons and union markets will please rise.

Repeat here No. A.

Session No. 3. All members whose hats bear the union label will please rise.

All members whose shoes bear the union label will please rise.

Repeat here No. A.

Session No. 4. All members whose shirts and collars bear the union label will please rise.

All members whose working clothes and overalls bear the union label will please rise.

Repeat here No. A.

Session No. 5. All members who employ union plumbers, carpenters, painters, sheet metal workers, leather workers, etc., will please rise.

Repeat No. A.

All members who use only union made brooms in their homes will please rise.

After Session No. 5 begin with session 1.

Amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report as submitted by the committee.

desire to offer as an amendment to Section 4, I believe, "That all delegates who insist on having union-mined coal will arise." I move that that be inserted. (Seconded.)

A member of the committee stated Delegate Boyer, Mine Workers: I that the amendment offered by Delegate Boyer had been recommended by the committee but through an oversight had not been incorporated in the report. The committee agreed to accept the amendment.

A delegate moved that the same provision be made in regard to the employment of union teamsters. The committee agreed to incorporate that provision.

Delegate Connors: I move as an amendment that if any photograph of the delegates in the convention is taken a union photographer be employed.

Delegate Wolchinovsky: How are we going to know coal is union-mined? You cannot put a label on it. Don't take this as a joke. The miners ought to notify the delegates in the various cities that certain coal is not mined by union men.

Delegate Cook: I suggest that delegates be appointed to examine the clothing of the delegates to see if they have union labels on them.

Delegate Nelson: Is there any provision for a time limit to the introduction of resolutions?

President Walker: Thursday at 12 o'clock noon.

Delegate Nelson: A brother spoke of union-mined coal. Another spoke about a union stove. We don't organize exactly for the purpose of having any one ask for a union label; we organize for the protection of ourselves and for the protection of others. I believe a lot less spouting

and a little more work would make us better off.

A delegate suggested that "All those who live up to their obligations as union men and women please rise," be inserted, instead of the section proposed by the committee.

President Walker: The chair is of the opinion that if the rules include the rising and sitting down process on every article produced by union labor we will have quite a calisthenic drill every afternoon. At the same time the good that can come from patronizing union labor is so great the chair feels it might be well to have the matter given some attention. I think, however, we should not burden the proceedings with something that will delay us.

A motion was made as a substitute for the whole that "Everybody rise who lives up to his obligation as a union man," be inserted. (Seconded.)

Delegate Shelton: I am fully in accord with the last amendment or substitute for the whole. I think to ask every member to rise to show that he has a pair of union shoes on his feet or a hat with the union label on his head is making a farce out of this convention. There is no man in this convention more thoroughly in accord with the union label movement than myself. There is no one who believes more thoroughly than I do that every union man should ask for the label whenever he can; but to make a farce of this convention by having each delegate jump up like a jack in the box every time he is asked if he has a label in his clothing is foolish. The substitute ought to be adopted. If every man and woman here goes forth determined to use the union label and to live up to the principles of the trade union movement it ought to be sufficient. If every one rises to his feet and registers his conviction along that line it will be sufficient.

Delegate Neer, Teamsters, Chicago: Is that a substitute for the whole?

President Walker: It is an amendment to strike out and insert.

Delegate Neer: Are we to have attendance cards?

President Walker: Yes.

Delegate Neer: Then I move as a substitute for the whole that each delegate place on the back of his attendance card the number of union labels on his wearing apparel. Seconded.)

Delegate Leonard: Will we have a chance to ask what has become of our communication throughout the state of Illinois to the Cigar Makers?

President Walker: That question is out of order. We are dealing with what we are doing in this convention as delegates. The procedure embodied in the substitute offered by Delegate Neer has been followed by the American Federation of Labor and by this convention in the past. It reminds each delegate of the need of patronizing the union label. That is as far as you can go in reason with educational work under the present system.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The substitute offered by Delegate Neer was carried, and the report of the committee was adopted as amended.

Delegate Allton (L. A.): There is a moving picture house in this city that yesterday severed its connection with the moving picture operators' organization and employed two scabs. I refer to the Lyceum Theater on Fulton street.

Appointment of Committees.

President Walker announced the appointment of the following committees during the morning and afternoon sessions:

Committee on Officers' Reports.

Jas. B. Connors, Switchmen's Union, Chicago.

Henry Bogaske, Cigar Makers, Springfield.

Jas. Lord, Miners' Union, Farmington.

Martin McGraw, Teamsters' Union, Chicago.

Jas. J. McAndrews, Elevator Conductors and Starters, Chicago.

Miss Agnes Nestor, Glove Workers, Chicago.

Matt Keefe, Steam and Operating Engineers, Chicago.

R. A. Sheldon, Street Railway Employees, Chicago.

John C. Harding, Typographical Union, Chicago.

Dennis Lane, Meat Cutters, Chicago.

Committee on Resolutions.

William A. Neer, Teamsters, Chicago.

William Lentz, Brewery Workers, Peoria.

J. J. Kearney, Bartenders, Quincy.

Frank Kasten, Brickmakers, Chicago.

A. Peterson, Engineers, Chicago.

James Ryan, Typographical Union, Bloomington.

Duncan McDonald, United Mine Workers, Springfield.

C. C. Rakow, Retail Clerks, Bloomington.

Al. Greener, Machinists, Chicago.

John Fitzpatrick, Horseshoers, Chicago.

Agnes R. Burns, Johnston City Central Body.

Mary Anderson, Boot and Shoe Workers, Chicago.

Roland Adams, Carpenters, Alton Central Body.

Committee on Law.

Robert Fitchie, Teamsters, Chicago.

John McGrath, Bartenders, Springfield.

Matthew Woll, Photo-Engravers, Chicago.

N. Berve, Electrical Workers, Aurora.

L. P. Straube, Chicago Federation of Labor.

W. T. Christopher, Moulders, Belleville.

A. L. Pace, Miners, Herrin.

Committee on Finance.

L. A. Allton, Cigarmakers, Peoria.

John M. Irish, Bartenders, Peoria.

M. J. Whalen, Street Car Men, E. St. Louis.

Thomas Kelly, Barbers, Streator.

James P. French, Federal Labor Union, La Salle.

J. W. Morton, Stationary Engineers, Chicago.

G. B. Jenkins, Carpenters, Urbana and Champaign.

Alois Towers, Moulders, Belleville.

W. M. Chiles, Electrical Workers, Springfield.

Committee on Union Label.

Annie Fitzgerald, Label League, Chicago.

Emma Steghagen, Boot and Shoe Workers, Chicago.

Adolph F. Germer, Mine Workers, Belleville.

William Topham, Cigarmakers, Streator.

S. C. Sumner, Teamsters, Chicago.

R. A. Pell, Painters, Joliet.

Sam Bloom, Garment Workers, Chicago.

Committee on Organization.

Charles Gaude, Brewery Workers, Chicago.

Edwin R. Wright, Typographical Union No. 16, Chicago.

Victor A. Olander, Lake Seamen, Chicago.

Lyle T. MacArthur, Teamsters, Peoria.

Harry Waldorf, Moulders, Granite City.

J. C. Montgomery, Bricklayers, Ottawa.

Delegate Newsted, Bridge and Structural Ironworkers.

Committee on Fraternal Relations.

Evan Evans, Mine Workers, Westville.

Hugh Stevens, Typographical Union, Ottawa.

George F. Golden, Teamsters, Chicago.

Miss Mellan, Federal Labor Union, Granite City.

Delegate Argust, Mine Workers: Inasmuch as Mr. Raymond Robins is going to address this convention, I move you that after he makes his address Adolph Germer be extended an invitation to address the convention.

At 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 p. m. of the same day.

SECOND DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Wednesday, October 21st, President Walker in the chair.

Delegate Nelson, Machinists: I would like to suggest something about the election law which plainly states we are allowed two hours to vote provided we notify our employers to that effect the day before. We are having trouble with the company we are working for. They absolutely refuse to pay for the two hours. It seems the only way we can get at that is through prosecution. I would like to move that every organization that is affected in this way should prosecute its case. (Seconded by Delegate Tilton.)

Delegate Downie, Mine Workers: I don't know what the brothers in the other trades think about that particular election law, but we miners don't think much of it. That could be used in a way detrimental to us in the mining industry. Where the coal op-

erator wants to take advantage of that law he can lay off so many men at a time to give them an opportunity to go to the polls and cast their vote. We tried on election day to have the mine laid idle two hours before the regular quitting time, and we have met with quite a lot of opposition from many of the coal operators in regard to the interpretation of that particular law. I believe the best thing to do would be to have a correct interpretation placed upon the law. We have sought legal advice and have been told the employer can designate the time when each employee shall be released to cast his vote. That may be satisfactory in the factory or workshop where they can send away a certain number of employees to cast their votes, but it is not satisfactory in the mines. The mines are often located away from the town and the men will have to travel a long distance to get to their homes to cast their votes. We have laid off our mines six hours so our

men could cast their votes, and got into serious trouble under our contract. If this convention will go on record asking the Legislative Committee to try to have a law enacted that will fix definitely when the two hours should be taken it will do more good. I feel as a mine worker it would not be of any benefit to us to have that enforced, because the operators could take advantage of it and use it to our detriment rather than to our good.

Delegate Straube: The motion before the body is one that, to my mind, suggests litigation. We all know that litigation in the industrial field is a rather expensive luxury, and to my notion the proposition involves one of interpretation. It would seem to me if we want to view this proposition from the right angle the proper thing to do is to instruct the officers of this organization to get an expression of opinion from those trained in the interpretation of laws of this character, rather than to offer a suggestion to our affiliated organizations that would prompt them to spend their money uselessly.

The question as raised by the brother who made the original motion was, as I understand, that the firm or the corporation for which he is working, rather than to lay themselves liable to the law, deliberately set a half day aside or close the shop for half a day in order to avoid payment. I have heard various interpretations of the law, and one was to the effect that it only applied in instances where men were expected to work all day, that every voter was entitled to two hours in which to go to the polls, whether the firm wanted him to work or not, and if he took those two hours out of his work day he was entitled to payment; but the question is whether he is entitled to that two hours pay if he only works half a day, allowing him half a day to do it in his own time. I suggest that the officials make a test case of it rather than go to the expense of having suits wherever these things occur.

Delegate Bloom, Garment Workers: I do not see how any manufacturer, operator or other employer can evade

that law. The employer should be compelled to pay for those two hours whether he shuts down his plant or not. If the establishment is closed down in the afternoon I do not see how the employer can avoid paying for the two hours. I believe if the organization would put up some kind of a fight they could compel those operators and mine owners and manufacturers to pay. I know we have done it in Chicago in Hart, Schafner & Marx establishment. They pay us whether we work half a day or all the afternoon except the time in which we vote.

Delegate Neal, Mine Workers: I think the main idea is to have an interpretation of this law. I am a miner and our operator claims that if the polls close at five in the evening he can shut his mine down at 3 o'clock and allow the men two hours to vote. In that way we can get only a half hour off him because the mines are supposed to close at 3:30. I think we should get legal advice on this. Most of the men do not understand what the law means. We know if the factories do not work at all the men cannot collect anything from the employer for the time taken for the election; but if they work half a day then the question is, Are they entitled to it? It is claimed they are not. We claim in our section that we are entitled to two hours when the operators work six hours and shut down the mines to avoid payment. We have not had any decision on it, and I don't know whether we can collect or not.

Delegate Nelson, Machinists: I move that this Federation select the case of one organization that is affiliated and fight that as an organization affair. If you want a case our organization will furnish it. Then let every organization know the results of the litigation. (Seconded and carried.)

The motion as amended was adopted.

President Walker read the following letter:

Chicago, October 19, 1914.

To the Officers and Delegates of the
Illinois State Federation of Labor,
Peoria, Illinois.

Greeting:

This will introduce the bearer, Mrs. Fannie Sellins, who has been identified with the American labor movement for many years and is now representing the Person Defense League of Chicago, an organization which was established by the Chicago Federation of Labor and received the unqualified endorsement of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Labor and the various international bodies identified with the Illinois Central System Federation.

The Chicago Defense League earnestly requests that she be given the privilege of the convention floor so as to be able to impart to the delegates assembled the latest information relative to the status of the Person case, which embodies matters of the most vital interest to the organized labor movement of America.

Thanking you in advance for your kind compliance with our request to permit Mrs. Sellins, for and on behalf of the Person Defense League of Chicago, to address your convention, we remain,

Fraternally yours,
JOHN C. FLORA,
President.

Attested:
GEO. PHELPS,
Secretary.

President Walker: If there are no objections, Mrs. Sellins will address the convention. I think a considerable number of you have met Mrs. Sellins before, because wherever an organization is in trouble she is there doing the best she can for them.

Mrs. Sellins: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—Some seven years ago I was president of one of the largest girls' locals, some 700 members, when the Marx & Haas strike broke out in St. Louis. I was selected by the girls to go before the State Federation of Labor. I did not know how it would be possible to get up and

speak before all those people, but I managed to find the courage some way. From that day on for seven years I have been traveling all over the country in the interests of the garment workers. The two big strikes I was fighting were carried on under the system of the boycott. Those strikes were won. In St. Louis every girl and man in the Marx & Haas factory carries a union card. The same is true of the Schwab Clothing Company. Leon Schwab was vice-president of the manufacturers' association, and said when we started: "You can never do it. You will never win." We did win.

When I was in Pennsylvania the President of the Pittsburgh District of the mine workers asked how I would like to go down to West Virginia. It had been my desire to go down there, and on this stage two years ago when the fight was going on in the Paint Creek and Cabin Creek sections, I asked President White, of the Mine Workers, to let me go. He said, "No, Fannie, they would put you in jail." They did. I went down there to help the women and children. When they evicted the miners from their homes and the Pittsburgh District sent tents to be erected to house those people the men who rented the ground on which to erect them was given sixty days in jail for doing so. My duties were to get shoes, clothing and provisions, and to go down to the tents and when the babies were born to help all I could. In the dead hours of night, when I stood in the tents beside the poor mothers I have heard the drunken mine guards howling and cursing and shooting up the tents of the miners. I stood my ground.

The superintendents decided I must go away, and they went to Judge Dayton and asked for an injunction, which he readily granted. They took me to Philippi, West Virginia, and as I sat in the court room Judge Dayton said: "I want you to understand we will have no more Mother Joneses rising up in this country, we will have no more women of her order." He told me I must leave the state, that I was representing criminals, that the miners were criminals banded together to

defy the laws. We went back to West Virginia, and the first thing we did was to hold a big meeting in the opera house. Our attorneys were on the platform and the operators' attorneys and stenographers were in the audience waiting to see if we would dare break the injunction.

I said to the chairman, "Introduce me to the audience." He said: "No, under instructions of the attorney I cannot do it." I got to the platform and said: "I need no introduction to my people, I know them all." I said I was a free-born American woman, that my grandfather's blood had fertilized the soil of this country, that my father and brother fought for the honor of America, and their daughter and sister would never leave any state in America where she had committed no crime and had broken no law. That was sufficient. Again I was hauled down to Philippi, with the organizers of the miners. We were placed under heavy bond. Again we went back and paid our strike benefits to our men and women. And let me tell you, men, it was the women who urged the miners to stand by their organization, it was the women who helped them in their bitterest hours by encouraging them.

The last trip we made down there, the fifth, we determined, must be the last. Judge Dayton in that court room called our attorney a liar. He said no evidence in that case must be given the public, it was to be kept in the possession of the judge. It was so rotten he was afraid to let it be made public. Our men were compelled to sit on their overcoats in the court room and carry them with them when they went to the witness stand to keep the thugs from slipping guns into their pockets. Judge Dayton called the United States Marshal and said he was positive the men had revolvers in their pockets to attempt to take his life.

Judge Dayton called me up and said: "Can't you find a better position than going down to those tents, where no decent or respectable woman would expect to go?" He insulted every woman in America when he made that statement. After lecturing

me and asking me those questions I said to our attorney: "Yes, I could have got another position, I could have gone to China to teach the heathens but I preferred the coal hills of West Virginia." After he sentenced me for six months, the same sentence he gave the men, he lectured us separately for half an hour. Everything he could think of that was low and contemptible he said to us, and we dare not answer him back; when he finished with me I said: "Your Honor, can I say one word?" He said, "No, not a word." I said: "Every bit of evidence given here by the operators and superintendents is false," and he called the United States Marshal and said, "Take her away."

They took me to Fairmount, West Virginia. Next door to the jail is the Consolidated Coal Company's office, and down the street from it is Senator Weston. They own the street car system, the water works system, the lighting system, everything in the city. There isn't an organizer that comes to that state that they haven't his picture. Their hired thugs meet him at the depot, warn him to leave the city, and if he doesn't he gets what is coming to him. For ninety days they kept me in that jail where a woman had never been kept before. Petitions were sent to the President of the United States from all the locals in West Virginia; a committee was sent personally to the President, and the United States Prosecuting Attorney deliberately lied and said I was not confined in a jail, that I was given my personal liberty through Judge Dayton. I never left the jail for ninety days; I was not taken outside the cement cage even for exercise. Outside of my cage was the iron bars. Male prisoners were below me, criminals, some of them. Even the most degraded women of the streets begged to be taken out before the night came.

Don't blame the miners—they didn't have the money to put up a bond. I said to President Bittner, of the Pittsburgh District: "Don't put up bonds for me; pay the benefits to the strikers so their wives and children will have the necessities of life, I can live." When the Flint Glass

Workers had their national convention in Rochester they called President Bittner there and wrote out a check for \$3,000 to go on my bond. Then I was given my liberty to appeal to the Court of Appeals. I feel in my heart in the fight to impeach Judge Dayton that Senator Nealy was forced through the petition of 10,000 people to get on the floor and make the motion. Our senators from Missouri were instructed by the central body to go the limit, but what was the result? The man who acted on that committee, McCoy, is today appointed to the Supreme Bench and the Dayton case is dropped. But we passed the bill which will prevent courts issuing injunctions against us in West Virginia.

When I came to Chicago I found out there was a case there. I went to the Person Defense League. I heard Attorney Comerford get on the platform and tell us how, when 38,000 men were driven from their toil on the Illinois Central Railroad, one young man knew if the truth could come out things would be different with the locked-out men, and when Carl E. Person started the Strike Bulletin and exposed the truth to the public the stock of that railroad went sliding down hill. Then word was passed through the officers of the Illinois Central that he must be got rid of. From that day his life was in danger. In Decatur he was beaten and left for dead, but was soon back on the job. In Clinton he was beaten up by the chief of the strike-breakers, a fellow who was once, what a good many of them were, chief of police and later chief of a strike-breaking agency. The boy was beaten, and with his face covered with blood and his scalp laid bare he was forced to take the life of this hireling of the Illinois Central to save his own life. A few weeks ago he was acquitted of murder. Now he is under charges that may put him back of the bar for thirty-five years.

I said to myself: "You know what it is to stretch out your arms and feel the cold, damp cell. Why can't you go out and work for this boy who is deprived of a chance to do anything

for himself?" I asked the League to give me authority to go out and raise money to defend him. I went to the Chicago locals and the answer was good; they did all they could, but the locals have their hands full with the many strikes in that big city. There are many committees waiting in the ante-room. I went to the Barbers' convention last week in Indianapolis and they donated \$500. The Chicago Federation donated \$100.00. The trial will mean for him liberty if he can put up the right defense, and it takes money to do it.

Now I ask you who are here today who know what it is to face a court such as we have to face to help us. The day has come when we need to do more than carry a union card. We must fight the courts, we must fight injunctions and stand shoulder to shoulder, organization to organization no matter what craft we represent. Our enemies will say: "Let them have their unions and their cards, we have the courts, and the militia, and if they are not good we will whip them into order. If they don't like that we will break up their unions." And they will do it. Let us fight in the courts, break every injunction they issue against us and bring it out to the public. I ask you for some donation to help defend this boy who so nobly and bravely came forward and told the public how the officers of the road were killed under the wheels of their own train. He got out an envelope on which was printed: "Old man Harrahan is dead. Who will be the next?" Was that a sufficient cause for indicting him? Help us do all we can. We have papers here we want you to buy. The papers explain the whole case from the beginning to the end; they will help give publicity to the trial.

Delegate Walchinovsky, Garment Workers: I move that this convention donate \$200 to the Person defense fund. (Seconded.)

A motion to amend by making it \$500.00 was seconded.

President Walker: There is another appeal that will probably come before the convention that is of vital

importance to three men who are in about the same position. The organization they gave everything for is bankrupt and they are asking for enough money to secure for them a legal trial. I believe if you will agree to refer this appeal and other appeals of the same kind to the Committee on Finance they will know what is in the treasury and how far they can go and will do the best they can with the appeals.

Delegate Allron (W. E.): I move as a substitute for the whole that the suggestion of the President be the action of the convention at this time. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Straube: I have been talking to Mrs. Sellins and there is something she failed to note while she was on the platform. She has with her copies of the strike bulletin. The bulletin was got out for the purpose of giving in detailed form full information in relation to this matter. I understand the purpose of the special edition is to make it possible for individuals to assist Carl E. Person by contributing to the defense fund to the small extent of a dime. I therefore move that a committee of four be appointed to distribute these papers in the convention hall and collect a dime apiece for the same. (Seconded.)

A delegate suggested that the motion be that the papers sell for a dime or more.

President Walker: It is understood there is to be no limit.

The motion to appoint a committee was carried, and President Walker appointed Delegate Straube, Delegate Moyer, Delegate Dwyer and Delegate Walchinovsky to serve on the committee.

Report of Committee on Credentials.

The Committee on Credentials submitted a list of delegates whose credentials had been acted upon since the first report, against whose seating there were no protests. Upon motion the delegates were seated.

The chairman of the committee read the following protest:

Peoria, Ill., Oct. 21, 1914.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor Assembled at Peoria, Ill.

I hereby protest against the seating of L. T. McArthur upon the following grounds: That he is employed by five Ice Companies of Peoria, Ill.

(Signed)

GEO. F. GOLDEN.

Delegate Kain: We refer this to the convention. We have not taken it up.

Delegate Golden, Chicago: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Brother Delegates I want to make my statement. I will make it brief and from a trade union standpoint. I want every delegate here to understand from the start that there is nothing personal in this whatever, because I have already been accused before the committee of making this a personal matter. MacArthur has never done anything to me, it is simply a matter of MacArthur's own statement in my own local union, of which he was a member for a number of years. He appeared at our meeting and made a statement to our members and to myself that he had been employed by five ice companies in Peoria under a contract for a year at \$200 a month. I understood it was \$2,000 a year, but he tells me it is \$200 a month, \$2,400 a year, with a thousand-dollar automobile and \$50 for the upkeep of the machine while in use.

When he asked me for a transfer card I told him under the conditions, from his own statement, he should take a withdrawal card from the organization. He said: "No, I want a transfer card; I am going to be a member of No. 660, the Ice Handlers, and do their business." I said: "Mac, I don't see for the life of me how you can be business agent for the local union and work under a contract for five ice companies in Peoria." He said: "That is agreed to. They agreed with me that I could do the local union's business besides theirs." I said: "Mac, I don't see how I can give you a transfer card." He said that was what he wanted, a transfer card and not a withdrawal card. I

said: "I will give you a transfer card, but I can't see it for mine." Since coming here I find him with credentials as a delegate from No. 660, the ice drivers, and he expects to be seated. I don't see how a consistent trades union can seat a delegate working for five ice companies in Peoria. There is no personal animosity in this on my part against MacArthur.

Delegate MacArthur: I want to say in beginning that I welcome this protest. I insisted before the Committee on Credentials that it be made in writing and that I be given an opportunity to explain to this convention, not carry it on down on the curbstones of this city. I have no apology to make for the position I hold as business agent of the ice drivers of this town, or the position I hold for the men who own the ice companies. I think the men who have met me throughout the country in the many battles I have made, both for the teamsters and for others, know that MacArthur has never been afraid to face any one and state his position.

I am what our organization allows in a great many places, I believe there are men seated here who are practically the same position I am. Our milk wagon drivers and other branches of our organization have what are known as route inspectors, route foremen, and so on, as members of the organization. Here in Peoria I am a route inspector or route foreman. There are five or six small companies here, none of them can afford to have a separate route foreman. The local union is small and cannot afford to have a business agent on salary all the time. I have handled the wage scale for this organization for six years. At that time they had a wage scale of from ten to twelve hours a week, their hours were from any time they started in the morning to 11 and 12 o'clock at night. Today the organization I represent as business agent is the only ice wagon drivers' organization in the world that has a stipulated starting and quitting time and over time. The wages have been increased from ten and twelve a week to fifteen-fifty for helpers and seventeen-fifty for drivers, with a ten-hour day, one hour for

breakfast, one hour for dinner, 40 cents for over time and a six-day week. If those men are compelled to go out on Sunday they are paid 50 cents an hour, and they can go out for only one of four things, to ice a car of perishable goods, to ice a boat that may land from the river loaded with perishable goods, to deliver ice to a hospital or to an ice cream factory. I would like to see a local union that has better conditions than that.

Last April I came in here to handle that scale once more, after being an organizer for the International Union for a great many years. You men who knew me during those years know that I sacrificed almost my life for this movement. I lay on my back in a hospital week after week, shot through with bullets I received in a fight to protect the organization. This has left me a cripple. I am a cripple for life as a result of it, and have to wear something like a corset. I will have to wear it the rest of my life. After two successive years of strike, after the big strike in Cincinnati last summer, where in sixty days I organized all those thousands of men I was worn out. After the men were organized they were not entitled to strike benefits and I got out of the street corners, I carried flags and begged for those men \$35,000 to feed their families during the strike. We won the strike. After those years of fighting I was worn out, almost down with nervous prostration. I had worked without sleep, without proper food, and men in this hall who were in that city at the time know those things.

I had an opportunity when I came to Peoria to get off the road. There was no more fight for me in the secession movement, no one could say I got cold feet and left. When I came here I had an opportunity to get a salary of \$150 a month as route inspector and do the work of the business agent free of cost to them. The automobile I have is my own property, bought with the proceeds of the little home I had in Chicago, upon which I paid \$25 a month for years. The \$50 a month makes up the \$200 and is money I received for using my automobile in the business of the com-

pany, hauling ice in it, hauling men and going up on the bluff with lists of missed customers, and so on. This summer is the first in their history that such conditions have existed, only four men have been discharged from that company. I want to say something more about the conditions in that local. It is an absolutely union shop. I am not an employer. The local union of the ice drivers is its own employer. They have an absolutely 100 per cent union, and no man can work five minutes on an ice wagon in this town unless he joins the ice wagon drivers' local.

Conditions were in a terrible state when I came to Peoria. Officers of that local had run away with the funds and the organization was in a condition that was almost discouraging to the men. I took hold of the organization for them as their business agent without cost to them. I have acted as business agent for them all this summer. Today they are one of the strongest organizations in this town, and I don't believe there are over two or three that have more money in their treasury than that organization. You all heard me yesterday make the announcement that the local organization would have a meeting last night for the entertainment of the visiting teamsters. If there was anything wrong with MacArthur, why didn't the man who objects to my being seated here as a delegate, the man who is vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, appear at that meeting and say something to the members of the organization and notify them if I was not entitled to be their representative here? He never showed up, not for a minute.

For nearly six months I have been in this position and that man, who is an International Vice-President, has not until this convention was called taken the opportunity the laws of our organization give him to go into the organization and prefer charges against me and remove me from that organization. It has not been done. I expect our International President here and I ask the committee to hold this over until he comes. I am willing to leave it to any one; but I say

again I represent today the only 100 per cent organization of ice drivers in this country who draw over time, who have a stipulated number of hours a day to work, and who have a six-day week. Just to let you know who is right and who is wrong, or who the teamsters think is right, I am going to ask every teamster that believes I am right to stand up. (A number of teamsters' delegates arose). Now I am going to ask every one who thinks I am wrong to stand upon his feet. (No delegates arose).

Not even the man who put in charges against me stood up. I am afraid of no one living; I am afraid of no law; I am afraid of nothing in this world but, the thing the lady mentioned a few minutes ago, and that is injustice; and I want to say that in all my experience this is the biggest piece of injustice that was ever perpetrated. I have risked my life for this organization, I will do it tomorrow, tonight, today, if necessary, I will do it at any other time. And I want to say now that I know why this is done—that has not come out, but I know why it is done. They may say it is not because of personal feeling, that it is not because of personal spite; but I am a man who demands the right to have my own opinion and not to have to agree with any other man all of the time, and I say to you delegates that there are many men and women in this hall who know I have stood on the firing line, not down in the trenches, always out in front, and all I ask of you is justice.

Delegate Golden: I want to say in reply to MacArthur about being an inspector for the ice companies, that the milk drivers' inspectors are working for one company and they are members of the organization; but MacArthur is working for five different companies.

A Delegate: What is the difference?

Delegate Golden: A great deal of difference. Just as I stated when I first got up, I don't say there is anything wrong with MacArthur whatever, simply on a trade union proposition a man working for five ice com-

panies, or five packing companies, or five milk companies is not, in my estimation, eligible to be a delegate in any convention or in a teamsters' union. That is the way I interpret that law. And when MacArthur gets up and states how he worked and what he did for the International Union, and goes on and tells a lot of stuff, I want to say he was paid first-class good wages for everything he did and he has no kick of any kind coming. He was paid for everything he did up to the time he quit. If he quit it was up to him, and if he went to work for five ice companies that pay him \$200 a month, furnish him an automobile and furnish him \$50 to keep it up, he ought to withdraw. The Mayor gave it away the other night when MacArthur introduced him to Brother Johnson. He said MacArthur was serving two interests but he was getting along all right. Now, I want to say no man can ride two horses going in opposite directions. MacArthur cannot do it, he cannot serve two masters.

Delegate Gentry: I move that the protest be not received and that Delegate MacArthur be seated. (Seconded and carried).

Delegate Straube reported for the committee that had been appointed to sell copies of the strike bulletin that \$46.66 had been realized from their sale.

President Walker: I see in the meeting one of the fraternal delegates who is here, I think, more than anything else because of his interest in the co-operative movement. He was formerly speaker of the Illinois legislature. As we have something over an hour and most of you are interested in that movement, and he is thoroughly capable of presenting its merits, I think we cannot use the time we have to much better advantage than to hear Charles Adkins, who represents the Farmers' Grange as a fraternal delegate in our convention.

In presenting Mr. Adkins to you I want to say that if the wage workers and the farmers can ever get together so they will understand each other and, work for the things they believe they are entitled to there is no power or

influence in our country that will keep us from getting what is really ours. I believe this is the first time a farmers' representatives has come here officially representing his organization, interested in the work of our movement and trying to get us to work in conjunction with them for the things that are of common interest to them and to us. I hope it is an augury of that time, and I hope it will come in the near future, when there will be a better understanding between us as agricultural workers and as wage workers, and that we will both get together and work for the common good. If that time ever comes I know there will be no question about their working with us, and I am sure they will be able to give a good account of themselves in working for the measures they are interested in. There is no one in the farmers' organization who has given more time or has done more effective work for the farmers of the state than the gentleman I now present to you, Brother Charles Adkins of Bement..

Mr. Adkins: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—A few years ago I happened to be a member of the Illinois Legislature. However, I have been trying to live that down for a couple of years now. I was a member of the Mines and Mining Committee. I knew about as much about mining as a ten year old boy that never saw a mine. The interests of the miners and the mine owners were being discussed before that committee. One gentlemen who was representing the Miners' interests there seemed to know a great deal about it, a proposition that was all Greek to me. I made some inquiry and they said his name was John Walker. I said, "John Walker, I don't know a thing about what you are talking about; I have no interest in this proposition except as a citizen of the country interested in the general welfare. The thing I want to know is your side of the question and the other fellow's side. I think you fellows had better get together, thresh it out and come to a common understanding of what will benefit you."

That got me acquainted with John

Walker, and we have learned to like each other pretty well. I found he was much interested in the labor movement and what was good for the laboring man, and we met occasionally and talked about these propositions. Finally I said to the organization with which I am identified: "Here are some follows we have a common interest with; it is only a question of a common interest between us to promote the mutual welfare of each. We want to get closer together, we must have Mr. Walker on our program." I secured him last winter to speak at our state organization of the Farmers' Graindealers' Association, not a very large association, representing about 30,000 farmers, I think, in Illinois alone. Some of them said, "May be he is too radical." I said: "That is the way to find out, let us hear from him." They put him on with a little skepticism, but when Walker came with his message it was the talk of the rest of the convention. They said: "Why, Adkins, your friend Walker is a pretty sharp fellow and he understands the needs of our people." We have two kinds of farmers, the farmer and the agriculturist. Webster says a farmer is a man who tills the soil. The fellows who are out in the fields tilling the soil occupy about the same position in life you do. The agriculturist is a man who lives in the city and owns a farm in the country, and he farms the farmer. Now I am one of the farmers who is being farmed. I have got about the best looking wife in Illinois, five boys and five girls, and I am renting 560 acres of land, working one day for myself and one day for the other fellow. You can see we are working along a little different line, but we are all the same class of fellows. I am producing what you eat.

A few years ago we noticed a condition had grown up in the country, where the process of development was going on in this great western empire, a desire on the part of men and corporations to reach out and control all the great commodities of the earth. We observed also that the power to regulate the price of all those commodities had fallen into the hands of a very few men. We farmers ob-

served also that they had not forgotten the local grain trade, that they were reaching out and building long lines of elevators throughout the grain belt. And the one-house man, the man who ran the local elevator, was no longer a factor in the grain trade. The corporations were in a position to levy whatever tribute they saw fit on the fruits of the toil of the farmers. If they wanted to take three, five or ten cents a bushel for the simple trick of dumping our grain from the wagon into the elevators they had the power to do it. We did not think we could solve the problem by going into the courts, because we would have to stay in the courts all the time. We could not solve it by going to the politicians, because you cannot legislate and make man honest or fair, because they will take the advantage whenever they have the opportunity. Then we said: "How will we meet this proposition?" We said we would do it by cooperation. When we went to look up our statute on cooperative societies and the history of the cooperative movements of the world we found we had nothing but the corporation laws to organize under, and those laws, as you know, are made in the interests of the few, not the interests of the many. We had to organize under those laws, and all the cooperation we got into the enterprise we got in by unanimous consent.

Once in a while in these organizations—I don't suppose you have them in the labor organizations—but once in a while in the farmers' organizations we have a contrary fellow; he kicks out of the traces and everything is spoiled. We had one such fellow who wanted to kick up a big fuss and bust up the organization if he couldn't run it. If you ever have a man afflicted with that disease tell him this story. This man was even contrary with his wife, and when a man is contrary with his wife he is a pretty bad case. He had a dream. He dreamed that he died and went up to the pearly gates. He rapped and St. Peter opened the door and asked him what he wanted. He said, "I want to come in." "I cannot let you in," said St. Peter, "we have a nice, peaceable community and you are so contrary you will be rais-

ing trouble all the time." He shut the door. He went down to the other place and rapped. The devil came to the door and said, "We cannot admit you." "Why?" "We have a bad lot to handle here as it is, and if we had you here God knows I couldn't manage them at all." "What will I do?" he asked. "I cannot get into heaven and I cannot get in here?" The devil meditated a moment, reached back, got a couple of bars of brimstone, gave them to him and said "The only thing for a man like you to do is to go off and start a little hell of his own." That is what we are doing with the man who cannot get on with the rest.

We found the same difficulties in putting into the field this co-operative movement to meet an economic contingency that arose that you men had when you started to organize to better your conditions as wage earners. We found strong opposition from the men who expected to profit unjustly, illegitimately and unfairly from our toil. Finally after years we got the movement on its feet. They said then, "You farmers are preaching the doctrine that you should handle all your own grain at your own stations. You were making a big cry about monopoly. Now you are trying to build up the greatest monopoly in the land!"

I want to tell you something. The monopolies that have been built up in this country that work an injustice upon you as a consumer and upon me as a producer have been built up with a view of lowering the price to me and increasing the price to you. The monopoly they accuse us of trying to build is not the same. We have a cooperative association in my town, with about 120 farmers, and for twelve years we have paid good wages to every one who works for us, paid dividends on the capital and have \$30,000 of undivided profits. There is \$30,000 more to brighten the firesides of that community than would have been there if we had not organized. Our produce as a result of that has not been raised a single cent to you. It is not a monopoly. What is wrong in this country? What is wrong with the high cost of living? Why, the

expensive distributing machinery that has been built up between my cornfield and your table—that is what is wrong. But you find the sentiment of all the business interests against the principle of cooperation. That is because such a large army has been built up in this distributing system.

We are not here condemning the middle man. He served a useful purpose in our society, and always will under certain conditions; but the we are complaining of its that we have too much of it. They said to us when we started in business: "You are not fair to the men who have built elevators all over the country; you have practically closed their doors in some localities." Since our country has increased to a nation of one hundred millions, we have had to change our economic policies from time to time to meet the needs of our people, and to do that we have had to supplant some man in his business. But every change has come about gradually. We have not been a revolutionary people. Every man has adjusted himself to the new conditions and ways, hardly aware of the fact that he had been adjusted to any new conditions.

Fifty years ago the small tradesmen all over this country met the needs of the people in shoe leather and wagons and clothing. By and by we got too many people and the local shoemaker could not shoe them. When I was a boy we went to the local shoemaker about this time of the year, had him measure the length of our feet, the width of them and all around, and by and by we got our new footwear. When I got a pair of red top boots I was proud of them, and I have never felt so well dressed since as I did when I shoved my pants down into them and trudged off to school. Soon we found that the local shoemaker could not fill the needs and the factory was established to do the work for us. The shoemaker did not throw up his hands and say, "You are putting me out of business, you are ruining me." No, if he was a thrifty fellow he took stock in a shoe factory, or opened a local store or a cobbling shop and thrived. So it will be in the future in the solution of this economic proposition that concerns you and me more

than any other proposition today.

The consuming public in a great many instances has demanded a service that requires many men to perform. They will have to eliminate some of that service and cooperate to eliminate some of that superfluous expense. A few years ago a young man worked for me. He had a wife and four children. It took all his wages to support his family. He was an honest and upright fellow. I was away from home a good deal and he ran my farm for me. By and by a man in the neighborhood wanted him to run his farm and he took it. We helped him stock it. I sold him two hogs for his winter meat. When we were butchering our hogs we dressed his two hogs. Some of the men asked him what he had paid for them he said \$62. They said, "My, but those farmers ought to get rich raising hogs at \$8.60 a hundred.

I said, "Yes, keep your eye on John, he will be riding in an automobile in a year or two and wearing a diamond as big as a hickory nut in his shirt front." I said, "Let us see about this. You have so many pounds of dressed meat. See what you will have to sell it for in order to pay for your live hogs." He could have sold his dressed meat at $10\frac{3}{4}$ cents a pound. "Yes," one of those fellows said, "we are paying from 18 to 22 cents." I said we would talk about that after solving the question of John's hogs. He said he had about 120 pounds of lard worth 20 cents a pound, and 100 pounds of sausage they would give him about \$10.00 for. Then there was the head, the heart, the liver and the feet. In other words, you could pay for your live hogs at $10\frac{3}{4}$ cents and have about \$50 left. I said, "I paid you so much, and I gave you a house and garden, I charge nothing for. When corn husking time came I let you have time to work for the neighbors. You got \$4.00 a day." He said, "Yes, that was fair," "Now," I said, "the trouble with you men is this: 'The balance of those hogs I sold and shipped for \$8.00 a hundred. They went to Chicago over the Wabash. Freight had to be paid, switching charges, yardage had to be paid and a feed bill and com-

mission to the man who sold them. The packer dressed them and that had to be paid for. They were shipped back to Decatur to a distributing house. A traveling man came along once a week visiting the trade and he had to be paid. Then the retailer had to be paid for selling the meat to you, and you men paid the whole bill." I am not ready to charge that any of these interests got more than they should have for what they did, but there were too many of them. But that is why 100 per cent was added to the net value of the product these men consumed. Then they woke up to the fact that John bought his hogs of me and they bought them after they had gone around expensive distributing machinery.

There is another proposition we want to bear in mind. We say we will eliminate to the proudcers in this economic proposition every superfluous expense that exists between us and them. If you want to eliminate part of the service being rendered to you, you must adopt the same plan we have adopted—cooperate to lessen the expense from your end. I remember a few years ago making a trip to Chicago to visit the fat stock show. My wife was with me. We went to Libby, McNeal & Libby's great canning establishment. We went into a room where there was a well-dressed lady who showed us the samples on the walls in the little cans, all the different kinds of canned fruits and meats. Then the table was set for breakfast, dinner and supper from those cans. She proceeded to explain to us in what an incredibly short time a meal could be prepared. In fact, the only thing the good housewife needed was to be proficient in the use of a can opener.

Then we looked at the process and the service that was being rendered to the consuming public. There we saw the things happening that our housewives did. I said to my wife, "My dear, if you demanded the service rendered to your household that is being rendered to the consuming public I would go bankrupt in six months. A great army of people were converting the material into mince

meat and potted ham, the bacon was being sliced on a machine and put in nice little glass jars, and no doubt it would be called for over a telephone and a messenger sent out with it to the consumer. The housewife paid for the slicing, she paid for the can, she paid for the messenger. I said if the public proposes to eliminate some of the cost of living they must join in and cooperate to shorten the distance between the producer and consumer, and the only efficient way that can be done is to take it up ourselves. You need not go to the courts or to congress to get rid of this, but take it up on your own account.

But we needed a law to organize the societies on such a plan that every man would see it was to his financial interest to cooperate. You can never reach a man's heart or brain so quickly as to reach through his pocketbook. If you can make every consumer and producer see where it is to his advantage to take up the great economic question of cooperation and take part in it you will find a great deal of the solution of the present day economic proposition. We find in the old world that the cooperative enterprises that succeeded best are those founded on the proposition that one man cannot get control. You are human as we are and I presume you would find that disposition among our fellow men as we find it among ours. We said we needed a law to limit the amount of stock a man could hold in a cooperative society. We did not want one man to monopolize the business and freeze out the minority. Then we wanted a law to enable us to divide the profits according to the amount of patronage each stockholder furnishes the institution.

Take the enterprise you men are helping to build in this country, and after the expenses of running the business you are working for have been taken care of, after the capital invested in that business has been properly taken care of and a sinking fund provided, if necessary, to rehabilitate it, after that has been taken care of to whom in the name of heaven is the balance of that profit due? To the men who produce it. When you squeeze all the water out of the prop-

ositions of this country and put them on a basis where all the capital can be taken care of—which is would have to do or it would exhaust itself in time—where the expense of running the enterprise is taken care of, the fact of the matter is the profit above that should go to the men who produce it. You and I will never see that time come around until we have learned to work shoulder to shoulder in a great cooperative cause where we promote the interests of other while promoting our own interests to bring about a condition of that kind. This thing of having a great corporation that is half spring water making you and me work and the consuming public pay dividends on double the amount of capital invested in it is an injustice to the world, and as our population becomes greater and greater we need to put those things on an equitable basis. And as our population increases the responsibility of our society will be greater in providing homes and educating and bringing up to a higher standard all our citizens if we expect to maintain our place at the head of the nations of the earth.

Some of the old countries boast of 100 years and 200 years of the lineage of certain lines of live stock. They have preserved the records of their ancestors and provided fine homes to shelter the stock in. Our enterprising men go abroad and buy the seed to improve our own. The time is coming when we must exercise at least as much care in building up and rearing a strong manhood and womanhood in this land as we do in the lower creation of animals. And we will bring that about by a better understanding of just two classes of citizens, the producer and the consumer. The working people of this land are the men who keep the world moving, who keep the wheels revolving, if we were to stop the whole world would be paralyzed. An interest in the welfare of our neighbor as ourselves will bring about this condition.

When I was speaker I introduced a law under which all cooperative societies could organize. We did not seem to be able to interest very many people, but in the meantime people kept talking about the high cost of

living. We got the bill through the house without much trouble but it got stuck in the Senate. I am not ready to charge the senators with anything bad, but this is a matter our people must be educated in. We talked over the matter and then my friend Walker got interested in the proposition. Last winter at our state meeting in Ottawa the matter was talked over. Sometime back our board of directors passed a resolution authorizing me to cooperate with the State Federation of Labor with a view of drafting a bill that would cover your wants as well as ours, and cooperate with you to get such a law on the statute books. Mr. Walker and myself got together and read all the laws on cooperation in this country, and we picked out what we think will fit us best. We have an attorney drawing up that law, and we will make it warm for somebody if we don't get a law of that kind on the statute books this winter in Springfield.

We are the only great nation on the face of the earth today that is at peace with all the rest of the world. We have to give some credit to the high class citizenship we have in this country; and as our population increases and international difficulties become more and more complicated it will be necessary to raise the standard of American citizenship if we expect to be looked to by the rest of the world for a solution of their mighty propositions. Every child in this land, no matter how humble his birth, should enjoy the good things of life the same as every other child. Every child and every family should be brought up under such conditions that we will develop a strong race, and instead of looking at our petted improved live stock we dote so much on, telling what good ancestors they had for generations and what good conditions they were raised under, we can point to the fact that for generations we have brought our people up under favorable conditions, under economic conditions that allows every citizen to develop. Then we can point to the proposition and say: "That is why we have the greatest nation in the world." We have only to look to

our unhappy neighbor on the south and the manner in which the poor people have been brought up there for generations to count the cost of the neglect of common humanity. I read an article not long ago that stated that 80 per cent of the population of Mexico could not read and write, that under the peonage system there were boys working out debts entailed for their grandfather's wedding expenses. Is it any wonder a man's life or property is not safe under those conditions? I feel like congratulating myself that I have live under the Stars and Stripes where we are striving to get better things.

We were the last fellows to organize to better economic conditions in the farming communities. You men today would have been in just as bad a position as the peons of Mexico were it not for the brave-hearted men who went out and made the fight for organization. And we would be selling grain to-day, allowing some corporation ten or fifteen cents a bushel for handling it at the local station, taking it out of our community to build up some other community, had we not gone out and incurred the ill will of some other people interested in the grain business and improved our conditions along that line. We have grown into a great country of 100,000,000 people, a country of organized interests, and the poor devil that is not organized will come out at the little end of the horn in developing his interests. The only thing we need now is the law on our statute books to organize cooperative societies. Then we can say to the large corporations, after our people have become organized, after they understand what it means to cooperate with their fellows: "If you lock us out of your mine we will buy a mine of our own," or, "If you sell our beef too high we will put up a little slaughter house of our own, go over to Adkins' house and buy his hogs and kill them." But you will find a sentiment against that proposition. When you start in the business of cooperation you will find an insidious influence working among your membership to put you out of business. I will give you an illustration.

I was a delegate some years ago to the National Live Stock Convention in Kansas City, a great organization of producers, very largely made up of stock men west of the Mississippi River. They were alive lot of men. They passed a number of resolutions asking Congress to do certain things for them. I said, "You might as well throw that paper in the waste basket, because the congressmen will do it when you get down there." When they got through one of them said: "How much did you pay Judge Springer last year to go to congress to look after our interests?" Some one said, "Ten thousand dollars." Then one wool-growers' association said, "We will pay five hundred dollars," another said five hundred dollars, and so on, and in ten minutes the ten thousand dollars was raised to go down and prod congress to do its duty.

Then Judge Springer got up and told his story of how the great beef interests had been murdered. After the government had spent a great deal of money to find out what was done I read of it in the newspapers. I went and hunted up the report of that convention and read Judge Springer's address and found out he had told us what the government just found out a year ago. He said, "If they go and put through this proposed merger I think the stock interests of the west should raise a fund of five million dollars and erect our own slaughter houses." But a strange thing happened to that great organization. They went to Seattle the next year for their convention, and the second year they went to Denver. In the meantime somebody got busy with that organization, and when they convened at Denver one eloquent gentleman got up, addressed the chair, offered a resolution and made a speech. The resolution provided for membership in that organization of the railroad men, the commission men and the packers. He went on and dilated on what a great organization it would be with all these kindred interests bound together. He said: "Why, the packers alone would put up \$25,000 to pay a lobbyist in Washington"--I expect they have

paid more than that. The resolution was put through and then the cattlemen went out and started a little hell of their own. They pulled away. The upshot of the whole thing was that here was a great organization of producers, in a position to look after their own interests, in a position to redress a wrong that might be imposed upon them and the rest of the commercial world, and the fellows they had organized to protect themselves against had crept in with that insidious influence and destroyed the power of that great organization as a factor in shaping the destiny of their own business.

You will find that when the organization such as you have here, if you take up this co-operative movement and get interested in it, will have to meet the same insidious influence. It will get in among you and try to break you up and get you off the job. When any organization gets great and powerful and influential, then comes its danger. We have men in our organization who are personally ambitious, who would sacrifice the interests of every other man to promote their own ambition, even to the extent of wrecking the institution if it would put them on top. We have discovered that already. The only thing to do is to build a little fence around those fellows so they cannot get out, so their influence will not go out among the other fellows, and then go on as you have been doing. We would never have progressed in this country if we had waited for the unanimous consent of everybody. Every forward movement has been hindered and blocked by selfish interests. Their theory is—I will block the onward march of a million toilers if it will make me a half million dollars. That has been their theory. We have to protect ourselves by powerful organizations against such interests as that. If Walker and I succeed, with your help, in getting on the statute books a law to organize co-operative societies under, after fifty years, when we will have twice our present population, we will see the benefit of it. We can look back and see the start of the old Rochedale co-operative movement in England and

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discover the benefit it has been to the people that succeeded the men who did the pioneer work. In fifty years we can point to a similar success from the little start made here in Illinois.

I appreciate the privilege of coming before you. I think the only thing we need in this country to bring about a better condition for all our people is a better understanding of the needs of all our people. We have stuck off by ourselves too much, each fellow trying to promote his interests and not thinking enough of what the other fellow was doing. If those who have a common interest to serve would get together we would form a solid phalanx in the interests of humanity, make a better citizenship and make a greater nation if possible. We have got to take up the cause of common humanity, because all the rest of the world is dreaming that when they exhaust their resources when they have shed all the blood that is to be shed, they have got to come over and ask us what is the best thing to do. We are a cosmopolitan people, we are related to all of them. I would not want to fight with an Englishman because my great grandfather was an Englishman, and I would not want to fight with a German because my wife's people are German. You see I do not feel as Mark Twain did when he said he was so patriotic he was willing to see all his wife's people go to war. And I would not want to fight with an Irishman, because my great grandmother was an Irish woman. Let us act so that we can help all the rest of the world. Then when we are threatened they will say "No, look at their citizenship, look at the economic system they have built up." And that will have to be done by the common people.

I am very much pleased with your convention. I sat and looked around the hall this morning and heard your discussions on the questions that pertained to your convention. They were discussed as intelligently as any men I have ever associated with has discussed any questions. I said to myself: "Here is a bunch of representative men, here are the laboring men of the country, and you cannot go into any other convention of any oth-

er sort but you will find the same people, the same flesh and blood, the same ability, the same integrity, the same loyalty, only a little differently situated. I don't believe I have been to a convention that I have enjoyed the sessions any more than I have yours. I thank you for your attention.

President Walker: The only thing the farmers are striving for through their co-operative movement is to get the right kind of prices for the product of their labor. That means the same thing to them that getting union wages, hours and conditions means to the wage-earner; and the establishment of the co-operative movement is going to enable us to give them that kind of treatment, it is going to enable us to establish that understanding of our wants and rights on their part that will enable them to give it to us, and joined together there isn't anything in the world that will prevent each of us getting what we are entitled to. And we are willing to give the fellow who is getting the best of us now what he is entitled to—in fact, we are going to make him take it, because he is not entitled to anything more.

The Painters' local union in Peoria is not affiliated with the State Federation of Labor but is affiliated with the central body. The Painters' delegate to the central body has been elected a delegate to this convention. Under our law he cannot be seated, but he believes if some of the Painters' delegates who are here from other places will go to their local union meeting tonight the Painters' local will affiliate with the State Federation of Labor. I would like to request the delegate who can do so to attend the local union meeting of the Painters' organization this evening.

President Walker stated that the Farmers' Co-operative Wholesale Company, the first mail order house that has recognized union labor, had a number of their large catalogues in the convention to be distributed to those interested in the co-operative movement.

At 4:40 p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9 a. m., Thursday, October 22nd.

THIRD DAY—MORNING SESSION

Peoria, Illinois, Oct. 22, 1914.

The convention was called to order, at 9 o'clock m., Thursday Oct. 22nd, President Walker in the chair.

President Walker: We invited President Kirby, of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, to say a few words to the convention. I have received the following message:

"Indianapolis, Indiana,
October 21, 1914.

"John H. Walker,
Convention Hall, Peoria, Illinois.

"Previous engagement prevents my accepting your cordial invitation. Kindly convey to the delegates to your convention my sincere wish for a harmonious and constructive meeting. May the sun ever shine on the true trade unionists of the good old Sucker state.

JAMES KIRBY,
President.

President Walker: I extended President Gompers an invitation to be with us during our sessions. He advised us that his work in preparing his report for the Philadelphia convention and other official duties make it impossible for him to be here. He desired me to express his greetings to the delegates and his best wishes for the success of the labor movement in Illinois.

Delegate Mary Anderson: Last night we had a very enthusiastic meeting with the hospital nurses and attendants at the Peoria State Hospital. We organized them and applied for a charter to the American Federation of Labor. Out at the hospital there are many firemen, engineers and plumbers. They want to be organized very badly. They came to our meeting last night thinking they might be able to join this organization. We told them they would have to join their own organization. If there is an organization of firemen, engineers or plumbers in Peoria I hope they will take notice and go out there and organize those people.

President Walker: The delegates to this convention from the Painters' organization attended a meeting of the local painters last night and were

able to get them to affiliate with the Illinois State Federation of Labor. If there are any of the local unions in the city that are not affiliated, I would like to see the delegates from those organizations use their good offices in trying to get them become part of us.

Brother James Lord is president of the mining department of the American Federation of Labor. A number of questions affecting mining will come up, among them the question of mining machinery, in which the machinists are interested, and the equipment around the mines, in which the structural iron workers are intensely interested. I am sure if Brother Lord had an opportunity to make clear what the Mining Department was established for they would see the advisability of becoming affiliated with that Department and having those matters adjusted through that means.

Delegate Grampp, Brewery Workers: I have a proposition to bring up while we are waiting for the report of the Committee on Credentials. I want to ask the chair if there are any paper makers in this organization, or have we any such organization in state of Illinois?

President Walker: I don't think we have any such organization in Illinois, but there is a paper makers' organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Grampp: The reason I ask the question is that we have a labor paper in Rock Island and most of the unions have their printing done there. The firm has to pay double the price for the paper with the label they have to pay for the nonunion paper. If the paper makers are getting double the price of the unorganized men I would say it was all right, the union men would stand for that; but if the capitalist class are going to charge it up to the union men it is an outrage and this should be investigated by our incoming Executive Board.

Secretary Morris: There is no reason why you cannot have union-made paper in every job printing office in

the state of Illinois, and there is no reason why you should have to pay more for union-made paper than for nonunion-made paper, except one, and that is because those who purchase stationery for the various labor organizations of this state do not say, "We want that paper with the union label." Whenever you say you want it you will get it. I was told it could not be secured in Springfield. I took the matter up with the paper makers' union and with the company that manufactures union-made paper. They sent me samples of the paper and prices. I went to the job offices in Springfield. There are about four of those job offices in Springfield. I said: "Here are the prices you can get this paper for. You get this paper for the Federation work or I will send it outside of Springfield." The Springfield Federation of Labor did the same thing. Now they all have union-made paper, and we can get the work done as cheap in those offices as we can in the offices there and outside where nonunion paper is used.

President Walker appointed the following committee:

Committee on Miscellaneous Business.

William Quinlan, Street Railway Men.

Edward Methe, Machinists, Danville.

J. H. Lavis, Mine Workers, Herrin.

R. J. Carlson, Carpenters, Rock Island.

Edward Nockels, Elevator Conductors & Starters, Chicago.

President Walker: The special order of business at 3 o'clock this afternoon will be nomination of officers. It seems now the convention will not be able to get to work until the committees are ready to take up the matters referred to them, and prepare reports to submit to the convention. I therefore believe the convention should take a recess as long as possible to enable them to get their work and report back as early as possible.

Delegate Straube: I notice that President Tobin, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, is here. I think we might hear from him.

President Walker: I didn't notice Dan this morning, he slipped in so

quietly. This is a habit of his—you don't know where he is going until he is there.

President Tobin, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, is here, and I am satisfied you will all be pleased to hear from him. I know I am glad to have him with us. He is one of the men who has risen from the ranks on his merit, because of the things he has done for his organization. The Teamsters' organization has prospered more, I believe, under his administration than ever before in all its history. He brought it from one of the smaller organizations into, I think, the third largest organization in the United States, and it has a standing everywhere that is second to no organization in the country. A great deal of that, I think, is the result of his own sterling honesty, good judgment, sound sense and hard work. I take pleasure in introducing Brother Dan Tobin.

President D. J. Tobin, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs & Helpers—President Walker just said there were a lot of other things he could say about me that he didn't want to say. I suppose, in view of the fact that he has said all the nice things, the other things must be contrary to what he has already said. Perhaps there are a lot of things I could say about the President of the State Federation of Labor that would have a tendency to increase his salary, but I am not going to say them.

My friends, for a number of years I have been waiting for an opportunity to have the pleasure of attending a convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. For six or seven years something has always come up at the time of the convention that has prevented me from attending. This year I made it a point to set everything else aside and come over here to be present at just one or two of your sessions. I do not want you to misunderstand my mission here. I am here principally for educational purposes. I want to be present during your sessions to find out just exactly what kind of a convention you hold, and, judging from what I have already seen and what I hope to see

within the next day or two, I expect to benefit as a result of my visit to Peoria. I have no other object in being here. I want to make that clear and distinct. I am not here for political purposes and I am not here to injure any one. I want to be present at your sessions, but there are a number of the representatives of our organizations throughout the state who are here in attendance, and I believe that not only will the head of our organization be benefitted by being present but many other International officers would benefit by visiting a convention of this kind and coming in closer contact with some of the individuals they have no opportunity to meet during the rest of the year.

While I am here on the platform I want to extend to you the fraternal greetings of our International Union. It is my judgment—and this is not said to flatter you—in the entire nation there is not a state federation chartered under the American Federation of Labor equal to the Illinois State Federation of Labor. For several years while living in Boston I attended as a delegate the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor. I believe that next to Illinois, Massachusetts has one of the best and most influential bodies of its kind in the country; but knowing what I do of the work that has been accomplished by this organization in all the years of its existence, and especially in the last years, no man who understands the labor movement can feel otherwise than proud of this organization.

For many years in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor resolutions have been introduced pertaining to central bodies and state federations, asking that it be compulsory for all local unions to affiliate with all central bodies and state federations. And I want to be honest in this convention in saying I have opposed those resolutions. There is no man more anxious than I am to see every union affiliated with every central body in its district and with every state federation of labor; but the time is not ripe—and I believe the president of this organization thoroughly understands that—when you can compel by force local unions to affiliate against

their will with state federations and central body. I wish a condition would prevail to compel organizations to so affiliate. It not only would mean a benefit to the local unions themselves, but would be of material benefit to every international office to have their locals affiliated with educational institutions such as this.

The principal work, as I understand it, of a state federation such as you have here is educational. While you do a great many other things, your greatest aim is in the direction of education, concentration of force, endeavoring through an exchange of opinions, one with another, to create a friendship such as you create in conventions of this kind, all of which has a beneficial effect upon our organization and upon yours after you adjourn. But outside of the wonderful legislative program adopted and practically put into effect by these organizations, to our International unions it means a great deal more perhaps than a great many of the delegates understand. This Federation of Labor has saved our International Union hundreds and perhaps thousands of dollars during the year.

Whenever I am cornered in the office in Indianapolis or when I am in New York or some other place and have something happening in this state between our organization and some other organization, or have our men become involved with their employers, I have never failed to receive assistance from the officers of this Federation when I requested it in some particular locality. Because of that fact the per capita tax paid by the several local unions of our organization that are affiliated is returned to us a hundred fold, as a result of the assistance we receive, not locally altogether, but internationally from this State Federation of Labor. There are many international officers who can testify to that. The unions that are outside would be benefited by attendance on this convention. The result of the counsel and advice given by the officers of this organization when they visit different districts through the state means a great deal to us in Indianapolis. For that reason we are more than anxious for the

affiliation of our organization with the State Federation, and this is also true of the central bodies. You see I have a purpose in being here, I want to advocate affiliation, and I want to come here to thank the Federation officers for their services to us, and have a general view of your labors.

I am glad your convention is harmonious. I hope and trust it will continue to be harmonious, and when you adjourn, no matter what differences of opinion you have had relative to the election of officers and things of that kind, you will go out and work together as you have done before for the movement in Illinois. This movement is a credit to Illinois and to the nation. There is no organization of labor in this country that compares to the State Federation of Illinois. I suppose it is safe to say that Chicago is the best organized city in the world. I am not speaking of small towns or villages, but there is no city that compares with Chicago and there is no state that compares with Illinois. The conditions of the workers in Illinois can be held up—and we do hold them up—to the workers in our states of the country as an encouragement and to show what can be done by organization. The wonderful results attained in this state by organization are not duplicated in any city of any size in any part of the world. For that reason we are proud of the organizations of labor in Illinois. From the Mine Workers down to the newest organization affiliated with this body the members have conditions that all the International officers are proud of. We point to the conditions in Chicago and other cities, we point to the conditions of the miners, the printers, the carpenters and all the other splendidly organized trades. We say to the organizations in Rhode Island, in New York and in San Francisco, "You cannot compare with the conditions that exist in Chicago, obtained entirely as a result of organization."

And in saying that I want you to remember also there is still plenty of opportunity for improvement. I am not unaware of the conditions that exist, I am not unaware of the dissensions that exist, I am not unaware of

the jealousies and inside quarrels that exist in the State of Illinois. I am not unaware of the jurisdictional disputes that have practically disrupted many of our great building trades throughout the country, or of the other factional fights that exist—I know all these things. It is not necessary for me to go into detail, a majority of the delegates are acquainted with these conditions. We have dissensions, we have jealousies, we have quarrels and misunderstandings, we have the work to be done by conventions such as this is to spread the doctrine, the real doctrine of fellowship, of trades unionism, and eliminate if possible the damnable dissensions that now exist, not only in Illinois, but in many other states throughout the country.

Men will say, "There isn't any great need of organization today in this enlightened age, when everything seems to come to the workers as a result of education." Then we have men who will tell us that organizations are too slow, that they are practically unnecessary. All individuals are entitled to their opinion, but the greatest results obtained in any one of your trades are obtained through organization. I believe I can speak for my organization when I say the only relief we ever obtained was through our organization, and the legislative measures that have been enacted into law, both local, state and national, in a majority of the states have been written into the laws as the result of the continual efforts of the workers. And there is further need of this cementing of our strength and eliminating all jealousies and quarrels that now exist.

I suppose there is no organization connected with this institution that has as much dissention and trouble within its ranks as the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. And I know what I am talking about, I know that if it were not perhaps for the selfish interests of a few individuals we would today have not 60,000 members, but we might have 100,000 teamsters organized throughout the country. There are men who may disagree with me in that statement, but it is true. And I know there are other

trades that are held back from obtaining better conditions, and not only are they holding themselves back but holding themselves back but holding other organizations back as a result of their dissensions and their misunderstandings. There are many unorganized trades and many trades only partially organized in the state of Illinois. I can point to many strikes that have taken place within the last year or two in your state, and to the long duration of those strikes. I believe you will agree with me when I say that 80 per cent. of the energy we put into those strikes might be saved were it not for the fact that we workers are not true and loyal to ourselves. All the money of the employers, all their plotting and planning, all their secret organizations and associations would amount to nothing if the workers of our country were true and loyal to themselves.

But we are going on. This institution and all other institutions of its kind are making it easier every year. The education obtained from institutions of this kind is spreading not only among the officers, but among the membership. The knowledge you receive from the discussions on this floor enables you to go back to your organizations and intelligently discuss any matter of importance that comes up in your local meetings. You distribute in that way the information you receive to your several members. All this is an education. I believe as an individual and also as the head of an international union that every one of our unions would be better protected and in every way helped by their affiliation with an institution of this kind.

I don't believe your President would have called upon me except that he did not have anything else to do this morning. I have really been filling a vacant chair, filling up a little of the time when you had nothing else to do. I am pleased to be here with you and pleased to have this opportunity of addressing you. I assure you I appreciate more than I can express the service rendered our International Union by this organization. I work as much as I possibly can with the officers of the Illinois State Federation

of Labor, no matter who they are. I do not look at the individuals, I look at the officers. Of course I naturally have my likes and dislikes, as the rest of you have, but every year it has been a pleasure for me to correspond and do business with the office of the Federation, and we have had material assistance from it. We have been paid back a hundredfold for the per capita tax paid by our local unions into this State Federation, and I am going to continue advocating affiliation as long as I remain president of the Brotherhood of Teamsters.

I want to say one other word, and that is that I hope and trust this organization will continue to fight for better legislation. If you will notice carefully you will see that in every state in this union committees of workers are appearing before legislative bodies in Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts and all the other states, both east and west, the Illinois labor laws—which are not by any means perfect—are nearly always pointed to and referred to as part of the argument of the workers. This is looked upon as being the banner state of the Union. If I am arguing a wage scale in some other portion of the country in my own particular trade I refer to the condition of our people here. Those who are endeavoring to make the load lighter in New York and in every other state refer to what is being done in Illinois.

While listening to your deliberations yesterday and reading over the report of your President last night I was particularly impressed with the number of recommendations and with the number of things you had in mind and he had in mind for the coming year. I am going to take a copy of your president's report with me, and in the many places in this country where I have need to refer to conditions I will point with pleasure and with pride to his report and to the work being done or considered by this State Federation of Labor. We need today more than ever before a change in our local and state conditions. If you will help by putting into effect some of the things that have been suggested or recommended to

you we can go out in the other states and follow your example. If you will do what you have suggested here in this convention you will not only help this state but you will help every state in this union.

And in line with the thought that we need all these things done I want to say this: Conditions in our country today, even though we have materially changed our old conditions, are, to be plain, with the greatest portions of the workers in many of the states, inferior to the conditions they had some years ago. Conditions are worse because there is more poverty, more real hardship in our large industrial centers perhaps outside of Chicago, and there is some misery there, but outside of that city there is more hardship and real suffering than ever existed in our nation. I heard my good friend who represents the farmers say something here yesterday that is true, something that undoubtedly many of you were surprised to hear, when he mentioned the high percentage of illiteracy in Mexico. I noticed the statement had quite an effect on many of the delegates. But illiteracy is not as painful as starvation.

Of course he could have gone on and described the conditions of the people of Mexico. Undoubtedly their sufferings have been practically without a precedent in this country. He could have told you of the murders and the slaughter and the privation and poverty of the Mexican people; but there are conditions in our own country that no condition in Mexico can compare with. I have seen them within the past three or four weeks. Even though we are far superior to nearly any of the European countries, there is still much to be desired in our conditions. I looked into conditions over there. My good friend Walker was over there last year. I was there a year ahead of Jack and I made it easier for him when he went over. I looked into conditions in Europe and every day I saw something that made me feel proud I was not working under conditions created by any European government. Conditions on the continent are forty per cent at least worse than they are in the States. The most progressive na-

tion in Europe—I am not taking sides in the war—but my observation convinced me that England was the most progressive. The English workers are ahead of the workers on the continent. They have fine labor institutions and splendid cooperative stores. Whenever they tell you about the cooperative stores they should tell you that in a majority of them, at least those I looked into, there were no union employes and they were not very particular about having the label on the goods. I did not see all the stores, but I saw a good many of them. Mr. James Seddon, head of the Clerk's Union, said in many instances he found it impossible to organize the workers in many of those stores.

I am not knocking the cooperative system; I believe in it, and I approve of the way it is planned in our American movement, strictly trades union from top to bottom. Conditions for the worker, in my judgment, were better in England than I found in any of the other countries. Germany perhaps ranks next to England, but it is the ambition of every man on the continent to try to get to England and from there to the States—that is, every working man. They were going along in splendid shape until the war broke out, but none of those places compared with the conditions obtained by the wage workers in this country. There isn't a working man in any of those countries I met while there whose highest ambition and aim in life was not to get to the States. I suppose they are more anxious to get over here now than they ever were before.

I referred to the organized toilers in our cities and the conditions enduring by them. There are others, the unorganized masses. The suffering, the pain of illiteracy, the pain of privation and poverty is more stinging to the mechanic of New York, Chicago or Boston, who is able and willing to work and cannot find employment than it is to the people of Mexico. The sufferings of the people of Mexico are nothing compared to the sufferings of the unemployed today in New York City. Why, they rather like war in Mexico; they like to be illiterate, they don't feel its

pains. A man who loses his sight in middle life suffers the pain of blindness a great deal more than the man who was born blind. The man who was born blind does not know what it is to see the sun, the moon or the stars. That can be applied to the conditions of the people in Mexico. Ninety per cent of them do not know the sharp pains of illiteracy and poverty, because they have never had anything else but poverty and warlike conditions.

In a Chicago paper last evening I read an article about the Mayor of Boston, Mayor Curley. He was a congressman for four years. He has come out with an appeal to the philanthropic people of Boston, to the blue bloods of the Back Bay section, a majority of those who own the Calumet Mines of Michigan live there, asking for an immediate response to his appeal for at least \$100,000 to assist, not the riff-raff, good-for-nothing loafers, not the itinerant workers, but the respectable, honest mechanics, fathers of families, who are practically on the verge of starvation as a result of unemployment.

It is the first time in the history of Boston, one of the first cities in the country to be thoroughly civilized, in a state on whose shores the Pilgrim Fathers landed, the haven of the Mayflower, that such a condition has prevailed. In all the panics we have had in this country an appeal has never been made for financial assistance to feed the starving mechanics and honest laborers who, through no fault of their own, were out of employment in Boston. And, mind you, this is in the balmy days of October. In Boston the city pays the wife of each man who is put in jail fifty cents a day, and I think a lot of their wives are framing up to get them in there. Mayor Curley says in his appeal that within the last ten days they have had no less than 300 cases before the municipal court where honest working men testified that they had committed petty crimes in order to be put into the Charles Street jail so that their wives could obtain the fifty cents a day. And this is in our modern civilization!

Do you mean to tell me the car-

penter or the machinist or the printer or the teamster who has a wife and three or four children does not feel the pangs of privation worse than the peon of Mexico when, because of unemployment, he is reduced to such straits? It sometimes makes me half sick to read of our wonderful charitable institutions, our missionary societies that send people abroad, yes into Mexico, if you please, and into Asiatic countries, and distribute millions and millions of dollars, while within our own borders in the old historical, puritanical city of Boston we have thousands of men, women and children starving in this age of enlightenment and civilization.

In New York three weeks ago I saw the bread line. And there isn't a man I know of that has any feeling or understanding that would not be affected by that sight. They distribute the bread between 12 and 1 o'clock in the morning. They buy up all the old bread in the afternoon and store it in a big grey stone building, and every morning between 12 and 1 o'clock they distribute a loaf of dry bread to each man who appears in that line who is sober and apparently industrious. There were no less than 3,000 men waiting up all night to get that loaf of bread. Of course the common answer to that statement is: "Now, Mr. Tobin, or Mr. Walker, you know there are thousands of men who would not go to work anywhere." I have heard that, it is the common answer; but I am telling you men that in that line there were more men who were willing to work and able to work reaching their hands out for something to eat than there were idlers and loafers and good-for-nothings.

And I want to tell you that I look for still worse conditions. I don't know that I ought to make any discouraging statements, but I have always had the habit of speaking plain and telling the truth as I saw it, and I say I look for still worse conditions in this country of ours before the next year is over. The reason I make the statement I do is because I want every one of you here representing your union to be careful dur-

ing the next six or eight months to avoid trouble if you can. I don't mean you individually, I mean your unions. Keep out of trouble, prevent a stoppage of work if you possibly can unless you are threatened with a reduction of wages. I take it you men are representatives of your organization and must have something in you or you would not be elected to attend this convention. I feel therefore that I am talking to the intelligent representatives of the several organizations, and in the same sense that I feel that I charge you, when you return home not to be looking for trouble, not to be picking unnecessary quarrels with your employers, but during this period of industrial unrest, during this period of disturbed conditions, try by your advice and your counsel to keep your unions out of trouble and keep your membership at work. And I mean that for my own people as much, if not more so, than the men of the other organizations, because we have been very quick to get into trouble in the organization I have the honor to represent. Many of the strikes and lockouts perhaps were brought on because the proper judgment was not always exercised by the individuals. You know that it is the easiest thing in the world to get into trouble and it is the hardest thing in the world to get out of it. Any disturber can agitate strikes, any business agent with no brains can bring about a strike, but I have always contended that the business agent, the representative of the organization that is successful in honorably steering on his organization and avoiding trouble, is a man who deserves the credit and the applause of the membership.

I hope and trust your organization will continue to be prosperous, that you will continue along the useful lines you have always worked, that you will help the weaker union, you that are strong and thoroughly organized, you unions that are powerful, you unions that have made conditions and that went through the struggle years ago that some of us are now going through. There are many organizations represented here that have a very poor show, there are organizations that have received no

material assistance from any other trade. And that is where we are weak. I am not advocating strikes, trouble and disturbance, but I say that morally, intellectually, financially and with all the other powers we have we can do more than we are doing to help several trades that are now struggling to obtain the same standing in the community you have attained as a result of years of organization.

If we all had the checkoff the same as the miners there would be no use to worry. I am proud of that organization for obtaining that condition, and I give all honor and glory to the men who were instrumental in obtaining it. Some are not now connected with the miners, but some who went through the fight are still with them. Some people inspired by jealousy may say it is not the proper thing, but I wish I could get the checkoff in St. Louis, Cincinnati, Buffalo, Cleveland and all the other cities. Many men are ingrates and do not respect and love the organization that has done so much for them. Every one of you know of individuals that do not appreciate the conditions that were obtained for them by their organizations. They will slide back in their dues and make cruel and unjust statements about the business agents and other officers. That is where we need conditions such as the miners have, that is where we need the checkoff. But with their checkoff system, their wonderful treasury and their great men they, too, have unemployment. Now I want the miners to go to work and make continuous employment for themselves and then we will all have more splendid organizations. I refer to that one organization as an example of what can be done by unions such as they have. It is your duty down in the mining camps to educate your membership to assist the organizations that haven't the checkoff system. If the workers of this country were thoroughly educated their conditions would improve rapidly. But I am not anxious to condemn them, because, after all they are not to blame for their ignorance in some matters. Some people say ignorance is a crime. I say it is sometimes a

condition we inherit; but it is our duty to correct that condition. Some people say a man should be imprisoned for being ignorant. I say he should not; that we should change that system of ignorance to a condition of education. If we had the 2,500,000 men in the American Federation of Labor and the 500,000 organized men that are outside doing this work protecting other organizations and helping them to live, we would have still better conditions in our country.

With the splendid organizations we have in the state of Illinois, with the powerful membership of our trades unions in Cook County, it has been contended that we have very little effect politically. A man from Chicago was in my office the other day, a very high labor official, a man I think a great deal of. I asked, "How is the political situation up there?" He said it was so and so. I said: "Well, how do the officials of the labor movement look upon the candidates?" He said: "Well, some of them are unsatisfactory and none of them are favorable to one of the candidates." I can't go into details too much, but I will be glad to tell the president the name of that individual. He said, "I stand in all right with Mayor Harrison; I can go down there and get anything I want. I was all right with Busse; and I could go down to him, too, any time and get anything I wanted. I feel it is my duty, representing the large organization I do—that man was not a teamster—to stand in with the administration. In that way I can get favors for my people." Then he said: "There is Ed Nockels—Ed is here or I would not make the statement—and John Fitzpatrick, both good fellows, but they cannot go over to Harrison and get anything." I said: "Those people are representing the Chicago Federation of Labor." He then mentioned Walker and said, "You know he hasn't a look-in at all." I knew that without his telling me, because Walker never has a look-in anywhere, but he always gets there—I don't know why. One of my best men told me last year that Walker didn't have a look-in for this job, but he got there somehow. I was

kind of anxious for it to be the truth, but it wasn't. I said to this man: "Ed Nockels and John Fitzpatrick represent the Chicago Federation of Labor. They are not acting as individuals, they are trying to carry out the instructions of their organization." He said: "Yes, but that isn't business." I said: "Let me tell you something. I do not always agree with those fellows up there; they are big enough to allow a man to disagree with them; but I will say for them that, in my judgment, a majority of the delegates are satisfied with their actions, and as far as I am concerned I would rather be right and do the right thing than be able to go over and get favors every now and then from any of those men unless they are right with the trade union movement."

If you have to sell the honor of the labor movement for political favors, then I don't believe this labor movement is worth very much to you to obtain industrial conditions. If we are going to have our leaders, no matter who they are, in the American Federation of Labor, in our international unions, in our state branches, in our central bodies or in our local unions, for the sake of having some dignity elected through corrupt practices in many instances shake our hands, then we are not worthy of the name of trades unionists. And I want this Illinois Federation of Labor to say to the Chicago Federation, "Keep on working, not for the aggrandizement of some special individual, but for the rank and file of the workers that compose your constituency."

And I want you to put forth every energy. This is where you need to work today, not so much for wages and hours in the immediate future, but for better conditions which we need so much. It is for that you should struggle harder than ever before, it is for that you should work, educate, speak until your tongues are tired, in the hope that we will help. Let us not go down to Springfield with our petitions asking, begging and praying, not for ourselves individually but for our people, but work harder than we ever did before to elect trades unionists to go to Spring-

field and to Washington, men like W. D. Wilson, to make our laws and we will have less unrest.

President Walker: I am sure the delegates will agree with me when I say we are glad to have Brother Tobin with us. We are glad of the words of encouragement he has given us. I know that so far as he is able he will lend his influence toward getting every man in his organization and every other organized man in the state affiliated with the central and state bodies.

I want to refer to one matter I am intensely interested in, and that I think is vitally important to the trade union movement. For fear of a wrong impression being formed with reference to that movement, I want to point out in Brother Tobin's reference to the co-operative movement in England and their not employing union men in some instances and not patronizing labor goods, that Brother Tobin, unintentionally, I think, may have left a wrong impression. Over there I don't think there is any label except one the trades unionists use. But the thing more than anything else I want to point out is this: Professional men and business men who believe they are being robbed in the prices they have to pay for things they use go into the co-operative movement to reduce the cost of their living. They are employers, they are opposed to the labor movement, and when a majority of them get control of the organization they don't hire union labor or patronize union-made goods.

Then there are the other workers who have not been educated to understand the value of the labor movement. Even some in our organizations do not understand the necessity of hiring union men to do their work or patronize the label as they should. And then for all the ages the business and professional interests have been poisoning the minds of the farmers against the labor movement, and where they have started co-operative stores, until they have come to understand us they have not been particular about having union-made goods or hiring union labor in their stores. Those three elements combined do cut quite a figure in

this matter, but wherever the intelligent, real trades unionists have control of a co-operative movement they do see that union labor is hired and union-made goods sold in their stores. It reduces the cost of their living, it gives them a better living, it gives them financial strength to fight all their battles, it gives them an opportunity to learn everything in connection with the industry, trade and finance and makes it possible for them to fight their other battles a great deal more intelligently than they would if they did not have that information of affairs, and means more to them, I think, than any other thing excepting the direct work of the labor movement. It means, too, getting in touch with the farmer and the laboring people who do not understand the labor movement, and lays the foundation for bringing about at the earliest possible moment a consolidation of all the forces of all the workers, with a knowledge of what they are dealing with that will make it impossible for anything to stand in the way of getting what they are entitled to.

Delegate Leisher, Springfield: I hold in my hand a paper read by Mr. John Arnold, of Woolwich, England, in the Congress held in 1891, as to the best means of bringing co-operative societies and trades unions into closer union.

Delegate Leisher proceeded to quote from the pamphlet. A point of order was raised that there was no motion before the house and the discussion was out of order.

President Walker: The hour set for the discussion of the co-operative movement is 4 o'clock this afternoon. This is simply a kindly criticism of a friend of the movement.

President Tobin: I think I made it clear that I believe in the co-operative system, but principally as instituted in our movement on this side of the water. I also said I did not visit all the co-operative stores over there, but that many of the stores I did visit—and I reiterate the statement—had no union employes and very little union goods. It is very true there are not

many labels, but there is one label in particular, the Boot and Shoe Workers' label, that could not be found in two of the stores I visited, and they were not stores owned by employers. I believe in co-operation but I want it right. My friend may not know that there is no printers' label in England. I believe he is a member of that trade. They are behind us, in that sort of thing.

I have piles of literature sent me every week from nearly every country in the world. I do not have time to read it all. I am not taking stock in all these printed reports. Sometimes I do not take much stock in some of the reports from bureaus of labor, etc., it is dry matter; but I came in personal contact with those who are in a position to know. Mr. Seddon is general secretary of the shop hands, the clerks' union, and one of my personal friends over there, and he said it was impossible for him to organize the clerks in a great many of these stores. However, they are improving and I think that our American co-operative stores as we go on will be a lesson to them over there. But the main thing is they want to save the membership as much money as possible, they buy goods as low as possible, and that is the only consideration. I am giving you facts from actual experience. Not all stores are that way, but many of them are. I do not want to be misunderstood as being in any sense opposed to the co-operative system, for I am not, I believe in it, and I trust it will be a success in this country.

Delegate Germer: I want to ask Brother Tobin if it is not a fact that the employes in the co-operative movement get a higher wage and shorter hours and better working conditions than they do in like private stores.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers: A point of order was raised and the President stated that the co-operative system movement would be discussed at 4 o'clock. This subject matter is in the hands of the Committee on Officers' Reports, will be a special order at 4 o'clock and is not in order at this time.

President Walker: Your point is well taken.

Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Jampel, for the Committee on Credentials, reported that the credentials of the following delegates had been acted upon and the committee recommended their seating:

MACHINISTS

L. U. NO. 208, CHICAGO

A. H. Greener

PAINTERS, DECORATORS AND PAPER HANGERS

L. U. NO. 157, PEORIA

Wm. D. Comer

Geo. Beardsley

METAL POLISHEHS

L. U. NO. 6, CHICAGO

Edw. Lieberman

STEAM ENGINEERS

L. U. NO. 569, CHICAGO

A. W. Jenzewsky

MINERS

L. U. NO. 743, PEORIA

Leonard Lewis

Martin Stevenson

L. U. NO. 600, CANTRALL

Robt. Eadie

L. U. NO. 1059, CARRIER MILLS

Jas. K. Pittman

L. U. NO. 2513, TAYLORVILLE

Ben Williams

L. U. NO. 715, ODIN

Sam Lane

L. U. NO. 2215, JOHNSTON CITY

Elmer Yates

BARTENDERS

L. U. NO. 139, LINCOLN

W. H. Foster

Delegate Wright, Typographical Union: Are these delegates coming here, to the best knowledge and belief of the President and the Secretary and the Auditing Committee, entitled to seats in this organization?

President Walker: The chair is not in a position to state. I have not been talking to the Credentials Committee about their work since the last session of the convention. If these credentials are coming in new they would not be entitled to be seated at this time. If they were in previous to the expiration of the time for receiving credentials and the committee has been

checking them up, they are as much entitled to be seated as the delegates whose first names were read.

Delegate Wright: That is not my question. I would not raise this question, and never have, on any man who came any time during the convention. When we had a previous meeting of this organization in this hall four years ago, after a bitter fight, we laid down certain regulations regarding credentials, saying that men must either be working at their craft or holding executive positions and drawing salaries as legitimate trades unionists, otherwise they could not be seated in this convention.

I am not going to take the position now, I have not taken the position that the chair should be the absolute dictator; yet during the time I was president of this organization and any man holding a political office, an appointive political office, or when he was not legitimately entitled to a seat under the rules of this organization, I suggested to that man as kindly as I could that he had better not produce his credentials and they had better not be received. It is not my purpose in rising at this time to shut out any man, whether he holds an appointive political office, no matter what means he is going to use to come before this convention itself and it is a matter of conscience with the officers of this convention and the Committee on Credentials. If they are willing to pass the man along, if they are willing to pass up the constitution of this organization, I am not going to be the man to raise an objection; but I do regret at this time to see the constitution that we fought out here—and we had the bitterest fight to make this a clean organization—set aside.

President Walker: The chair wants to make a statement at this time. I am sure Delegate Wright will be the last person in the world to say anything that would reflect upon another unjustly, particularly upon me. I know he would go out of his way not to create a false impression. For his benefit I want to say there have been no credentials brought to my attention by anybody where the proposed delegate was a political appointee. No

one has spoken to me about a political appointee who was a prospective delegate but that in every instance I said under the law they were not eligible to be delegates here, should not be seated and would not be seated if the question was raised at all.

I have been in the chair here since the beginning of the convention. We have some matters while presiding besides listening to every word read in a report. There is a large delegation here, they are interested in these things and they are supposed to usually have nothing but the work on the platform to attend to. And I would not be so thin-skinned in a matter I thought for the best interests of the organization, if a report was read seating somebody I thought should not be seated, as to refuse to protest his seating. I think I am the man who made the motion to bar political appointees from seats in the convention. I have not changed my attitude in any particular. If any delegate knows of any one being seated here who is ineligible under that section of the law, he will get at least as warm support in seeing that the laws are enforced as Brother Wright would have given under similar circumstances while he occupied the chair.

Delegate Wright (E. R.): I did not make the remark I did a moment ago for the purpose of casting any reflection upon the chair or upon any of our officers, least of all upon the organization itself. I realize fully the position an ex-officer is in, and I want to say it is not my purpose in coming here as a delegate to put any stone in the way—no, not even a straw—in the way of Brother Walker carrying out his plans and doing any work for organized labor, or to impede or obstruct in any way the work of this convention. Going back into the ranks I want to be a useful member of this organization. I expect to stay in the ranks, I expect to continue as far as I know how and to the best of my ability to be a useful member in the trade union movement. So much for that.

I did not come here to criticise or obstruct. I want to be of assistance, yet in a matter of this kind, I merely call it to the attention of the organi-

zation, as possibly I should have done when the credentials were first read. I believe it is the duty of this organization not to allow a man to come in here unless he is fully qualified, and I am willing to take the word of an officer of this convention that what he knows as a trades unionist he must also know as an officer of a trade union. As I said before, I am willing to leave it to the officers of this organization. What they know as private individuals they know as officers, and if in their opinion the right thing is being done I will raise no objection either now or hereafter.

President Walker: The chair has no desire to prevent any one from speaking his mind on this matter, but the subject matter before the convention is the report of the committee. A motion should be made one way or another before a discussion is heard; but, rather than appear to use gag rule where some people might suspect there was feeling I allowed Brother Wright to make his statements on both occasions.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers: Men are usually prompted by some motive in expressing thoughts.

President Walker: I believe it will be best to confine ourselves to parliamentary usage.

Delegate Woll: I am willing to leave the question of the enforcement of law entirely to officers.

Delegate Jones, Streator: A point of order. There is no motion before the house.

President Walker: The point is well taken.

Delegate Jones: I move that the recommendation of the Committee on Credentials be concurred in. (Seconded).

Secretary Morris: I have been asked in regard to those credentials. My duty toward the Credentials Committee is this. I leave my books where they have free access to them. Those books show the standing of every organization affiliated with the Illinois State Federation of Labor up

to the 30th of September each year. When a credential is filled out and the delegate's name is put on it, signed and sealed by the officers of an organization, there is a section on that credential that says: "The above delegate has complied with Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of the constitution of the State Federation of Labor." Behind that credential I will not go. I turn the credentials over to the committee, I say, "Here is the standing of the organization," and then it is their duty to go and look and see if the organization that sent the delegate has complied with the constitution.

I would like to ask the committee if I have done anything except to place the credentials, before them, except when a delegate stated that he had lost his credentials and came with a statement from his local organization and asked for their standing. I have given him their standing. There are delegates here personal friends to me who could not get a seat when they were one month behind in their tax to this organization. Is not that the position I have taken?

Delegate Kain: I want to state the remarks made by Secretary Morris are correct. The books were laid open for the committee and we referred to the Secretary's books and had the names checked off if they were paid up. In some instances the organizations were not paid up for a month and those credentials were refused until such time as they were paid up to the 30th day of September.

I am at a loss to know what is the cause of this talk this morning. The Credentials Committee is in no way able, any more than the rest of the delegates, to know what a man's job is. If he comes with a legitimate credential from his organization and the organization is paid up there is nothing for the committee to do but to issue a card seating the delegate in this convention, and so report to the convention. There is not a delegate here who has a seat whose organization is not paid up.

Delegate Allton (W. E.): Has any protest been filed with the committee in reference to any or all of the delegates whose names have been read here this morning?

Delegate Kain: Only two protests were filed with the committee. Those were the cases of Delegate MacArthur and the brickmakers. Those two cases were settled.

Delegate Blakely, Mine Workers: I think Delegate Wright ought to explain his remarks. There is an impression he has left that the convention should insist on his explaining. If any of these delegates are political appointees he should bring it to light.

Upon motion debate was closed.

President Walker: Before the report is adopted I want to say if any one has positive proof that the law affecting the matter Delegate Wright finally brought to the attention of the convention, if any one is seated in the convention in violation of that law, the chair will be glad to have such delegate unseated. While there may be good men appointed inspectors, there can be some used as tools by corporate and corrupt political interests, and it is not safe to allow a condition that will allow such a man to be seated. While one man may be a good man another may be serving these interests. So far as the chair is concerned, you will have his hearty support, whether it is the case of a friend or an enemy, in seeing that the law is enforced. There are some things a person knows and has told him he cannot prove, and before we can do anything. I have had men tell me they knew men to be appointed political hirelings that were here in the convention, but they could not prove it. They have said the knew men were here representing the insurance people and the employing interests, but they could not prove it. I don't want to take anything of that kind up unless I can prove it. I may have suspicions, but you cannot do business on suspicions of that kind.

Upon motion the report of the committee was adopted.

President Walker: We have with us this morning an ex-president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor who is now chief inspector of the factory inspection department of the State of Illinois. Barney Cohen, a man who did yeoman work in the early days to

build up the movement, and his attitude since that time would lead us to believe he has not changed his sentiments in the least.

Mr. Barney Cohen: Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: This is indeed an unexpected pleasure, but I would feel like a baby whose candy had been taken away from him if I did not at least have an opportunity to let you know I am here. Looking over this vast and splendid aggregation of representatives of laboring men and women gives me much pleasure. I recall the first State Federation convention I attended in 1894 in Belleville, where about forty men represented the entire state labor movement. For twenty years I have watched the growth of this splendid movement, and today it gives me great pleasure to see more than 600 delegates representing many thousands of working men and women. We have much to be proud of and much to be thankful for.

Many things the laboring class, both organized and unorganized, in this state accomplished have been through the organizations we are now representing here. The many labor laws on the statute books were fathered by the State Federation and its affiliated organizations. We have many splendid laws in Illinois and they are a credit to you. You have done more than that, you have made it possible to have in our state a splendid institution, and you have made it possible to have a trades unionist at the head of that institution. In the past fourteen months of his service to the state he has been fair to both labor and capital. The governor of this state could not have made a better choice than he did. I have heard it said, not alone by our laboring people, but by men who control great interests, that they are surprised to see the square deal the present Factory Inspector of the State of Illinois is giving organized capital as well as to the working people of our state. It is a credit to our people to have a trades unionist who is fair to the capitalist class and to the laboring class, because prior to the time he was appointed my information is that the organized capital of our state had petitioned the governor

of Illinois not to appoint a labor man or a union man as chief factory inspector, because if he did many of those institutions would be compelled to close their doors on account of receiving unfair treatment at the hands of a union man. But he has made good he has made those men who protested against his appointment come out in their own paper and say that Oscar F. Nelson is one of the best chief factory inspectors the state has had for many years.

A week ago yesterday I was invited to address an organization known as the National Congress on Industrial Safety, an organization formed some four years ago, consisting of the safety men of the large plants in the United States, and many men who take care of the casualty insurance. Among the speakers the afternoon I was invited to address them was the Labor Commissioner of Pennsylvania, a gentleman by the name of Palmer, representing the Mine Safety Engineering Department. They read splendid papers. I explained in my paper the condition of the working men and the necessity of making it possible for the lives and limbs of men in factories to be protected against the hazard of the machine. I pointed out that since the Health, Safety and Comfort Law had been passed we had eliminated those two causes of accidents.

The next day this chief factory inspector of Pennsylvania, a man who is not a trades unionist and who has not had sympathy with trades unionists, who received his education in universities and developed into a corporation man, said that 60 per cent of all the accidents that occurred in mills, factories, workshops and mines in the United States are not on account of lack of protection, but because the men were intoxicated at the time they were hurt. I was not there when he made the statement. The next morning the Chicago papers carried headlines—"Booze Assailed by Safety Men." I want to say now he lied when he made that statement. He could not prove that statement. Our American working men are not drunkards.

In our state prior to 1909 we had no law making it mandatory upon the

employer to guard and protect his machine against hazards to the men. We had to force those very men who now charges "booze" to expend from five to twenty-five and a hundred dollars to guard the men against the danger of the machine; and since the state law has done that we have reduced accidents in Illinois in the various industries more than 70 per cent in the past three years. And I say to you it was not booze that caused the accidents prior to that time, it was the greed of the employer who refused to spend ten or twenty-five dollars to put a guard on the machine. Those men are still responsible for the accidents that occur.

I wrote Mr. Palmer a letter and asked if he was correctly quoted, and he said he was. I asked him again to give me statistics and he said it was not necessary, that the incident was closed. That is how they got away with it, but this is the place to take up and refute such statements. If Mr. Palmer speaks for Pennsylvania working men, I say to him our Illinois trades unionists are not drunkards and I don't believe the men he represents are.

If I do not make another brief statement I feel I will not be doing justice to the president and secretary of this splendid institution. The Cigar Makers' Union, of which I have had the pleasure of being a member for twenty-eight years, in the election held in Chicago, without my knowledge or consent, honored me by making me a delegate. I felt proud that they did that. When I came to the city of Peoria last Tuesday morning I met Brother Walker and Brother Morris. I said I had been elected a delegate. The first thing Brother Walker said to me was, "You know the constitution, Barney?" I said I did. He said, "Enough said," and I withdrew my credential. I do not believe there is another man in this convention I have greater regard for than I have for Brother Walker and Brother Morris and I believe they have done the same in every other similar case.

We have had many men who have been your representatives as president and secretary, and they were all good men, but I find that every year

a better man is elected, each year the organization proceeds a little more and a little more. It is my belief today that you have a splendid man for your president, a splendid man for your secretary, men who have worked and tried to build this institution up, but you should respect their motives and believe they will comply with the constitution of this organization and not betray your confidence.

President Walker: I want to apologize to Mrs. Dinah P. Wolf, of "Life and Labor," for not announcing that she wanted to see the delegates of the street car workers almost immediately after convening this morning.

Delegate Haywood, Mine Workers: I desire to make a statement in regard to some real estate men in Nokomis who are advertising lots for sale. They are misrepresenting the miners' affairs. They have stated that 800 men will soon be employed and that the men are receiving from six to seven dollars a day and that a good loader can earn ten dollars a day. They sent circulars all over the country about a year ago when the new

mine was started and men came there from other states, many selling their homes to get there. Men came from West Virginia, Washington, Montana and other states. They also advertised in the Mine Workers' paper. I was agent for the Journal at the time and made it my business to go down and investigate the matter. They also exaggerated when they said the mine would soon have 800 men. It never will. It is employing 100 men and this is a year later.

President Walker: There is a special order of business at 3 o'clock, the nomination of officers, and at four o'clock the special order is a discussion of the co-operative movement. I think if we adjourn to 3 o'clock we will save time and allow the committees to work.

Delegate Straube: I embody in a motion the suggestion of the chair. (Seconded and carried).

At 11:30 the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 3 o'clock P. M. of the same day.

THIRD DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 3 o'clock p. m., Thursday, October 22nd, President Walker in the chair.

President Walker: The hour has arrived for the special order, but before we proceed I wish to make a statement that will be of interest to the delegates, and I am not entirely disinterested myself. Just after adjournment a delegate called attention to the fact that a statement had been made to him that in one month of the past year two presidents of the Illinois State Federation of Labor had received salary and expenses from the organization for that time. That is a mistake. I was a delegate representing the International Union of which I am a member in the American Federation of Labor convention at Seattle, and for that month I draw no

salary or expenses from the State Federation of Labor. I felt the work should go on, however, and I requested First Vice-President Allton to act in my place for that time. He got the salary and expenses of the President for that month. Not a cent for salary was paid to me.

Secretary Morris: I would like to make the statement clearer. Some people are looking for technicalities. When Walker went to the convention he left First Vice-President Allton in his place. Allton put in his bill for five dollars a day and expenses for that time. When Walker came back I told him the president's salary had not been paid to Allton for that month, but just the five dollars a day. I said if Allton was entitled to the president's salary while he was acting president he ought to have it. Jack

said, "Certainly, he is entitled to it." I sent him a check for the balance of the salary in the month of December for the work he had done in November. The man who raised the question wants to make it appear the money was paid for work he did in December. The books show that Allton's salary was paid for the month of November, and \$80 was paid in the month of December to make the salary up to \$200 paid him as acting president for November. The gentleman who hunted up the technicalities would not go farther back in my report and point out where Walker was paid expenses for going before a federal investigation in Chicago and turned the money back to this organization. He only saw something to make a knock at somebody.

Vice-President Allton: The statements of the President and the Secretary are absolutely correct.

First Vice-President Allton in the chair.

Nomination for President.

The chairman stated that nominations for president were in order.

Delegate Nockels, Chicago: I rise to place in nomination for president of this organization a man who is well known to the delegates of this convention. There is nothing I can say that will add anything to what the delegates already know. He is a man whose loyalty to the workers and to the labor movement is not only well known in the State of Illinois but throughout this country, a man whose account of his stewardship to this organization is also well known. I therefore have the honor and pleasure of nominating John H. Walker of the United Mine Workers.

Delegate Bloom, Garment Workers: I second the nomination.

Delegate Evans (E.), Mine Workers: I move that nomination close and that it be made unanimous. (Seconded.)

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers: I rise to a point of order on the mo-

tion. The constitution provides for nominations today and for elections tomorrow.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: I agree Brother Woll is right provided there is a contest. I don't believe that it has any bearing on the question when there is no contest. For that reason I believe the motion is in order.

Vice-President Allton: The motion is only to make the nomination unanimous.

The motion offered by Delegate Evans was carried.

President Walker in the chair.

Nominations for Vice-President.

Delegate Woll: Often we are under the impression that the office of vice-president carries with it little responsibility. Having been in executive position for some time, and realizing that if the convention makes a splendid choice and selects an able man the work of the administration and the work of the convention and of the organization is generally improved. For that reason I feel that in selecting executive board members we ought to give as much attention as we do to our other executive officers, thereby giving them the encouragement to which they are entitled. In placing a man before you for your consideration I will name one who has those qualifications. He has during the past year served you in that capacity, and from all accounts I can gather and from observation I believe he has well served the organization. I take great pleasure in placing before you for the office of First Vice-President L. A. Allton, the present incumbent of that office.

Delegate Chiles, Electrical Workers: I wish to place in nomination Edward J. Evans, Local 134, Electrical Workers, Chicago.

Delegate Evans: I move that nomination closed.

President Walker: That motion is always out of order. Hearing no further nomination, I declare nominations closed on Brother Lou Allton,

of Peoria, and Brother E. J. Evans, of Chicago.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: One year ago I had the pleasure and honor of placing in nomination a man for the important position of second vice-president. I told you he would make good. It has come to me that since he has been in that office he has been a consistent and careful worker for the uplift of the working people of this state, he has served the organization truly and faithfully, and for that reason I believe he is entitled to recognition at this time. The records show he has brought into the Illinois State Federation of Labor five distinct unions. I therefore take great pleasure in placing before you the name of John H. Irish, of the Bar-tenders, Peoria.

Delegate Nelson: I want to place in nomination Brother D. W. Newton, of Typographical Union, Rock Island.

Delegate Williams, Mine Workers: I desire to place in nomination a man the entire labor movement of Illinois is acquainted with. He is known, not so much for his ability as his interest in and his loyalty to the labor movement. He has been subjected to attacks of the enemies of organized labor because he has had the courage to stand up for the interests of the workers. I believe his work during the past year will show this better than any speech I can make on the floor of this convention. If he is elected he will be a credit to the labor movement, there will be no apology to offer from any one. I place before you the name of Ed. Carabine, of Chicago, who has had charge of the machinists' strike against the Goodman Company.

Delegate Carabine: At this time I would respectfully decline the nomination.

No further names being offered, nominations were closed.

Delegate Lelivelt, Brewery Workers: I would like to nominate a man who is well qualified for the position of third vice-president, James Patterson, of Local 334, Bottle Beer Drivers, Chicago.

Delegate Freeman, Teamsters, East St. Louis: I wish to place in nomination for third vice-president a man who has done more in the last year for the southern part of the state than many of the delegates are aware of. He has done more for the street car men than any other man in Illinois, Brother M. J. Whalen, of the Street car men, East St. Louis.

No further names being offered nominations were closed.

Nominations for Secretary-Treasurer.

Delegate James Lord, Mine Workers: In selecting officers for an institution such as the Illinois State Federation of Labor too much care cannot be exercised. We should nominate men who not only have the ability but are in sympathy with the progress we are making here in Illinois. I desire to place in nomination for Secretary-Treasurer a man who is well and favorably known in all circle of labor from Chicago to the Ohio River a man who has been tried, has stood the test of time and has not been found wanting. A man who will measure up to any requirement of the office. I take pleasure in nominating Victor A. Olander of the Lake Seamen, Chicago.

Delegate Neer, Teamsters: I want to place before this convention the name of Lyle T. MacArthur, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. I believe it is not necessary to make any recommendation as to his ability or as to his true trades unionism. I believe there is hardly a delegate in this convention who has not in the past fifteen years been benefited by the energy and the assistance of Brother MacArthur as an organizer throughout the State of Illinois. I do not believe it is necessary to tell you the caliber of man MacArthur is; you who have come in contact with him in the labor movement in the past years know that the night is never too dark or the distance too great for MacArthur to come to your assistance when you are in trouble. He is one of the men who 365 days in the year practices what he advocates, true trades unionism, a man abundantly able to handle the work

of any position in the gift of the labor movement. It gives me pleasure to place before this convention the name of Lyle T. MacArthur for the next Secretary-Treasurer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

A Delegate: I desire to place before the convention a man who does not need any speech-making, the present incumbent, Brother James F. Morris.

Delegate Connors: I believe there is some reward coming to those who serve you well and I believe at this time we should recognize the good work that has been done by the officers of this organization, the men who have sacrificed their time and energy to build it up to the conditions it now has attained in the labor world. For that reason I take great pleasure in seconding the nomination of Brother James F. Morris.

Delegate Dobbins, Mine Workers: I move we give Secretary Morris a rising vote of thanks before he makes a speech.

Secretary Morris: Mr. President and Fellow Delegates: A day has come to me that I did not expect would come so early. However, I am glad to be able to look into the face of the man who placed me in nomination thirteen years ago at Joliet, and the men who counted the ballots that elected me in that convention, and who increased my salary at that time from \$25 to \$35 a month. You turned this organization over to me thirteen years ago as its secretary. It was in its infancy, I might say in its swaddling clothes, and you presented to me a bonus of \$2.05 to take care of and raise it and bring it to manhood. I told you in Joliet that I would do the best I could, but what little I could do would not amount to much without the assistance and the influence of the delegates who were in that convention.

We had in the Joliet convention about 106 delegates, and I want to assure you all those delegates went back to their homes and gave me all the assistance I could ask for. In the next convention in East St. Louis we had in the neighborhood of 300 dele-

gates and three or four hundred dollars in the treasury. In East St. Louis we increased the membership of the organization. We kept continually increasing it. We kept increasing the financial standing of the organization. We tried to put organizers in the field to build it up. Every member I have met from one end of the state to the other has given me and the other officers of the State Federation as loyal and true support as any officer of any organization ever received in Illinois.

As I said in the beginning, I did not think this day would come to me as soon as it has. But I want every delegate who does not know the reason why to know that I am serving my last term for at least some time as an officer of the State Federation. There is no friction whatever, it is not because Mr. Walker and myself are members of the same organization that I am stepping out. I wish it was. I wish nothing else was taking me out of the Federation as an officer than that two members of the United Mine Workers' organization are holding office. What is causing me to resign office is the physical condition of one in my family that I love dearer than anything else on earth. I am now compelled to put in as much time as possible at home taking care of Mrs. Morris and taking her to as many different places as I can, to show her different sights and scenes in an endeavor to bring her back to the physical condition she was in up to six or seven years ago. That is the reason and no other. I do not want any one to say there is any other cause why I decline to be a candidate for re-election. From the good words that have been spoken of me since I came to this convention I really believe I would not have any more trouble in being elected than I have had in the last thirteen conventions.

Now that the organization is going over into the hands of new men I believe I can safely say that I acted as one of the officers that sought to guide it along as best I could. I took it as an infant, I am turning it over as a full grown man, able to take care of itself, and particularly I know it

will be able to do that with a man like Walker at the head of it. I have known Walker for about twenty-four years and have met him practically every month in the past twenty-four years, and in the twenty-four years I have known him and in the fourteen years he has been an officer and working for the United Mine Workers, no man can say otherwise than that at all times, day and night, he was ready to do his best, the road was never too long or hard for him to do anything he could to build up the labor movement of this state.

And Brother Walker did not work in this state alone. When the organization was perfected here he did not want to go to the front. He is one of the founders of the United Mine Workers' organization, and he has taken his life in his hand for it. He went into West Virginia when there was a premium upon the head of an organizer if he could be found thrown into a ditch or cut up on a railroad track. He went to West Virginia the time I was elected in Joliet. He went to Colorado and went to Michigan when there were hired thugs to the corporation there to slug and shoot our men. He is fearless of everything he takes in hand, regardless of what it is; he is not afraid of the enemy, he can meet his enemies and laugh in their faces when they are attacking him. As the head of this organization he will be what he has been with the miners. He cannot be anything else except to be better, because with experience a man in this movement, if he is right, will get better.

I sincerely thank every delegate here and every delegate in every organization in the state of Illinois, because I believe you all have a warm spot in your hearts for me, and if there is anything I can do in the future, and if I come back to look for an office, I will come as I have in the past and I know I will be accepted as I have always been.

Delegate Grampp, Brewery Workers: I would like to nominate Brother Joe Muthers, of the Brewery Workers, Peoria.

Delegate Jenkins, Mine Workers: I desire to nominate James Mason of the Mine Workers.

Delegate Muthers and Delegate Mason declined to accept the nomination, and nomination were closed on Delegate Olander and Delegate MacArthur.

Nominations for Executive Board.

Secretary Morris: I want the privilege of placing in nomination for a member of the Executive Board a man who seconded my nomination in Joliet thirteen years ago, a man who has acted as vice-president and executive board member of the State Federation, to my knowledge for thirteen years, and I don't know how long before that. He is well known, but I want to have the honor of placing him in nomination, Brother Joe Morton, of the Stationery Firemen, Chicago.

Delegate McDonald, Mine Workers: After the many bouquets that have been handed out one might think all the good ones had been used up. If that is the impression I want to correct it, because we still have some good material left. I want to place in nomination a man whom I feel if elected will do as he has done in the past, assist in carrying on the good work of this organization. We always understand if we have a good engineer it is well to have a good crew working with him. I want to take the pleasure at this time of placing in nomination Al Towers, of the Moulders, Belleville, one of the best organized towns in this state.

Delegate Thomas Kelly, of the Barbers, Streator, was placed in nomination.

Delegate Downie, Mine Workers: Like Brother McDonald, I don't think the bouquets are yet all exhausted; but I am one of the members of the trade union movement who does not altogether believe in throwing bouquets. I believe in using the labor movement to the best advantage possible for the members and to use the executive positions to advance the interests of organized labor. We

have in Illinois one organization which ought to be the biggest in the state. There are more members of that craft working than there are of any other craft, and if we give an opportunity to one member of that craft to serve in an executive position, I believe he will use his office and his ability to build up his organization and bring thousands of members into the Illinois State Federation of Labor. This man may be unknown as far as the general labor movement in Illinois is concerned, but I have been in personal contact with him and know him to be an able conscientious worker in behalf of those who toil. I have great pleasure in placing in nomination Brother Jim Daughton, Secretary-Treasurer of the First District of the Retail Clerks' Union of Springfield.

Delegate Strode, Champaign: It was my pleasure a year ago in the convention held in Decatur to place before the body the name of a man the convention saw fit to select as one of the members of the Executive Board, and I am proud of the fact that he has made a good member of the Board. I take great pleasure in presenting to you Brother George B. Jenkins, of the Carpenters' organization, Champaign.

Delegate Wynn, Bartenders: I desire to nominate James C. Kinsley, President of the Street car Workers, Rock Island.

Delegate Sullivan (S.): I would like to ask if there has been a miner nominated yet on the Executive Board?

President Walker: None of the five members of the Board.

Delegate Sullivan: I nominate James Shannahan, Mine Workers, Pawnee.

Delegate James Pittman, of the Mine Workers, Carrier Mills, was nominated.

Delegate Honan, Switchmen: I desire to nominate Brother James G. Connors, of the Switchmen.

Delegate Connors: I appreciate

the honor of the nomination, but because I am continually employed to further the duties of the office I now hold in the organization I represent, I most respectfully decline to accept the nomination.

Delegate Wiley, Decatur: I desire to nominate C. R. Chiles, of the Electrical Workers, Springfield.

Delegate Chiles: I fully appreciate the honor bestowed, but I most respectfully decline.

Nominations for Auditors.

Delegate Germer: I wish to place in nomination for auditor a delegate to this convention who has served in the capacity of auditor and credential committeeman for a number of years and whose record needs no defense, it speaks for itself. I nominate at this time Tilden Bozarth, of the United Mine Workers.

Delegate Gaudé: I want to place in nomination a man who needs no introduction—Jerry A. Kain, of the Cigar Workers.

Delegate Hitchings, Mine Workers: I rise at this time to place in nomination the name of William Jampel, Journeymen Barbers, one of the present incumbents.

A Delegate: I want to place in nomination the name of a young man who have been actively connected with this organization from his boyhood, not only in this state but in the state of Alabama. He was driven out of that state for the part he took in trying to carry on the organization there several years ago. He has been placed in responsible positions and has filled them with credit to himself and to the organization. I now have the pleasure of presenting to you the name of Charles Kelly, of Herrin, a member of the miners' organization.

Delegate Neer, Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chicago, was placed in nomination.

Delegate Neer: I respectfully decline the nomination.

Delegate Fox: I would like to place in nomination Brother John Tuttle, of Harrisburg, a member of the United Mine Workers' organization.

Delegate Tuttle declined the nomination.

Delegate Woodmansee: I desire to place in nomination William A. Harmon, of the Bartenders, Springfield.

Delegate Hugh Willis, Mine Workers, was nominated, but declined the nomination.

Delegate James Lord, Mine Workers, Farmington, was nominated, but declined the nomination.

Delegate George B. Leisher, Typographical Union, Springfield, was nominated.

Delegate Leisher: A man accepting an office in an organization of this kind is usually expected to have carried the tar bucket for a long time for the organization he is a member of and also for the organization he is to be an officer of. I don't think I have served my apprenticeship with the tar bucket and brush, and I respectfully decline.

Nomination Delegate A. F. of L.

Delegate Lord, Mine Workers: I nominate James F. Morris, Springfield, for delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention.

Delegate Martin: I move that the president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor cast the unanimous vote of this convention for James F. Morris for delegate to the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Romeo, Mine Workers, seconded the nomination.

Delegate Woll: I quite appreciate the sentiment connected with this. If the mover will allow it to stand as a declaration and let the constitution be carried out in the matter of the election. I make it as a point of order that the constitution cannot be suspended.

President Walker: The point is well taken.

The hour set for the special order, to discuss the co-operative movement having arrived, we will proceed with the consideration of that matter. The Committee on Credentials has a brief report to make. If there are no objections on the part of the convention that will be made before we begin.

Delegate Neer: Has the next city been nominated?

President Walker: The special order for nomination of cities is on Friday morning.

During the years we have served in official capacity with each other we have met conditions that have made clear to every one of us, not only the weaknesses we may have and the shortcomings we possess, but also the good qualities, the sterling qualities of honest manhood there are in the different officials necessarily is brought to the surface in considering, in passing judgment and in standing up and being counted in the open in deciding on the important matters affecting the different organizations with which we have to deal. And in those years, while we have not always agreed, and at times we have had serious differences in honest opinion, no time has there been any question about the honesty and sincerity of purpose of the brother I am now about to speak of.

When Brother Morris made up his mind that he was not going to be a candidate for re-election his official associates, his colleagues in office and some of the friends who have been connected with him directly during the course of our experience in those positions felt they would like to do something which would show an indication of their feeling toward Brother Morris on the eve of his severing his official relationship with us. And while it is not of very much value in trinsically, still it is being given voluntarily by those who feel they would like to show just what their real feeling is for Brother Morris, and I take great pleasure at this time in behalf

of the Executive Board, some of the ex-officials and personal friends who are delegates to this convention in presenting to Brother Morris this evidence of our respect and esteem, with the hope that if a time comes in the future when it may seem that our differences are almost unbridgeable that, no matter what they may have been or are, that feeling exists for him on the part of those officials. They feel that he has done the best he could, and we want him to know we feel that way.

President Walker presented to Secretary Morris a handsome diamond-studded watch charm.

Secretary Morris: I have had some surprises in my life, but this is indeed a very great surprise, and is something I assure you I appreciate. I only wish I could express to you my feelings for this token of your respect. As far as my official duty to the organization is concerned I did the best I could. If I have made any mistakes they were not intentional, and I assure the members who presented this to me that I appreciate it highly and I will respect and honor it more than any present I have ever received. I want to thank you again for it.

Delegate McDonald, Mine Workers: I move that we suspend the regular order of business now to hear from a grey-haired woman who has, perhaps, been in more conflicts than any other person in this organization. I move that we suspend the rules and hear from Mother Jones who has just arrived. (Seconded and carried.)

President Walker: It is a number of years since I first became acquainted with Mother Jones. We had some rather trying times in the course of our acquaintanceship in the different portions of the country when we were struggling to establish the organization. I know there isn't anything she was capable of doing she has not gladly and willingly done to make it possible to establish, build up and strengthen our organization and make better conditions possible for ourselves and our families.

There is another aspect of this proposition I want to mention in introducing Mother Jones. Mother Jones is a woman, and I believe we have got to consider woman's part in this struggle more in the future than we have in the past. I believe the women suffer more because of our lack of progress and have more to gain when they make progress than have the men, much more. If wages are low, hours are long and conditions unhealthy and unsafe, it is the woman who must meet the longing eye of the boy or girl who is hungry, who is ragged, who cannot get the things the better-off neighbors can get, and who is struck through the heart almost as with a dagger because she has to deny her children on account of not being able to get for them the things they should have. If she has a boy or girl that has some promise it is the mother who sees it, and she is most hurt because of not being able to give it a chance. And, during the times of struggle, she hasn't got the joy of the battle, she has to sit at home in the corner and starve, no one looking on. No one is giving her credit for the silent suffering she undergoes. When hunger comes it is to her heart the cry of the children reaches quickest and strikes most keenly.

I say to you that the women themselves must take the matter up and fight it out, insist in getting recognition and taking part in the struggle. I am sure there is no man on the top of this earth that has done more or made more sacrifices to make progress for the workers than this one woman, and if there are others in the ranks of the women who can render the same service, and because of their not participating in the movement they are not doing it, we are losing some of the strongest influence in the world to make things better for us. I take pleasure in introducing to you one who, in my judgment, more than any other person in this country has made sacrifices for the labor movement, Mother Jones. (Applause.)

Mother Jones: You have been using your hands the whole afternoon since I have been here. I wish you would learn to use your heads. I can-

not agree with the chairman on this question of sacrifices. We don't make sacrifices for the labor movement. That is all bosh, and those who say that do not understand this trouble. The great trouble with us is that we don't do our duty. I must agree with him so far as the women are concerned.

I want to speak of the Colorado affair. Women have had the ballot for twenty-two years in Colorado, and in no state of the union are politics so rotten and corrupt, in no state are the workers oppressed as they are in Colorado. That does not speak very well for our women. When our babies were roasted to death by the Standard Oil at Ludlow the women of Colorado went up in a mass meeting to the state house and asked for federal intervention. My experience in industrial struggles is that all bayonets in the hands of soldiers are the same. The idea of any women in this twentieth century asking the governor to change the bayonets shows they do not understand what the struggle is. I haven't made any sacrifices, none whatever, my friends. I have had a splendid time fighting the enemy. I get to be the honored guest of the state sometimes, but I never ask to get out; I never take any backwater. I put the goods right up to their nose and say, "Now go to it!"

We are in a death struggle in Colorado. I went to Washington where I spent some days. I was sent there by the national officials. I went to the southern part of the state of Colorado with Vice-President Hayes of the Mine Workers. We put in a week and saw some tragic scenes. The federal troops were there. An army of children and their mothers, with babies in their arms, heard I was coming and came out to see me. When I got off the wagon a young man came up, dressed in a uniform, and sat beside me. He said: "Mother, I never until today realized the crime of my service. I shall resign this uniform, give up the bayonet and never again will I take them up." It was a picture I wish we had a Victor Hugo to paint. He could startle the world if he wrote of the horrible conditions in Colorado.

Last Sunday I looked at the home

where the babies of the workers that had struck against the horrible brutality of the Standard Oil were roasted down in that hole. A bedstead and other little belongings they had were still there. I said to the boys: "Some day in the near future I shall see that there is a monument placed over this home so that the generations yet to come can see what has been done here." I am on my way to Washington. This telegram came into Denver: "Just received information that fourteen militiamen wearing uniform fully armed entered the strike field today. We protest against their admittance to the strike field. Their entry at this time induces belief that they come to incite trouble and not to promote peace. Nineteen of the militiamen who murdered our men, women and children in Ludlow were in the employ of the Standard Oil Company. Will you permit history to repeat itself? We trust you will give this matter your immediate attention. The situation is serious." This is signed by the Policy Committee, Hayes, Lawson and McLennan.

I am not surprised that the militia men in there—nothing they can do will surprise me. There is nothing too brutal for them to do to the workers.

These men and women have stood out gallantly. I happened to be in that same field ten years ago when there was a strike. These are the men they brought over from Europe, or a large percentage of them, to break the strike in that field. We were put out in the night by the bayonets. I was dragged out of my room in the hotel, after being out all day. Seven brave American warriors with bayonets—these murderers in uniform that women so admire, these murderers of women and children—took the old woman, packed her down the street and put her on a train. Two stood at the door, two before and two behind, for fear I would fly out of the window. They landed me at the depot with five cents in my pocket for railway fare, nothing to eat and no place to stay, and the distinguished governor, the lapdog of the corporations, issued orders to me not to come back to the state. Well, I tell you the governor isn't born yet

that will keep me out of a state. First and foremost, he doesn't own the state. I went back the next morning. I asked the conductor if he would take me back and he said he would. I said, "You may lose your job." He said, "I don't care." I told him I had had no breakfast, had had no supper the night before and no dinner the day before. He gave me my breakfast. I wrote a note to the governor. I didn't say, "Your Honor." I wouldn't say that to a judge or to the president of the United States. I don't believe in that. I will say "Mr. Governor" or "Mr. President," but I will not say "Your Honor." I find blamed few of them that have any honor when they are tested. A fellow said to me in court one day, "When addressing the court say 'Your Honor.'" "To whom?" I asked. He said, "To his honor on the bench." I said "Who is he?" He said, "Why, he is the federal judge." I said I was calling him "Mr. Judge." He said, "That is not the way to address him; you must say 'Your Honor.'" I said, "I don't know that he has any, wait until I get through and I will see." I notified the governor that he didn't own the state, that when it joined the sisterhood of states my forefathers gave me a share of stock. For that reason I have the same right to be here that you have.

We are up against a condition today unknown perhaps in the history of the labor movement. We have federal troops in Colorado. I wrote a letter from Denver to Washington and made this statement: "It has been my misfortune to be up against the federal troops whenever they were called out in a conflict with labor in this country. At no time in my history can I ever say they protected the strikers." Their brutality was so vile in the Coeur d'Alene they destroyed the documents in Washington. In Chicago I made the statement when the railroad men had their strike won that over the protest of Governor Altgeld, a democratic governor, over the protest of John P. Hopkins, a democratic mayor, the national democratic administration sent troops into Chicago, broke the strike and blacklisted

men from one part of this country to the other. At no time had we ever dealt with them that they were not ruinous to us.

The miners have stood out heroically in Colorado. They have done everything to induce the strikers to go to work, but they have not prevented us from holding meetings. I asked the colonel if I could go around the camps and hold meetings with my women and children that were calling for me. He said, "Yes, you have my permission, Mother, and I will send some officers with you if you need them." I told him: "I hardly think I will need them—I can take care of myself, I am over twenty-one." We went through every part of the district. The children appealed to me. They would appeal to you. If you could have been down in those camps with me last week, if you have seen the men and women and children as I have seen them, I think there would be more tears than hand-clapping. There never has been in the history of the strikes of this country such a condition as there is in Colorado. I was there during the last strike. It is true they had me in the military prison three times, but I did lots of good work there, I wasn't idle. I converted some men that will never put a uniform on again, and when the governor called them out the second time they were not there.

We have no war with foreign countries, we should not have uniforms and bayonets displayed in industrial conflicts, and we will not when the workers wake up. I agree with the chairman that the power lies in the hands of the women when they will stop putting more decoration on the outside of their heads and put more inside. The great trouble is that the women have been hypnotized with social settlements, temperance brigades and every other capitalistic institution, to which I am diametrically opposed, because they only retard the onward march of my class. I am here in the interests of my class. Two hundred years after Christ left the earth the Romans went down to Carthage. There were discontented human beings there. They

Mother Jones

sold them into slavery, those they did not need. Among them was one who was dangerous, like his predecessor, the Gallilean. They said to him: "What is your occupation?" "I am a painter." They said: "Why do you disturb things as you are doing? Why don't you remain quiet and do your painting?" He said, "I am a member of the human family, of that part of it that built the nations of the world. Anything that affects that part of the human family affects me; therefore I cannot be still while there are wrongs to be righted."

And so it is with me, I cannot and will not be still while one child is enslaved. I propose to fight whether Governor Ammons or any other governor or corporation on the face of the earth likes it or not. And these conditions that confront us today are something that have not confronted the nation in all industrial conflicts of the past. How quietly the workers of this country took it—eighteen babies roasted to death at Ludlow, 282 miners roasted to death in the Dawson Mine, New Mexico, belonging to the Phipps-Dodge interests of 29 Broadway, New York! These men men into the mine in the morning to create wealth, to give up three-quarters of what they made. The children went up to get their bodies and found their heads were blown off. Those boys have been saying to me, "Come down, we cannot move until you come. As soon as you come down we will lay down our tools." I couldn't go, I had to go to Washington. I thought if I went there I might help to adjust things. The day I was leaving a telegram came telling of the death of those miners. The day I got out of the bull pen I went to Washington, and there I had a telegram that fourteen children had been roasted to death in Ludlow. Two days after one of the women that was roasted with the children, who had been taken to the morgue, brought a child into the world after she was dead, riddled with the Standard Oil bullets. Those children at Ludlow did not die in vain, they gave up their lives that you and your children may have a better day. Those babies were sacrificed on the altar of the Stand-

ard Oil gold. It is an awful indictment against our nation, our people, our indifference. We are the power, we can move this nation. There are 700,000 miners in the country and they can paralyze the whole nation when they want to, and if the President doesn't make John D. Rockefeller get off his perch they can do it. They will say, "Go in and dig your own coal," and there won't be much of it dug, I can tell you.

In Calumet 75 children were roasted to death last winter. A lot of our boys are going over the road, 52 imprisoned in Trinidad, Colorado, imprisoned in one place, another bunch in the city hall. Indictment after indictment has been brought against them. Thousands of dollars have been put up for bonds to save our people until the trial comes. When I went to Washington I saw a cabinet officer and said, "My God, are you going to stand to see these poor boys murdered, hung, sentenced for life? Cannot the President do something?" He said, with tears in his eyes, that he would go immediately to the President. On my way out I took up a paper and saw this proposition that was made to the miners and operators of Colorado. It gave me new life. A convention was called in Trinidad, and those poor boys accepted the proposition without a dissenting voice. The company had its tools there, but I knew them so well that as soon as they bobbed up I spotted them. I can smell a corporation tool miles away. That convention of the miners unanimously adopted the proposition of President Wilson. That was six weeks ago. Nothing has been done since. The Standard Oil went to see the President and wanted him to moderate it. He couldn't. He was sore at the way the Standard Oil had treated him. That doesn't cut any figure. The question is here—Who is running this nation, John D. Rockefeller or the people? That is the question before the nation, whether this fellow who has robbed and murdered human beings holds the destiny of this nation in his hands is going to be the king or the ruler, whether the capitol is at 26 Broadway or in Washington? You had

better ask your congressmen when they come up for election who is running this nation?

Now this thing must go to the President at once; there has got to be action taken one way or the other. We want to know where we are at. We want the President to say, "I don't dare do anything, John D. Rockefeller says I can't," and let the people of the nation say to him, "Get down and out and we will put somebody there who can." The time is here for us to act. I want this convention to send a telegram to the president entering a protest against this military regime. When one of your congressmen went from Washington to 26 Broadway and talked to John D. Rockefeller, and come back without a direct message to the president, I said to the congressman, "Don't go again for the president or any one else. I don't believe in begging from these people at all."

There is an army of gunmen in this country, they are transported from one place to another. The gunmen of West Virginia were taken with their machine guns to Colorado. That was done without a protest from the national government or the state government. This nation has never been able to compete with that army of gunmen. I have been in the midst of all these battles and I know what they mean. I have watched the pendulum as it swung and I know where it is swinging now. I tramped nineteen miles with your president at night over the hills before we could get shelter in West Virginia. We didn't tramp on the sidewalk, we tramped on the ties, and we got neither shelter nor anything to eat when we carried the message of hope. We did not succeed in doing all we wanted to do, but we went in again and fought. John was the only man the national organization gave me I could depend on to tramp day and night, the others were afraid of the guns. We went hungry, but that made no difference; we disturbed the existing order, we made the other fellow feel he could not be always on his throne. John was threatened one night, the mine owner put the gun to his jaw. I had to get between

the two of them. I knew he wouldn't shoot me, because before he got a chance I would knock his stomach out of him.

Now we have the courts in Colorado against us, as we had in West Virginia. Why? Because we don't elect the judges. As a rule corporation lawyers are elected as judges. They have been good tools of the corporations and that is why they are made judges. We need not expect anything from them. In Washington when the telegraph company was planting poles they crossed to Virginia and began digging a hole in a farmer's ground. The farmer said, "What are you doing?" They said they were digging a hole for a telegraph pole. The farmer said, "You can't take my ground." "But we are going to do it, it is the telephone company." The farmer said, "I don't care a damn what company it is, you can't plant it here." He went to the house and got a shot-gun down and said, "Are you going to get?" They went. They went back to Washington, but came up the next day and began digging again. Again the farmer came with his shot-gun and said, "Didn't I tell you to clear out?" They said, "We have got an order of the court." "What court?" They told him they had an order of the court in Washington. He asked them to read it. They did. He said, "All right," went to the house and put his gun away. Then he went to the barn where he had an old bull. He led the bull out, took the rope off, and said, "Go to it!" He went after the men and they ran. They said to the farmer, "Call that fellow off." He said, "Read the order of the court to him." The bull didn't pay any attention to the order of the court, the farmer had to. And so it is with us, the animals have more freedom in Colorado than we have by far.

Now it is up to you boys to do something for the men in Colorado, and while I am here I want you to do something for them men in Michigan also. There are some of those brave men up against it, too. Empty your treasury, that is what it is for! There will be money when we are dead. Use

it to put the courts where they belong so they will stop persecuting our people. Brother Lord and myself are going to Washington tonight. I hope you will pass a drastic resolution here. Don't put it up in that tame, mild manner; put it up in a strong business manner. Let them know we mean business. Tell them we want to know what they intend to do in Washington, ask them if they intend to have any more children roasted on the altar of the Standard Oil. Quit drawing up little, smooth, lady-like resolutions; there is no language too strong for you to use to the enemy of our class. They don't select smooth words for us. Let us use the same kind of language they do. I was asked: "Did you advise the miners to buy guns?" "You bet your life I did," I said. And I advise every working man in the country to get a gun and keep it, and if the time comes when he needs it to use it. And if you men don't know how to use guns there are enough of us women who have practiced at a target in the last year or two to use them, and we will put you in a corner while we do it. I want the resolution telegraphed to Washington tonight to the President, the Cabinet and the Senate. Make it strong. You cannot make it any too strong. We are going to win that fight, but we want you behind us. We are not going to give it up until we win, we will let John D. Rockefeller know we are going to fight to a finish.

In the last fifteen or twenty years a military despotism has been growing up and invading the rights of the people. It has been throwing aside constitutional law and all the rights of the people. You remember that this government did not strike the thirteen colonies, as you are told, for taxation without representation. That was not the motive. When George III sent over his army here he did not send the bill of rights with the flag. In those days they arrested all citizens, lawyers, doctors, farmers. The colonies protested. Then sent Franklin to England and he said to them, "You are going to have a revolt if you don't stop your military arresting people." They sneered at

Franklin. He came back, notified the colonies, and they gave the reply to King George III of Lexington, Bunker Hill and Yorktown. The constitutional government that was framed was against military invasion. When Lincoln was in power he began arresting civilians and the courts of the land protested and said: "You can't do it. Turn them over," and if there was any time when that was justified it was when there was trouble. But Lincoln had to turn every civilian over to the courts.

In 1804 Jackson, puffed up with his own importance, arrested a lot of civilians in New Orleans and the courts arrested him and brought him into court and fined him \$1,000. Now the only civilians they arrest are the workers. The military despotism is turned only on the workers. If they had arrested doctors, lawyers, merchants and farmers in Colorado as they did the miners there would be a howl all over the country. You see they are invading human rights and human liberty and there must be a change. I spent three months in the bull pen in West Virginia with bayonets around me day and night, I spent three months and five days in jail in Colorado, so I have a right to talk. It is true I could have got out any time I wanted to, but I wouldn't beg to get out of jail. The jails are ours, they are our boarding houses, and when we get sense enough we will own the jails and put the other fellows in them.

Now I want you to put up money. We need the money and no fooling about it either. If you don't put it up I will go and wreck the banks, I will get the money anyhow. I don't want it for myself, I want it for my boys, I want to show the courts of the capitalists they cannot persecute and hound our boys to death and into the penitentiaries. Somebody says we cannot empty the treasury. Brother McDonald, empty your treasury and we will put more in.

A Delegate: How much do you want?

Mother Jones: I want \$200,000 right now. We need the money to get those men out of jail. Nobody

stayed in jail long in West Virginia, because we raised hell there. We didn't take any two by four lawyers. The drumhead court sent me a couple of lawyers. I said they could not defend me. They said "The court sent us." I told them they couldn't defend me. Another big lawyer from Charleston came and said, "I want the honor of defending you." I said, "You will not get the honor, there isn't a lawyer in the United States I will allow to defend me before that court." And then the governor sent down his old Bull Moose train to see if I would go to Ohio. I said: "No, sir, this suits me. This state gave to the revolution the men and women it needed." And I didn't go.

Brother McDonald, go down to that treasury and take money out of the bank and send it to me as they did in Kansas. Some day you may get sick and want me to doctor you up and if you don't give me the money I can't come.

At 5 o'clock the rules were suspended to hear an address by James Lord, President of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Connors moved that the president be authorized to appoint a committee of three to draw up the resolution requested by Mother Jones, the resolution to be prepared and presented to the convention before adjournment.

President Walker appointed on the committee Delegate Duncan McDonald, James B. Connors and William Neer.

President James Lord, of the Mining Department of the A. F. of L.: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—I realize the disadvantage of attempting to speak at this late hour. You are all aware there are other things to come to a convention for except to elect officers, and I think under the circumstances everybody ought to remain here until that resolution is brought to the convention.

I am pleased with the opportunity of addressing my fellow workers in Illinois. I am sorry I cannot have

more time to go into this matter at greater length; it is rather difficult with the limited time I have to know where to start in. There are so many important things confronting the workers, the European War, which is the supreme crime of the ages, the high cost of living, the present aggravated spectacle of government by gunmen in the United States, not only in one state or locality, but everywhere the workers have not got the economic movement to back up their demands. This government is not yet big enough to lick the gunmen. The best proof of that is that it never has licked them. The brazen attempt of these owners of America to throttle constitutional government, to incarcerate for life and judicially murder those who have the temerity to demand constitutional government, should have the serious consideration of the workers everywhere. Don't forget that the grievance against Carl Person was not because he killed Tony Musser, but because he demanded constitutional government, and demanded it in such a way that he caused the gentlemen of the plunderbund uneasiness. These gentlemen did not like Tony Musser's business any more than you do. They give many dollars to Jesus to save their own consciences or to fool the social conscience. This social conscience is becoming somewhat harder to fool; people are becoming aware of the tricks of the press; they are beginning to reason things out in their own way, all of which can result in nothing but good for the workers. By unity of action and solidarity only will you be saved. By lack of organizing and solidarity you will surely perish.

Through the organization and the solidarity of his class the fellow who owns you and your wives and children, your fathers and mothers and all of you who do the useful work of the world, has again and again made your fellow beings march down into the valley of the shadow of death of this land of Lincoln and of Washington. Always have politics been played against politics, prejudice against reason, and always has he used the very government, with the universal fran-

chise, as a cloak for his iniquity.

It seems only yestarday we heard the screams and the groans from West Virginia where a mine owner's band brazenly sallied forth on an iron-clad, bullet-proof train, accompanied by what everybody from the President of the United States down knows to be hired murderers, and in the dead of night poured a hell of death and destruction into the tent colonies of the miners where men, women and children were peacefully sleeping, and then the order was given to back up and gave them another round. This record is on file in Washington, it is a matter of American history, and in the days to come will be read in the schools and educational institutions of this land by thousands of incredulous boys and girls who will wonder how such things could be in a land governed by what was supposed to be a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

It seems only yesterday we heard the baby voices cry out under the tents in Ludlow where they were burned alive by men in the uniform of the United States. Now we see these same forces staging the world's drama, that for purely commercial reasons has set the nations of the old world at each other's throats, bringing suffering and misery to hundreds of thousands of men and women who never saw each other and never had a grievance against each other. And what will that harvest be? Where will it all stop? It will stop when the workers of the world join the economic and political movement of their class and say to those who exploit them, "We refuse to kill each other at your behest any longer. We refuse to add any more to the misery of an already outraged working class. We refuse longer to kill our children's fathers and our sisters' husbands. You, the Kaiser, and the Czar, the king and the emperor go on and fight if you have a quarrel, pray to your gods for victory, knowing that when you pray you are praying for the other fellow's life. You are no good to us, we can well spare you, and as each of you falls you will make room for a man, the world

will be better off without you and your kind." When the workers of the world join their economic and political movement of their class war will cease and not until then.

Now all of you have heard more or less of the Colorado strike and the other strikes that have been agitating the minds of the people of this country for the last two years. We belong to organizations. My organization is the United Mine Workers, a part of the bona fide labor movement. I have been honored by being elected president of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor, that includes all the mining organizations. I have been able to view at short range some of the brutalities perpetrated under the constitution of the United States. We believe in intelligent action. We don't want to use the gun, we don't want to take any man's life. We believe in meeting and sensibly and reasonably trying to settle things for the time being by the trade agreement method. Pursuant to that well established policy, knowing the conditions in Colorado and knowing them to be more brutal possibly than in any other place in the world, we tried to get a joint conference there.

"John the Baptist" owns Colorado. Rockefeller absolutely owns and controls that state, politically and in every other way. "John the Baptist" owns this government. You have got a political government in Washington, but the real government at the present time is at 26 Broadway. And there isn't anybody connected with the political government that can make John D. back up, they haven't done it yet, in spite of all the atrocities that happened in connection with that fight. We believe in organizing out in the open; we have nothing to hide. Mother Jones and I told them in Washington, "We want to keep on with the good work, we want to do it peaceably and intelligently, but if you refuse to allow us to organize openly we will organize in the cellars and in the ratholes, and you will know about it when we do so. We will organize anyway—you might as well let us do it sensibly, because if you drive us to the other thing you

will know there isn't anything left out when it is all over."

We are going to win that strike in Colorado. We hope we will not be called upon to use the kind of warfare we don't believe in; but if the worst comes to the worst we are going to give the Standard Oil a battle if this government isn't able to do it. We called for a conference and they said, "We haven't anything to arbitrate, we haven't anything to settle, these mines and mountains are ours, they belong to us." An investigation proved that wages were worse in southern Colorado and conditions of labor more dangerous than in any other field. We found a system of peonage in Colorado such as possibly never existed anywhere. Men had worked there for years without seeing a dollar of American money. If you worked there you lived in a company house, traded in a company store, you were doctored by a company doctor, if you died you were buried in a company coffin. The supreme being in the C. F. & I. camps is "John the Baptist" of Standard Oil. We tried for a second conference; they sent our letters back unopened. The delegates in convention reduced their demands to seven and five of those seven were for the enforcement of existing laws in Colorado, laws already on the statute books. That is the thing that will everlastingly indict Standard Oil, and will indict this government if the issue is not forced there.

When the strike was called 95 per cent of those poor devils responded, bad off as they were. Then they were driven down the canons, turned out of their houses, some of them were not allowed to take their furniture, they were given fifteen minutes' notice. We built tent colonies and took care of them as best we could. It has taken \$3,000,000 so far, what we could raise ourselves and what little we could get from other people. Those strikers are as determined as they ever were. There never was a better set of strikers.

The tragedies and the horrors you all know more or less about. They sent the gunmen in there to stir up trouble so the miners would be com-

pelled to fight back and they could send in a call to the governor for the militia and the cost of breaking the strike would be borne by all the state. We know this and cautioned the strikers not to fight back if they could help it. The situation finally became unbearable, they were compelled to fight back, and they cleaned up the gunmen. Inside of twenty minutes after that fight was over a telegram was in Denver and the militia on its way, all ready and equipped for the carnage. They came down and in a short time the battle took place. They came over by maneuvering, they started to fight. Our fellows held back, they felt they could not lick the militia, they were not well enough equipped.

One man, Louis Takkes, a leader of the Greeks there, an educated young Greek, one of the cleanest fellows that ever walked the earth, a man who had gained the enmity of Standard Oil because of his ability to head off trouble among the strikers, was in the tent colony when the militia came in and said they were going to search the tents. They had a habit of searching the tents every few days for guns. The tents had wooden floors. The militia chopped the floors up. In one case they chopped up a woman's floor three times in one day. They took everything they could lay their hands on, every ring, pin or tricket of every kind was taken by the murdering militiamen—and I mean to apply that nationally, because that is all they are. I have no use for a militiaman. I hate the sight of them worse every day of my life. No man worthy the name of a man will join the militia in this country.

Finally this Greek said, "You cannot come here any more, we have stood all of this we are going to. If you think there is any body here you want to find, deputize a committee to come over and we will take them through the tent colony." They said, "Come over and talk to Linderfelt." They tried to get him to the machine gun. He said, "No, but I will meet you half way." He got near enough to the gun to see them sight it on the tent colony. He said, "Good God, what are you going to do?" They said, "We are going to clean up." He

started to run back waiving a white handkerchief. They commenced to shoot at him. He advised the men to leave the tent colony and go into the Black Hills nearby and draw the fire over that way to save the women and children. They did it. They left a few of the old men in the colony. The machine guns played on those tents from the middle of the afternoon until 6 o'clock that night. Then when they thought everything was over in order to hide the evidences of their guilt they saturated the tents with Standard Oil and burned them up.

We say we lost so many people. We don't know how many we lost. We only know how many we found that were not burned up. In one of the caves under the tent they had prepared to hide in from the rifle fire 11 children and 2 women were found. They were burned, their charred bodies were found. One of them an Italian woman of 23, had three of her babies burned there. Every one was dead but Mary. One woman was taken out of there, one of her arms burned completely off. She was taken to the undertaker's establishment in Trinidad, and the day after she died gave birth to a child. These are the things that happen in Colorado, that is the kind of striking we have had to do. I can imagine "John the Baptist" going on Sunday morning to the church, in the face of all this tragedy and horror, and piously bowing his head as he hears the discourse of the clergyman who takes for his text, "Suffer the little children to come unto me."

That strike has been on over a year. I wish I could go into detail and tell you of the things they have gone through. It is not a pleasant thing to talk about. After what I have seen in Colorado I only wonder there are not more anarchists than there are. If this is going to be the issue, what will happen? Violence always breeds violence and always will. Some poor devil who had lost his woman and child, who feels he is lost whether the strike is or not, will get it in his head—"It is no use for me to kill the hired murderer, I will go and kill the man who hired him." That will be the result. If we can get no redress

from the nation or the state we will be driven to desperation and the other things will surely follow. And when John D. bites the dust, and young John D. bites the dust, and a few more, the next fellow gets to wondering if it will be his turn next and he will begin to think it over. I hope it will not go to that length. We stand for a peaceful settlement of these things. We are still ready to meet them in Colorado and sign a contract based on enforcement of the law.

The President of the United States in his wisdom and the wisdom of those who advised him, submitted a proposition that meant nothing more than enforcement of the law. It did not add anything to the wages that are being paid; it did not demand recognition of the union; it demanded enforcement of the law. The laws of Colorado are as good as the mining laws of any state, Illinois not excepted. The companies knew that the law meant a checkweighman on the tippie. That meant the miners would get the real weight of the coal. They knew it meant that the men would get real money, that they would deal where they liked, that they would not be able to keep them in the company shacks, that they could not charge a young man \$27 for a month's board when he was living at home and say to him when he protested, "It isn't our fault if you didn't board at the company boarding house, it was there for you." They did those things and got away with them. No wonder those people will fight—they have had enough to make them fight.

We are still open for a conference, still willing to accept the President's proposition which means nothing but an enforcement of the law and a method of handling disputes. Mother Jones and I went to Trinidad and urged the men to accept the proposition. It was given out in Washington by every one who appeared to know that this thing would be enforced. It has not been enforced yet—I don't know whether it will be. I hope it will. We stand for intelligent action, that is the only kind of action I want to participate in, but we are not going to surrender. If they put the fight up to us we will meet the issue,

we will do the best we can.

In this present administration there are some of the cleanest, most high-minded men in Washington I have ever met in my life, and everybody who knows me is aware they are not of my political faith, any of them. But I am willing to give a man credit where credit is due. I am speaking for no political party. But I tell you if this thing is allowed to slip in Colorado it is the worst indictment any administration ever went up against. In West Virginia the strike was called because they would not give us a conference. The mine barons had never bowed the knee to anybody, government or any one else, and they said they would not do it. We got a little foothold. We have an organization there now. They took out an iron-clad train and deliberately murdered people in cold blood, and this administration sent down an investigating committee that found out it was all true, that had not told half the truth. They brought back the records it is now on file in Washington. Those same murderers from West Virginia were transported to Colorado, they took the machine guns with them, they are there yet. Belt, one of the leaders of that professional bands of murderers is parading the streets of Trinidad today, regardless of the federal soldiers, the sheriff, the mayor, or anybody, doing as he likes, swaggering up and down trying to incite a riot every day. While the convention was on I saw one young fellow about nineteen years old who had come there from Louisville take a picture of Belt with a little kodak. The chief of police was standing by. Belt ran across the street, knocked the young fellow down, smashed the camera and said he was lucky to get away with his scalp. The chief of police picked up the pieces of the camera and threw them in an ash can. They do not dare interfere with those gunmen.

The gunmen were found in Michigan. The governor of Michigan went to the strike field and found out all these things. Not a bit of redress, nobody brought to the bar of justice, and then to cap the climax this same administration goes into Colorado and

makes an investigation and finds out we could not begin to describe the thing as it really was. Still the gunmen are running around, they cannot restrain them, they don't know how to start to lick them. We have told them that because of their insane dual form of government in America they cannot lick the gunmen. State rights, federal rights, the most insane thing in the world. I think when these gentlemen drew up this constitution they had something in mind, I think they were a little more class-conscious than we were. That is the game. These fellows are running around unmolested, they can go into any state they want to, and as long as they can get by with the people they are fighting the government would not interfere. They are trying their best to stir up another civil war in Colorado. They want to clean up, they want to get rid of it absolutely, they have no fear of the court.

President Wilson sent his personal representative to John D. Rockefeller in New York and asked him if he would not please stop that war. He was turned down, told to mind his own business. Then he sent the fellow to young John D. and asked him if he would not please stop the war. If the President had done what he should have done he would have had that murdering old man picked up and brought to Washington and make him talk. The fight is on. There is no use talking about the millennium or what there will be in the future; we have a fight on and we must win it. We have exhausted our funds, we are in debt. Some of the best union men that ever lived are in jail more than fifty of them. If the strike is lost those men will be convicted. Their crime is that they were presidents and secretaries of locals of the mine workers; they possessed a little bit more ability than the average men in their communities, perhaps.

The same situation is on in Michigan. The Western Federation of Miners are up against it financially on account of the treachery in Butte, Montana, and on account of the closing down of the mines owing to depression caused by the European War. Those men have just done what you

asked them to do—they tried to establish the union in the upper peninsula of Michigan, Those counties are absolutely dominated and owned and controlled by the Steel Trust. If some help and assistance is not given those men they will be convicted. They are going down the line, possibly some of them will be executed.

I hope that out of this chaos and trouble we will get victory. I hope the Colorado strike will not be prolonged. I don't like to see misery and suffering. I hope that out of these things we will learn the lesson of solidarity. I hope we will keep the faith, I hope we will stand closer to the bona fide labor movement than we have ever done before, join hands in bringing about the real emancipation of the workers and hasten the day when the gunmen will be given an opportunity to work and get the full social value of what they produce—whether they produce anything or not—the day when the word “master” will have gone the way of the ox cart, the day when the government will own and operate the trust instead of John D. Rockefeller and other individuals, the day when liberty, the sweetest word that ever was coined, will come down from the dreams of the abode of the poet and the philosopher and take up its abode forever in the hearts of the children of men.

Report of Special Committee.

Delegate McDonald, of the Mine Workers, for the Special Committee, submitted the following resolution:

“Whereas, Recent reports from the Colorado strike zone show that a very critical situation is again developing; that the Rockefeller interests are recruiting and reorganizing gunmen militia; and,

“Whereas, This situation imperils the lives of the strikers and their families, for the reorganization of the gunmen militia means nothing less than the re-enactment of the Ludlow massacre, in which strikers were brutally murdered, and women and children roasted to death; now, therefore be it

“Resolved, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, representing one-half million workers, that we petition the president of the United States and those in authority at Washington to take immediate steps to prevent a repetition of the slaughter of human lives and enforcement of the laws of that commonwealth, and in the event of failure of the corporation to do this that he immediately proceed to take possession of the properties, place the American flag on the tipples, and close them down until such time as human rights, liberty and life are guaranteed by the constitution, are preserved; and be it further

“Resolved, That this resolution be immediately forwarded by wire to the president of the United States and the secretary of labor, W. B. Wilson.”

Delegate Germer: I would like to amend by adding that a copy be sent to the headquarters of the Mine Workers in Colorado.

Delegate McDonald: We will accept that.

Delegate Cook, Teamsters: I would like to amend by striking out the word “petition” and insert “demand.” (Seconded.)

Delegate McDonald: The committee considered that, but we thought in sending it to the chief executive of the nation we would use the word “petition,” in order to cause no offense. However, I am willing to incorporate both amendments.

Delegate Connors: Inasmuch as that is a telegram that is going over the wires to the President of the United States, I don't think we should use the word “demand.” I don't think it would get us anything and the other way may. Any one who knows that I am ready to demand anything and ready to go out and get it, but we should use a certain amount of discretion in these matters.

Delegate Cook: I am in favor of the amendment. I am not in favor of crawling like a bedbug when the lives of members of our class are at stake. I hope you will put the word

demand in there and show the capitalist class that we mean what we say.

Delegate Haywood, Mine Workers: I do not see why we cannot use the word "demand." I do not see why we should curtail our language in any way. Women and children have been murdered and it needs strong language to express ourselves.

Delegate McDonald: If putting the word demand in there instead of the word petition will accomplish what we desire, let us have it, but when a message of that kind goes they are not particular whether you say demand or petition, because a petition is a demand. I have no objection to the word, and if that will bring the result sought let us have forty thousand demands in there. We are making this whole proposition as a demand. We cannot force the President to do it. Putting in the word demand will not make it any stronger. We have been trained in a certain line of thought and when we approach those people we must approach them as our superiors, as much as some of us dislike to do it. If we could do so, I would demand that they take over the mines. I don't think they will if we demand it. A short time ago the head of a coal company received a communication saying, "We demand

that you do so and so." He said, "You can't demand anything of me but if you ask it I will."

Delegate Woll: There is apparently a division of opinion as to whether the word be petition or demand. Evidently there is division of opinion as to the meaning of interpretation to be placed on that wording. I see a possible danger in voting upon the amendment, not as to the effect it will have with the President, but the interpretation that will be placed upon the action of this convention. If the action of the convention is not unanimous upon the amendment, then we will take the ginger out of the resolution entirely; and rather than see a division in the vote on this I would urge the proposers of the amendment to withdraw it and have a unanimous vote on the resolution. Show them we stand united in this whether we say petition or demand.

Upon motion of Delegate Evans, the amendment was laid upon the table.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

At 5:40 p. m. the convention was adjourned, to reconvene in night session at 8 p. m.

THIRD DAY—NIGHT SESSION.

The convention was called to order at 8 o'clock p. m., Thursday, October 22nd, Vice-President Allton in the chair.

The chairman stated that, pending the arrival of President Walker, who had been detained by a committee meeting, the delegates would discuss co-operation.

Delegate McAuly, Mine Workers: Co-operation is one of the best methods we have to reduce the high cost of living. Years ago, before co-operation was practiced in this country, a strong organization and a strong defense fund was the only protection of

the wage workers. I believe still they are a great protection, but I believe we should have a co-operative system also. All we need do in any of our towns or cities is to look along the streets and see the great number of stores operated by individuals to account for the high cost of the necessities of life. They are making a living out of it, they are making money out of it. Now if we could buy our goods collectively and distribute them collectively we would receive the profit that is now going to those individuals.

I had experience with the co-operative system when I lived in Eastern

Ohio. I lived in a small mining camp. We did not have much money when we started; in fact, when we first organized in that community we got a number of people to subscribe on paper but when it came to paying the actual cash only about twelve or fifteen of us paid in the money. We subscribed \$485. We did not have any place to put the goods. We tried to get a house large enough to hold our stock. We bought a house on credit. That was on Friday. By the next Tuesday we had it all ready for the goods we had ordered. People said if we worked with that spirit we would succeed. When I left I allowed my money to remain in the institution. The last invoice we had from the store was \$4,900. That is in a small camp. In about five years and a half the \$485 has grown to that amount.

Prior to that I belonged to a co-operative movement but we did not make a success of it. However, the second one was a success; we never declared a dividend of less than six per cent. At the first we handled only the necessities of life. On flour, sugar and tobacco there is not much profit if they are sold at a reasonable price. We have started a store in Christopher, Illinois, and it is getting along very well. We intend to start another in Buckner, two and a half miles from Christopher. With this spirit of co-operation growing it will be but a short time until we have these stores in every community in the state.

I drafted a bill in regard to co-operation and sent it to our last national convention, but our delegate who went there told us he did not hear it reported on. He didn't know whether it was through the neglect of our secretary or whether the committee did not consider it favorably. I was in favor of the national association adopting some method of establishing a wholesale house by placing a levy on our members to raise the necessary funds. We started a co-operative store in West Virginia. People who are not familiar with that section of the country can hardly realize that conditions could be as bad as they are. The coal corporations own and

control all property, or practically all of it. There are miles and miles of the country that belong to them. When we were trying to organize that section of the country the coal companies would tell us to move off the property. If we moved on the next place would be the property of the coal operators and they would tell us to move on again. We could not buy our goods from the wholesale establishments cheap enough to undersell the company stores, the pluck-me stores as we called them. One of the wholesale houses was free enough to tell us they could not sell the goods cheap enough to us so that we could undersell the company stores. We could send to Pittsburg and buy Mail Pouch tobacco cheaper than we could get it from the factory in West Virginia. We gave the store up but we did not lose anything, we held our own. If you can buy your goods collectively at wholesale you can get a good profit on them.

I merely wished to start this discussion. I know there are others who can speak on this better than I can.

Vice-President Allton: The original intention of holding this meeting was to hear from the four candidates for United States Senator. We learned that two of the candidates would not be present, and decided not to hold a meeting for that purpose but to throw it open for a general discussion on the question of co-operation and to hear from the fraternal delegates.

Delegate Newton: We have a co-operative grocery store in Rock Island that we started last January. We now have about 144 members who are stockholders. It is on a paying basis and we find among our organizations in that city some of the members who cannot afford to pay cash for their purchases. Our organization is one of the heaviest stockholders in that store. We took action in one of our meetings that any member who could not pay cash for his groceries could go to our secretary and the lodge would pay until he could get the money. I believe if all our organizations would do that it would be a great help to the co-operative grocery store.

Vice-President Allton: We have a fraternal delegate here from the Brotherhood of Railroad Conductors, the chairman of the Joint Labor Lobby at the last session of the Illinois Legislature, who rendered valuable service in behalf of railroad legislation. He comes from the Railroad Brotherhood with a message to the State Federation of Labor. I take great pleasure in introducing W. W. Carroll of the Brotherhood of Railroad Conductors.

Fraternal Delegate Carroll: Mr. Chairman and Members of the State Federation of Labor: Owing to the size of the congregation this evening we will do away with the opening exercise. I feel a little bit like an old friend of mine at home who used to run a rag store. He traded tinware for rags and he made his own tinware. It used to be a place for the boys to congregate to hear old John tell stories. We jobbed him one night, and as he began to tell a story we began to slip out one at a time, until about the climax of the story there was no one left to hear it. But old John, equal to the occasion, took his tin shears and his soldering iron, set them up against the soldering pot and said: "You may not laugh, but I am going to tell you this story anyhow." So I am going to tell this story anyhow.

Most of you know the Order of Railway Conductors is one of the labor organizations that is not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; in fact, the four large railway organizations, the engineers, firemen, trainmen and conductors, are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. And until they change their laws it will be impossible for those four organizations to affiliate. But while we are not affiliated with you I want to tell you that while we are not of you, we are with you, we are in the labor movement and have been for years. I have been a member of the Order of Railway Conductors since 1883.

We have found it necessary to get together, especially upon legislative lines. As Brother Allton told you, it was my pleasure to be instrumental in organizing the joint labor lobby in

Springfield during the 48th General Assembly, the last session of the Illinois Legislature, something that had never been known in Springfield before. While there had been representatives of labor there for years they had never got together. We got together too late to show our true effectiveness, but we established a precedent that will be a great thing for the future.

The American Federation of Labor and the State Federation of Labor of Illinois are almost a unit on the initiative and referendum, which you know was defeated at the last session of the Legislature by a very clever manipulation of votes. That is one of the things that labor can educate itself upon, the initiative and referendum. While it is a good thing, and it is probably a necessity for us in order to get just what we want, at the same time there are dangers connected with it. The Railroad men of the state of Missouri have at the present time an example of the referendum. After a couple of sessions of the Legislature, by combining with other labor organizations they were able to put through a full train crew bill such as has been advocated by the railroad men of Illinois for a number of years; but as soon as that bill was passed and signed by the governor, ready to become a law, a railroad man jumped into a private car and immediately proceeded to get over the state. He visited all the railroad shops on his own line and on other lines and obtained signatures enough to recall the operation of that law, and, as a consequence, it is a dead letter today and will be until it is acted upon or voted upon next month. The operation of that law the men had been trying to get for several years, and had finally got on the statute books, was held back for two years. Now, owing to the condition this country is in, it will probably be a hard matter for the railroad men to get votes enough to carry that through and we may lose all the work and money they have expended to get that bill upon the statute books. So we have things to study and to learn in regard to the initiative and referendum in order to keep up from the dangers that are

behind us. But understand me, I am not talking against it, rather than that I am for it; but we must educate ourselves upon the workings of the initiative and referendum.

Your President, Mr. Walker, at a recent union meeting of the railroad organizations in Springfield made this remark, after talking on the get-together proposition, after making the statement that the railroad organizations should all be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, after saying "We need you and you need us"—and a true saying it was—he said, speaking on legislative matters: "What you do in a political way governs what you will get in a legislative way," and that is absolutely true. It is impossible any more for any one set of men, unless they are men representing large corporation and large money interests, to get the legislation they demand and request unless they get together and show their voting strength. It is an old story, but I will tell it again, of the old man who called his boys to him, showed them the bundle of sticks and told them each to take a stick and break it, and they did it very readily. Then he told them to take the whole bundle of sticks and break them, and of course it was an impossibility for any of them to do it. Now, that is a story that is as old as the hills, but no truer example can be given to men as to why they should organize and why they should stick together.

We are often asked why we do not get into one large central body. Well, I will have to tell a little story that P. H. Morrissy, of the trainmen, used to tell. He would tell the story about an Irishman and his wife who had one of their periodical jamborees, and, both becoming exhausted, they went in and sat down by the fire, one on one side and the other on the other. The dog looked in the door and saw that hostilities had ceased, came over, looked at Pat first, then went over and looked at Biddy, as much as to say: "Is the storm over?" He decided it was and lay down and prepared to sleep before the fire. Then the cat looked in, saw that everything was peaceful and the dog preparing to go to sleep. She came over, and

desiring to be impartial rubbed against Pat's leg, then rubbed against Biddy's dress, brushed against the dog and lay down. Biddy said: "Do you see the dog, Pat?" "Ugh," said Pat. "Do you see the cat, Pat?" "Ugh." "Pat, why can't we do like that?" "Tie them together and see what they'll do," said Pat. Now, there is your one great central body. But we can get together, each individual craft by itself, and form an alliance that will carry it through with any measure we can go after in the way of legislation. The trouble is we don't know our strength; we are like a boy that first starts to fight—he doesn't know what strength he has until he is absolutely put to the test. And, he may be like a great many of us, he may be a little bit afraid to use all the strength he has got when it comes to a snow-down.

Now, I am just talking against time. I was in hopes some of my colleagues would get here and I would give them a chance to talk, but I guess they have fallen down—they are not to be depended upon.

President Walker in the chair.

President Walker: I have sent the sergeant-at-arms over after them. He will have them here right away.

Fraternal Delegate Carroll: Is he armed with a search warrant? All I can tell you to do is just what your president has asked you to do—stand together side by side and fight your battles. You may have your differences of opinion, you may have your religious differences, but those do not need to come in direct conflict with what you want for your bread and butter, because there is something radically wrong with the man who will stand out politically or religiously against what concerns his bread and butter and that of his family. We all want to better our conditions. We all know what labor has done for our conditions. Nobody knows it better than the railroad fraternities. From the engineer—I speak of him first because he is on the head end, not that he has any more brain power than the others—back to the conductor, down

on the track, all the way through wherever there is organization there are better conditions. And even those who are unorganized have had some of the benefits of organization, because of the fact that those who have in their power the making of schedules of pay absolutely could not hold them down to the old dollar-a-day when the organizations were demanding so much more.

The trouble today is that we have not organizations enough. A great many people will tell you we have too many organizations. That is not true, we haven't organizations enough. An effort has been made to get the track men organized, but they do not get the rank and file out. I will admit it is hard at the present time to get the track men organized, from the fact that now most of them are foreigners. They use Mexicans, Italians and other foreign people and house them in box cars. They do better than they used to for the old Irish section man. We used to have section after section—and it was all Irish—and they were good section men, too, they did not have to be watched. In those days you could send any of them any place—pardon me if I get a little of my nationality in here, but I cannot help it once in a while—but conditions have changed and it is almost impossible to organize the fellows who are working practically under the padrone system. But it can be done in time. The miners organize the foreigners. Whenever they can get the foreigners away from the boss or the padrone they organize him, and he makes a good union man when he gets the idea thoroughly imbued in him. The same can be done with the track men when the right conditions are brought about. worked hard for you at the last session of the legislature. There is one thing, however, we want to ask of you, and that is that every opportunity you get you will hold up the hands of those who are working for you. We have a whole lot of knockers—you can find them any place. An official goes to the individual and says, "Those fellows in Springfield want this. You don't particularly want it." "Oh, no, I don't care if I never get

it." That is enough. He goes and tells the majority of the men on the road you do not want it. It is up to you to prove that you do. And pretty nearly the only way you can do that is to bring the whole bunch down there and do it, because the other fellow's word is better than yours and then there is another influence besides mere word of mouth. Whenever you have a chance to put in a word, do it, Plug, but don't knock.

President Walker: The next speaker of the evening is a gentleman who puts in his time mostly in using the energy created by the material that I have put in a good portion of my life digging, Brother Jim Culp, of the Locomotive Engineers. There isn't anything that he could do during the time when we were down there at Springfield that he has not done to bring the whole movement together, get them working in harmony with each other, and get them all standing squarely behind each of the measures the different organizations were seeking. And since the Legislature has adjourned there has not been a time he could arrange that one of us could attend a meeting of the membership of the local unions of his own organization, that he has not tried to arrange it so that we could get close enough to understand each other, in order that there might be no question about the sentiment of the membership being in favor of the things the whole movement is seeking. He did it, I earnestly believe, with the hope in his own breast that at the nearest possible time we would all actually get together in the organizations affiliated with each other in such a way that we could as a matter of right, as part of the same organization, that we all were behind in reality every measure organized labor was standing for. And there is no question that he used his influence in the committee room and with every member of the house and senate, and with any influence outside he thought he might be able to reach one of them with, in order to be able to make progress for the bills we were striving to get through the last house. I therefore take great pleasure in introducing

Brother James Culp, of the Locomotive Engineers.

Fraternal Delegate Culp: I think about the hardest proposition Jim Culp will have to do is to live up to to the reputation Brother Walker is trying to give him. He tells you we have been getting closer together, and probably here is a reason for that. I will tell you a story to illustrate what I mean.

Pat Murphy was working on a passenger train on what we call a relay point. They were doing some work on the engine. The hostler, whose duty it is to take the engine over to the turntable, was there. As the engineer was going away he said, "If the machinist gets done with this engine before I get back have the engineer back her out." He agreed. They had the table all lined up for the engine. Pat noticed that it was lined up. When the machinist got through and took the blocks out from the old engine Pat opened the throttle and away she went. In the meantime, however, the man had turned the table and Pat took the engine into the pit. He jumped off and hiked out. They sent for the roundhouse foreman so they wouldn't delay the passenger train. He said to the old Turk who was sweeping out, "Who did that?" "I think it was Pat Murphy." "Well, where has he gone now?" "I think he's gone to join the union!"

Now, that is the way with our fellows. The organizations worked down around Springfield for years, each one pulling by himself, fighting with everybody he could find within reach to fight with. He finally came to the conclusion we were in about the same position Pat Murphy was in when he got into trouble, if we wanted to get anything we would have to go to Brother Walker and the rest of the organization and join the union, as you might say, and get together and work together. Two or three years ago Brother Walker, Brother Wright or any of them that came into an engineers' meeting would not have met with a very warm welcome. The same might be said of our fellows coming into the State Federation. But we have got over that, and in the future if a bill comes before the Gener-

al Assembly, it will not make any difference whether it is the bill of the man who digs the coal, the engineers' bill or the bill of the Women's Trade Union League, you will find us all working for it because it has the stamp of labor upon it.

We have a few bills we are going to present to the next legislature, and of course you will have several to present. Our organization has instructed me to use my own judgment as to whether I shall support a bill or work against it; so if any bill comes to Springfield that has the stamp of any labor organization on it you will find the representative of the Locomotive Engineers and all the rest of the railroad organizations doing everything in their power to secure its passage.

You know there are a lot of laws on the statute books that are not being enforced. The Supreme Court has rendered a decision upholding the constitutionality of the Wash House Law. For our men we have secured wash rooms and lockers in a great many of our terminal points in Illinois, and today we are prosecuting some of the roads that have not lived up to that law. That was a miners' bill, but it is a mighty good bill for the enginemen. Nearly all the principal roads have placed headlights on their engines and others are doing it as rapidly as possible. They would never have done that if we had not made a fight to compel them to do it since the adjournment of the legislature. I do not think an additional headlight would have been placed on an engine if we did not continually hammer them about it.

To show you how nice and square they are in regard to these headlight bills and other measures, and how they try to evade them I will relate one incident that occurred recently. Two safety appliance inspectors went to Kankakee to find out whether the Big Four headlights met the Illinois law or not. They made two or three tests. Then one safety appliance inspector hid behind a bank. The rule was if they saw a man approaching they would blow a whistle, he would stop and they would know how far he could be seen. They heard the whistle

blow. They looked to see if the man was there. They could not find him, he was down behind the bank, but the whistle was blowing. Then one of the inspectors went on the engine and sent the other out to hide behind a lot of box cars. Pretty soon the whistle blew and the inspector on the engine said, "I can't see him." The German master mechanic said, "Oh, I see him, that Irishman with the big red face, I see him plain." They walked out 800 feet and couldn't find him. Then the inspector who had been on the engine called to the other one and said, "Where are you?" "Over here behind the box cars." That is how they go to Springfield and pull the wool over their eyes, they tell them anything. That is what your representatives are up against.

I told the firemen in their meeting in Springfield a few days ago, "You are the quickest people in the world to criticise and find fault with your representatives and officers that God ever put breath in—that is, if ever he had anything to do with some of you—but you are the slowest to pat a man on the back when he does something. If you go home and get out and work as you have been doing among some of the men who supported you in Springfield you will get results. They don't give a rap for John Walker, or Denny McCarthy, or Jim Culp in Springfield, it is the men back home they have in mind. If you do as you are doing here you will have no trouble in getting legislation down there."

It is my duty to do the working part for the legislative board, and we purposely staid out, Brother McCarthy and I, to make Brother Carroll do a little of the talking; but the talkers of the legislative committee are Brother McCarthy and Jim Connors. It has been a great pleasure for the locomotive engineers I have the honor to represent that labor has got together in this state. We had Brother Walker at our meeting in Springfield, we had him at the union meeting we have about four times a year in Chicago. He received an elegant reception. Our men are very much pleased at the get-together movement and you will find them supporting

those men and we will find you people supporting us. I will stop now and give Brother McCarthy, the orator of the organization, a chance to talk.

President Walker: I might say in connection with the discussion on the part of the representatives of the railroad brotherhoods that there was one particularly tricky, deceitful, unprincipled, conscienceless tool of the corporations in the last session of the legislature. He isn't human in anything but the shape he has got. There isn't anything he would stop at to do the dirty work of the corporations that were fighting labor. You may have an idea how much they are interested in having him present in those sessions as a member of the legislature, or how much of a philanthropist he is, when I say there are fourteen hundred saloons in his district and he spent on an average before the election \$20 in each saloon. He had at least four men at each voting precinct, paying them five dollars a day, on election day, in addition to all the other expenses for organizing the political organizations of each precinct and paying the general campaign expenses for two or three months of electioneering. At the very least it must have cost him a hundred thousand dollars to get elected to a job that will pay \$3,000 in salary for two years. He must be a financier if he can make that thing pay and be on the square, he must be as able a financier as Uncle Joe Cannon.

You know Uncle Joe has had nothing but the congressional salary for the past twenty-seven years, something like \$5,000 a year, but he was able to spend something like \$50,000 a year for living expenses and save several millions out of the salary. But I think Benny Mitchell has him beat, and, so far as doing dirty work is concerned, he has it on Joe Cannon. Joe does the dirty work, but he does it on a larger scale and in a sort of respectable manner. But this little rat will stop at nothing, there isn't any sewer too long or too small or too dirty for him to go through to do the bidding of the men he is representing. The railroad brotherhoods got together with the rest of the labor represen-

tatives and gave the gentleman's record, in pretty much the same language I am giving it, to the voters in his district. There is no doubt he was beaten by 700 votes in the primary election. The certified returns were given to the man who was a candidate against him, but by some means the returns have been changed and Benny is nominated by $21\frac{1}{2}$ or 22 votes. It was impossible to get a recount of the ballots in his case. One of the candidates for United States Senator who is a close friend, and who really, I think, hired Benny for so much a year to do his dirty work for him, was heard to say: "They will have a fine chance of beating Benny in our courts!"

What I want to point out is that in a district where they figured they were absolutely safe, and where Benny, who is a pretty good politician, felt so sure about it, said, "To hell with organized labor! They can't do anything to me! I have a cinch!" he was defeated. The Railroad brotherhoods got together with the other organizations and defeated him. The fact that he has stolen the primary nomination, with the aid of the courts in Chicago, does not reflect much credit on the movement. We hope in the course of time to get the courts cleaned up so they will come within striking distance of honesty. If that time comes and we still stick together there is no question that when we understand what we had to go up against in this case that very few of that type will ever go to the legislature.

Among those who did their very best in this case was the next speaker. I feel the people he represents are really United Mine Workers, the only difference is that they shovel coal above ground and we shovel it below ground. On the square, I believe we get more money for handling it than they do. I think Culp knew what he was talking about when he called him one of the orators of the Brotherhood organizations. If you will get him before a committee where there is a rat like Benny Mitchell trying to defeat a railway workers' bill he makes as fine a speech as you ever listened to. I take great pleasure in intro-

ducing to you Dennis McCarthy, of the Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen.

Fraternal Delegate McCarthy: Mr. Chairman and Friends: I would indeed have a hard task if I were to fulfill what you have just been told I am able to do. As far as being an orator is concerned, I lay no claim to that; in fact, I never was accused of making a speech or being an orator. All that I have ever attempted to say was to relate facts in regard to the position I hold or in behalf of organized labor.

I come to you tonight to extend to you the fraternal greetings and good wishes of the organization of which I am a member, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. Our organization differs somewhat, possibly, from other railroad organizations in regard to the matter of formation. We have in our organization three separate departments, known as the insurance department, the protective department and the legislative department. Each department, while they all work in conjunction with each other, is separate. It is the same way the representatives of those departments work with the representatives of other labor organizations. I have had the pleasure on many occasions of working jointly with your representatives, the president of this organization and the past president, and I want to say to you that I have been delegated to convey the thanks and the good wishes of the organization I have the honor to represent for the able assistance, the good work and the co-operative movement that has been installed by the representatives of the various labor organizations; because it is only by co-operation that you are ever going to be able to secure for the working man what belongs to him, and for humanity in general what belongs to it. It is only by co-operation that you are going to secure for those who are dependent upon you a better living, a higher standard of civilization, and make for them and for those who are to come after you a better moral code.

I want to say to you, and I say it without fear of contradiction from any man, that the labor organizations of

this country have done more in the elevation of civilization than any other institution, barring none. They are the ones that go into the homes when you are in need, when you are in distress, and relieve the situation. The labor organizations are the first to go to you in time of sickness; to go to you in time of death, in time of trouble and relieve you. They are not doing this for the purpose of advertising, you never see one line in the public papers of what they do in a charitable sense; but they do it for the sake of humanity, they do it because they have an interest in you, they do it for the welfare of the people and the members of the organization. That is why I say the labor organizations today are the greatest institutions for the advancement of civilization in this country.

I don't know that I can add much to what has already been said in the matter of legislation, only that the bills that were enumerated by the preceding speaker, Brother Culp, have been endorsed by the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. Not only that, but they have instructed me to work in support of every labor measure that will be introduced in the next session of the legislature. And I want to say to you and to this organization that I will give you my undivided support, and any time I can assist you in any way in bettering humanity and advancing your cause I shall be ready and willing to do it.

There are several things possibly that could be mentioned tonight, but I am not going to take up a great deal of your time. I bring to you our fraternal greetings, although we are not federated with you. Action in that regard will have to be taken by a national convention which includes the United States and Canada and Mexico. And you realize that until action is taken in that convention the representatives of the state organization have no power. People will say, "Why don't the railroad men do so and so? Why aren't they better versed?" There is an excuse why they don't, and a reasonable one. Did you ever realize that the railroad man works longer than the men of any other craft? Did you ever realize

that for the average man eight or ten hours is a day's work? But the law has said that sixteen hours shall be the day's work for a railroad man. And we thought at one time that was quite a humane law, because prior to the passage of that law we had no limit. I have on many occasions worked from twenty-four to forty-five hours without rest. And that was not an uncommon or an unusual occurrence. We all worked the same length of time in those days.

You will be told about the enormous wages the railroad men make, but you are not told about the hours they put in. There is not a craft, there are no workers that put in the long hours for a day's work or a week's work that the railroad men put in. However, it is our intention, our aim and our object to reduce the hours, either by legislation or through agreements. But you realize that it takes time to do these things. We have to do the best we can with what we have got to do with, because it is only in recent years that the railroad organizations are even working together, and it is a matter of education we have to go through with our membership at large. We have to educate them to the point of co-operation where they will realize that their own advancement and their own welfare rest upon the co-operation of all labor organizations. We hope some day to be able to be as humane as the other labor crafts and secure for our men an eight-hour day. Some of our men even think that is an idle dream, and we have possibly some members in our organization who, if it came to a vote, would oppose it. Not because they do not believe in the eight-hour day, not because they do not think they are entitled to the eight-hour day, not because they think they ought to work more than that, but for the greed of the almighty dollar, because they think they cannot make a living at it, and it would be a hard matter for the average man to make a respectable living at the present rate if he were paid on an eight-hour basis. That is the reason why the railroad men are not more enthusiastic in regard to the eight-hour day, but the day is not far distant when we are

going to have it. We are going to get it, because the men have commenced to realize that in order to procure a decent day's wages they will have to reduce the number of hours.

In parting with you I will say that at any time the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen can be of service to you, can give you any assistance, they are willing and ready to do it, and I assure you at the next legislature any measures you present there in the interest of the members you represent, in the interests of organized labor and in the interests of humanity at large we stand willing and ready to give you our undivided support to secure. Brothers, I want to thank you one and all.

President Walker: The next speaker on the program this evening is a fraternal delegate from the Federation of Labor of an adjoining state, that, in recent years, has appeared to take on a new lease of life. In the last year they almost doubled their membership and their strength and influence for the good of the workers of that state. My information is that the fraternal delegate with us this evening is one of the men who did his full share in making for the rather unusual progress and growth of that federation during that period, and I take great pleasure in introducing Brother J. F. W. Altheide, the fraternal delegate from the state where you have to show them.

Fraternal Delegate Altheide: Mr. Chairman and co-delegates: There seems to have been a movement this evening to introduce speakers and leave the orators last on the list, and I believe that rule is going to apply with the fraternal delegate—they are selecting the weakest one first, although at the present time there are only two of us here. However, in behalf of the organized workers of Missouri, permit me to extend to you their fraternal greetings, and, I might add, congratulations for the magnificent delegation to this convention. Whenever a state federation assumes the proportion of the Illinois Federation it is indeed an indication that they are active and alert and doing something or they would not have such a representation here.

In the interchange of fraternal delegates, as I understand it, the object sought is the bringing out of the various doings and non-doings of these federations; so in behalf of our Federation I cannot repeat anything particular in the way of legislation, in view of the fact that in our state, as in yours, the state legislature meets only biennially and this is the off year.

We have secured in the past year the affiliation of forty-two local unions and five central bodies, making a total of 302 local unions and 20 central bodies. This may not appear great to you, but we have something like 3,200,000 inhabitants to draw from as compared to your nearly 6,000,000 and we have had but twenty-two years of experience whereas you have had thirty-one years. Give us an additional nine years of growth and I believe we will have the same percentage of representation in our state conventions in the future.

We have been endeavoring to organize the mine workers in the southwestern part of our state. We sent our president to the mine workers in Denver and pleaded with them to send organizers to our state to organize these men. They said it was the first time in their history a state labor organization had come to the miners and asked them for assistance to organize their own members, the mine workers. We realize that organization must be carried on, we realize that organizations are as strong as they make themselves and they are as intelligent as the members are intelligent, hence the work of education and organization must be continued.

We have our troubles and struggles in Missouri, not alone to secure legislation but to see that it is carried out. I dare say you have the same trouble in Illinois. We had in the 1911 session of the state legislature a convict labor law passed. We believe it as good as any law of its kind. However, that law was practically frustrated because no provision was made to carry it into effect by the legislature. That same rule held good in 1913. Now our Federation has taken upon itself in the next election in November to make it a campaign issue, and we feel the convict leasing

system after 1915 will be a thing of the past in Missouri.

We had in the 1913 session also a workmen's compensation bill and an employers' liability bill. The legislature had a commission appointed composed of the employing interests, the labor interests, the insurance interests and the damage suit lawyers' interests. This commission reported a bill, and when our legislative committee and the other labor representatives consulted attorneys they pointed out the defects in the proposed workmen's compensation law. The railroad crafts are co-operating with our Missouri Federation. We were shown by an eminent attorney how to draft that law. However, we could not secure the enactment of those proposed amendments, and as a result worked for the defeat of that law. A commission was again appointed to delve into the question. This commission, as I have been informed, has gone through this country and investigated the question of workmen's compensation, and it must be admitted that it has racked the brains of many men to solve the question, because no two states have laws that are the same.

In our last convention one of the members of this state commission submitted a draft of the act that will be presented. Our legislative committee, however, had taken the matter up and they drafted a law patterned after the Federal Liability Law. It is not a compensation act, merely a liability act. These two laws were submitted to our committee on legislation at the convention and all parties interested were invited to appear before the committee. The committee finally picked out and adopted the one proposed by our legislative committee. We will present that and if it is not enacted as we proposed it we will at least have a liability law after the coming session of the legislature.

Another matter that has been taken up by our state federation, and that is coming up at the election November 3rd, is what we term the county unit, affecting the liquor traffic. The county unit means this: At the present time any city of 2500 or more inhabitants votes independently as to whether or not well regulated saloons shall

be permitted. The proposed law that has been submitted for the referendum vote provides that the county shall be taken as a unit, and the entire county vote as a unit on the liquor question. Our state federation has initiated a movement and through the federation the various central bodies hope to counteract this movement for the county unit. Men are going through the state, especially members of the clergy, these self-styled saviors of the human race, who are proclaiming that rum is the cause of all our evils, men who are being paid from \$250 to \$300 a month because they possess oily and glib tongues. We as members of labor organizations must of necessity take an active stand against it. In spite of the fact that Missouri has 87 dry counties and but 27 still wet we believe we will win out in the long run, for if the county unit law passes it will be a forerunner of state-wide prohibition.

There is another measure that is up for consideration at the coming session, the full train crew law. We have had the initiative and referendum in our state and it can be taken advantage of by the anti-single tax league, that has had an amendment in the last legislature to do away with the referendum. The railroad corporations have taken advantage of it by sending men out to get signatures to a petition to do away with this full train crew bill. One man was paid as high as 20 cents for each signature. The bad feature of the referendum is this: Men are not alert, the average man does not pay attention when he is asked to sign a petition. I know men personally that signed the petition to resubmit this full train crew, to the referendum vote who did not know what they signed. I have met men who voted for the county unit while they were running saloons in the city of St. Louis. They signed a petition to submit that proposition to the popular vote. They did not favor it, but they signed because some friend asked them to do so and they did it without investigating its merits.

There are a great many laws we are going to propose at the coming session of the legislature. One of

them is the factory inspection law. Missouri is the only state that has a factory inspection yet remaining on the fee system. That it is unfair and unjust cannot be disputed, for it gives the employer who does not have his factory inspected an advantage, in that he does not pay the fees, and it gives him an opportunity to evade the law, the child labor law and the women's nine-hour law.

We are proposing at this coming session to amend the Women's Nine-hour Law. I believe we are a little bit advanced in that particular law beyond Illinois. Our law provides nine hours but it does not at the present time include telegraph and telephone operators, hotel employees and those engaged in the canning industries. We are going to have it amended to include those trades. We are going to take up laws in regard to mines and mining matters, the wash house law, laws affecting the building trades, boycotting fake detective agencies, and the various ramifications as we find them which it would be impossible to enumerate at this time.

While the function of the State Federation of Labor in the main is to secure legislation, and while we fail in that direction sometimes, there is yet one function that has been spoken of time and again in this convention that has received greater recognition throughout the country in which we have failed. I feel safe in saying the Illinois Federation has failed in it and the entire labor movement has failed in it. What I refer to is the union label. If this Illinois State Federation could solve the question of the union label, shop cards and buttons, that fact would be heralded throughout the world and the labor movement would be strengthened a thousand fold. There is one word that applies to the men in the labor movement—the word consistency. If we could inculcate into the minds of the laboring men and women that are organized the meaning of the word consistency, and after they have learned that word, to live up thereto, if we could arouse them from the apathetic position they are in and teach them to realize the power they have in their pockets, their purchasing power, union labels stand

upon a different plane.

Why is it there are but twenty organized collar makers in the state of New York to supply collars for two million or more organized workers? I will ask you why the percentage of organization is so low among the garment working craft? And I won't forget the craft I have the misfortune to work at, the cigar industry. I make this mention purposely. The cigar industry has been retrograding for a number of years. The cigar makers' international organization has been one of the pioneers in the labor movement. The organization was the first to inaugurate the eight-hour day, if I am correctly informed, and the first to adopt the label. They adopted it in San Francisco when they wanted to distinguish the products of white labor from that of the Chinese and from that has developed the labels we have on the market today.

The cigar makers' organization is not retrograding because their members are inactive, because I believe they are active, not alone nationally and in state federations but in local unions throughout the country. I need only refer to the president of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, as a cigar maker, and to the Federation of Missouri, whose president is a cigar maker; Minnesota has a cigar maker as its president, and so on down the line. The organization is not retrograding because the cigar makers are inactive. We have paid out in benefits since the existence of our international organization, sick, death, strike and out-of-work benefits over ten million dollars.

If this convention can solve the problem of increasing the organization of the cigar makers you will have accomplished something that will be of immense benefit to the labor movement. In reporting back to your constituents dwell upon the necessity of a demand for labels; start some movement to wake up your membership that they may know what labels exist, where they are to be found, and, above all, tell them to have the courage when they go into a place and ask for an article bearing the label to walk out if they do not get it. Tell them not to do as a great many peo-

ple are doing at the present time, buy articles that do not have the labels because they do not possess the moral courage to walk out.

I want to express this sentiment as coming to you from the workers of the state of Missouri: While we are divided by the flowing waters of the Mississippi we want you to feel that we are one with you in thought and hope we are a unit with you in ambition and aspiration. I am sure we are one with you in proclaiming the motto of the American Federation of Labor, "Labor Omnia Vincit," which means "labor conquers all."

President Walker: The next speaker is an old friend of the labor movement of Illinois who has come to be a delegate with us almost as regularly as our own locals send delegates. He comes from a neighboring federation which, according to the information I get with regard to their work, has been responsible for the best labor laws of any of the middle states. When one thinks or speaks of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor the work of that movement cannot be disassociated from the name of the fraternal delegate here this evening, Brother Frank J. Webber. He has been in the van of every fight they have made almost since the inception of the movement, is respected and loved by the workers in that state for what he has accomplished for them, and I take great pleasure in introducing to you Brother Frank J. Weber, General Organizer of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

Fraternal Delegate Weber: Brother President, Ladies and Gentlemen and Delegates, I was delegated to convey fraternal greetings and good wishes on the part of the organized labor movement of Wisconsin to this conclave of the organized workers in Illinois. The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor was organized twenty-two years ago last June. It is probably one of the state organizations that we can say is ruled and controlled directly by democracy. I was the first president of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, but after six years the organized workers of that state decided to dispense with

a president, and for twenty-one years that federation of labor has been virtually conducted by an executive board of seven members. The convention and even the meetings of the executive board are opened by the secretary-treasurer, who is by virtue of his office a member of the executive board, and each day the state convention chooses its presiding officer. You will realize from this that it is a very democratic body. The members of the executive board choose a new chairman at each meeting.

I have had some experience in the halls of Legislation in Wisconsin. I was president of the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council, and I realized that the individual central bodies, acting independently of each other, were virtually accomplishing nothing, so far as legislation was concerned, for the workers of the state. That was more than twenty-two years ago. That brought about a conference and then it was decided to form a state federation. The first thing we did was to have reorganized the Labor Bureau of the state. At that time the labor commissioner and the factory inspectors were simply politicians looking for the interests of the political party that was in power. We succeeded in reorganizing that department and commenced to introduce legislation.

We had our representatives in the sessions of the legislature continually until 1905. Since 1905 the only time that has been spent by the officials of the State Federation of Labor in the legislature has been ten days. The workers of the state began to elect men to the legislature who carried cards in trades unions and understood the working class struggle. It was then progressive legislation for the betterment of the men and women and children of that state was first inaugurated. In 1905 there were five men in the legislature with cards. They received but little consideration. In that session the compensation law was introduced, but of course received no consideration; in fact, only one out of a committee of nine voted in favor of it. The man who voted in favor of it was a cigar maker who carried two cards.

In the 1907 session of the legisla-

ture we introduced 62 different labor bills. I was one of the members selected to represent the people of my assembly district in the legislature. The agitation carried on by those men resulted virtually in the progressive legislation we have at the present time in Wisconsin. In 1909 we succeeded in getting a commission appointed to investigate industrial accidents. In 1911 our compensation law was enacted. At that time we were up against the same proposition your worthy president spoke of in his report relative to the constitution of our state. Our constitution, like the constitutions of a great many states, was, as the judge of our supreme court said, moss-covered. We secured the compensation act. For years labor laws, such as the child labor laws and factory laws, could not be enforced because, as the factory inspector stated here to the delegates the other day, they were afraid to try some of the cases in the city of Chicago and desired to keep them out of court until a few days before the convening of the next General Assembly. We were in much the same position. Some employer would violate the child labor law, we would bring him into court and generally he was found not guilty. As our laws provide that a person cannot be put in jeopardy twice for any criminal act, naturally the state could not appeal the case and therefore there was no prosecution. But we have circumvented that. In place of using the word fine there is a forfeiture to the state, and in that way we force the attorney general to prosecute every case, and even take the case to the supreme court of the state.

It is claimed that the labor laws of Wisconsin are model laws, but they do not suit the organized workers of the state as yet. For we enacted a compensation law in 1911, it is an elective one; that is, the employer can come under it or remain out from under it. One of the reasons for making it elective was because we were not positive what the supreme court would declare in regard to its constitutionality. After a friendly suit in the supreme court the law was declared constitutional. The minute that

was done organized labor began considering the question of amending that law. They held if it was constitutional for a man to come under the law it was constitutional for the state to say that every employer of four or more men is under the law and can elect to come out from under it. Most of the employers are under the law.

We have a law that almost every working man can understand. The lawyers and the ambulance chasers, of course, are opposing the compensation law, the same as they have done in every state and will do in every state, because it is a bread and butter problem with them. I don't blame them for opposing compensation laws and agitating a liability law, that is, what we call a comparative liability law. I advise the workers not to allow such a law to be placed on the statute books. We have no trouble now in Wisconsin in getting an injured man the compensation he is entitled to after one week. We are now starting a system by which the organized workers apply to the secretary of the central body, or some one selected by him, to take up the matter of collecting the compensation. In Milwaukee the secretary of the Federated Trades Council handles all the compensation. The lawyers do not attend to more than five per cent of the cases of industrial accidents in that city. The secretary of the Milwaukee central body does that work free of charge. Our law provides that ten per cent. can be collected by the attorney who collects the compensation, and the amount of work I have done in collecting compensation for the trades unionists of the city of Milwaukee would have given me a wage of \$6,000 up to the first of September. On the other hand, the trades unionist does not pay one cent. If he comes to the officers of the federated trades council the note is filled out for him. In case no amicable adjustment can be made and the case goes before the commission and the documents for final adjustment are filled out and the case taken before the commission.

When the trade union movement thoroughly understands the question of compensation I am positive the rep-

representatives of the central body will be able to attend to the collection of all compensation under compensation laws. It is not only that we collect for the organized workers in the city of Milwaukee, but in Superior, La Crosse or Oshkosh, if they want to do anything about the law they write to the secretary of our State Federation and we fill out the documents and send them to those places. About \$6,000 would have gone to the attorneys that went to the men who needed it, the men who were injured.

"I left Milwaukee on Monday. A brother ironworker who was injured under the 1911 act came into the office to thank the Federated Trades Council for getting the compensation for him. He is crippled and cannot work at his trade any longer. Under the old law he was entitled to \$3,000. He had the \$3,000 paid to him in a lump sum and bought a farm in the northern part of the state. He will till the soil hereafter in order to eke out an existence. If he had gone to an attorney to take that case up—and it did not require more than twenty minutes before the Industrial commission—the attorney would have received \$300. That money has been saved to the man and his family.

The Wisconsin movement is a very progressive one and we are beginning to realize that there are two arms of the labor movement, the economic arm and the political arm. We are endeavoring to educate the rank and file of the workers to use both arms, to teach them that they should be union not only 364 days of the year and on the 365th elect men who will put the chains of wage slavery on their limbs, but elect men of their own class to the legislature of our state. We are called a very progressive state federation. The Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee, which I had the honor to represent as secretary for fourteen years, and the State Federation, of which I have been an officer since its inception twenty-two years ago and never had an opponent at any of the conventions, realizes that this great problem is an educational one. You cannot come to the Wisconsin State Federation and ask for the endorsement of some political

party or the endorsement of some one for an appointive or elective political position. The trade union movement of Wisconsin is a militant body of workers. They will never surrender the right to criticize, to oppose and to demand; they will never become responsible for the acts and sentiment of any political party or any person elected or appointed. We are bona fide trades unionists, but we believe the rank and file of the workers should be educated. It is time they realized their rights as workers to send men of their own class to the halls of legislation.

I intended to take up a great many questions here this evening, but the hour is getting late, and I will omit them. We are in the same position the state of Illinois is in regard to our constitution. We will have to amend it. After the legislative committee, of which I am chairman, took under consideration the constitutional amendments the question arose as to whether we would endeavor to obtain a constitutional convention or amend the constitution. After a number of months of discussion of the proposition we considered it advisable to amend the constitution instead of calling a constitutional convention, because we were afraid the same scheme and the same chicanery, the same trickery your worthy President spoke of relative to politicians in the state of Illinois might be used in Wisconsin. We felt it would be easier to amend the constitution than to get a constitutional convention and risk what we have.

In the present election we will have nine constitutional amendments. One is an insurance amendment. We already have in the state of Wisconsin, through the agitation of the trade union movement, life insurance. Every worker in the state the age of twenty to sixty-five can take out life insurance under the state, and the state will take care of the amount to be paid in; but if we carry this constitutional amendment we will amend our constitution so that when the time comes that the organized workers of that state demand it we can enact laws for the purpose of paying old age pensions as well. Those are some of

the amendments we are offering to the state constitution at the present time, and I sincerely hope the workers of our state will be intelligent enough at the coming election to vote those amendments. If they do it will not be long before we will have established thorough co-operation. The Farmers' Society of Equity and the State Federation co-operate in legislation. A marketing bill for that state was defeated, or rather vetoed by the governor on account of its unconstitutionality; a second one failed to pass, but the next one will bring the consumer and the producer closer together and will be enacted. The trade union movement has deemed it necessary to get closer together. The great cold storage trust and other trusts were in the way and might hamper a good market condition. For that reason we are going to introduce an amendment providing that the state will have a right to erect elevators, cold storage plants, ware houses and distributing points if it desires to do so. The bill was passed through the house the last time but lost in the house of lords, the Senate.

Our labor laws are well enforced by our industrial commission. We have a commission that has the backbone to enforce all classes of legislation. We had the pea canners in court for violating the Women's Fifty-five Hour law, and the lowest fine that can be placed on each canner for each for each day is ten dollars forfeited to the state. Before I left I understood they were ready to make a settlement with the state and in the future obey the law. Two years ago the Diamond Match Company of that state violated the law for two years, but was brought into court and paid a fine of \$2,000. That was for a violation of the child labor law.

As I said before, we are considered a very progressive state federation, and sometimes we are called very socialistic. I will say it is a very democratic organization and is endeavoring to uplift the workers and enact laws for their benefit. From the general discussion I have been listening to here since Tuesday morning I can see that you are also beginning to prepare yourselves as an army of dis-

content to march along the same lines. The time is not far distant when you will all do that, and I will say that when you boys do that, then over the redoubts of the past, over the bastions of wrong we will carry onward and forward the banner of trade unionism until we plant it upon the summit of tyranny and oppression.

I thank you all for your kind attention and sincerely hope this convention may work harmoniously for the benefit, not only of the workers of Illinois, but the workers throughout the length and breadth of the land, for the organized workers from the bleak shores of the Atlantic to the rocky coast of the Pacific, and from this great chain of lakes on the North to the Gulf of the South, and I sincerely hope they will give a good record of themselves in the onward march of the working class of the state of Illinois.

President Walker: As a matter of information to the delegates, I desire to say we have a bricklayer seated in the convention as the regular delegate from a local union affiliated with the Illinois State Federation of Labor, I understand the only organization of bricklayers affiliated with a state federation in the United States. Tonight the four fraternal delegates, the regular delegate from the bricklayers and myself had a conference. Brother Irish was present also. An agreement has been reached, and, so far as the regular delegates and the fraternal delegates are concerned, they have agreed to do everything in their power to get their next convention to accept it, and they believe it will be accepted unanimously, which will provide for every bricklayer in the state of Illinois being affiliated directly and being a part of the State Federation of Labor of Illinois.

To the fraternal delegates from the railroad brotherhoods and the farmers' organization, the fraternal delegates from Missouri and Wisconsin, I think I can say, and speak for the state federation, that every delegate is glad you are here with us. We know you are in sympathy with us, that you are working with us for the improvement we are striving to make

for ourselves, and we want you to feel that, heart and soul, we are with you and want to do our full share to bring every particle of progress that can be brought for you and the organization you represent.

We hope in the future that the farmers' union and the brotherhood organizations within our state, as well as the bricklayers, will be seated in the conventions taking up in deliberate counsel every particle of legislation we believe should be enacted, or taking from the statute books every bit of legislation we believe is wrong and that should be taken from them at the present time. We feel that this question is of enough importance that it will appeal to every worker when he gets to understand what it means, and that the relationship began a year ago will continue to grow stronger and stronger until the membership understand it and they will come in and at some time in the near future we will be all represented in one of those meetings and take up in dead earnest the legislation that will affect every worker in the state, go over it thoroughly, and when we leave here have a perfect understanding with every organized worker in the agricultural and industrial field standing behind the demands. And when that day comes we know you will be able to get what you are entitled to, we know we will be able to get what we are entitled to. And we know we will not get it until that day comes, so we will do the best we can to bring that day about. We feel you are going to help us bring it about.

We hope our relations with the neighboring states will continue and that the exchange of delegates in the future will be even more regular than it has been in the past, that we will systematize the exchange of fraternal delegates in such a way that you will get the best we are doing to help you and we will get the best you are doing to help us. If that is done we will be, in fact as well as in spirit, working together for the common enlightenment and the common organization and solidification for the best interests of the whole human race.

Fraternal Delegate Weber: In order to carry out that fraternal relation I wish you would announce that a conference of representatives of the states of Missouri, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, North and South Dakota will be held in Chicago. Two representatives of each state will be there, together with representatives of the wool growers, the Equity Association of the state of Wisconsin and other farmers' organizations. It will be held next Monday, or will begin next Monday at the New Southern Hotel, Chicago, and will be for the purpose of discussing co-operation and uniform legislation in the several states.

Delegate Woll: Is that an open meeting?

Fraternal Delegate Weber: I think it will be. At the Wisconsin State Federation convention the fraternal delegates from Illinois, Missouri, Minnesota and Michigan met with a committee that was appointed by the chair, and it was agreed there that the conference should be held. Minnesota approved of it. I understand Michigan, Missouri and Iowa also approved it. No doubt the conference will be an open one for the purpose of getting enlightenment along the line of uniform legislation and co-operation.

The following communications were received:

Springfield, Ill., Oct. 22, 1914.

J. H. Walker, President Illinois State Federation of Labor, Fey Hotel, Peoria, Ill.:

Unable to be present tonight. Called home. Please accept my fraternal grief.

A. D. BURBANK,
Chairman and Legislative Representative Brotherhood Railway Trainmen.

Chicago, Ill., Oct. 22, 1914.

State Federation of Labor, Peoria, Ill.:

Your invitation sincerely appreciated. Previous speaking engagements prevent my acceptance. In a world crisis and prevailing industrial condition organization becomes an imperative duty. The gods and the fates have destined the working class to preserve and save the best we have in

civilization. Wish you Godspeed and great progress.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

At 10:40 p. m. the night session was adjourned, the convention to reconvene at 9 o'clock a. m., Friday, October 23rd.

FOURTH DAY—MORNING SESSION

Peoria, Illinois, October 23, 1914.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Friday, October 23rd, President Walker in the chair.

Delegate Grampp, Brewery Workers: Last evening I announced that a meeting of our delegates would be held at the Niagara hotel. At that time I did not know the hotel was unfair. We did not meet there. I make this statement so that a wrong impression may not go out.

President Walker: We have with us the Mayor of Alton, who desires to present the claims of that city for our next convention. I take pleasure in introducing Mayor Faulstick.

Mayor J. C. Faulstick, Alton: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—In gatherings of this kind I am always in the habit of saying "friends." In Alton it is an absolute certainty that the laboring element are friends of the present administration of that city. Therefore I take it I am not out of order in addressing you as friends. It has been suggested by the people of Alton that I make a brief statement here, letting you know of my affiliation with the trade unionists. In that connection I want to say I am a cigar maker by trade. I am at present a cigar manufacturer and have been for sixteen years. We employ nothing but union labor, and that is all we know about in the city of Alton. I also have the honor of saying to you that I am the principal instigator of organizing the musicians' union of Alton. At that time I was made president of the organization. Sometimes it is better that such points as these should not be brought out, but being a stranger to you I thought it would do no harm at this time.

Alton is a city of about 25,000 inhabitants. Our surroundings outside

the corporate limits are about 32,000 people in our locality. We have some of the largest manufacturing institutions in the world in Alton. One is the Illinois Glass Company, the largest institution of its kind in the United States, and we feel proud to say it is completely organized. Our city has ample accommodations to take care of any convention. About a year and a half ago we had the G. A. R. encampment, and if you are familiar with their gatherings you will agree if we take care of them we are certainly able to take care of a convention of this size. Since that time we have added another hotel. About four months ago the Mineral Springs Hotel was opened.

I don't believe there is a city in the United States that has better railroad facilities than Alton. I believe I am safe in saying that every industry in Alton, no matter what it may be, is organized, and I know it will be a pleasure for you to be in a city where you can find cards everywhere you go. You may ask why we want the convention if we are so well organized. Never turn down the good old horse for a bad one. Show appreciation of the way in which Alton has helped the cause of labor. Show your appreciation of what the other fellow has done for you and he will be encouraged to go on and see if he cannot do more for you in the future.

I feel proud, ladies and gentlemen, that I have been asked to come before this convention and extend to you the hospitality of the city of Alton. If you select Alton, and I believe you will, and there is no one else in Alton that will take care of you, don't forget that the Mayor will appoint himself a committee of one to do it. We have wealthy men in the city of Alton, as you have in other cities, but the average person is of the same

type as ourselves, of the laboring class. Were it not for the laboring class the other fellow would not be here to jingle the dollar. I believe I have said about all that can be said for Alton. Don't forget Alton when the ballot has been handed out and the question comes up what city you will select. Give us a good rousing majority and we will begin to get ready for 1915.

President Walker: Is there any other city that has representatives here that desires to present its claims?

Delegate McDonald, Mine Workers: Is the order now to place before the convention the claims of cities that are seeking for the convention next year?

President Walker: Yes. While I don't believe we ought to take any more time to present the claims of cities, in justice to other cities I believe their representatives should have the privilege of presenting those claims while making the nominations.

Delegate McDonald (D:): In behalf of the delegates representing the organizations in the Illinois Valley, I desire to place in nomination a city that is more centrally located, so far as the trade unions are concerned, than perhaps any other city in the State of Illinois, taking into consideration the delegates we have coming here. There is one place in Illinois that has always been dear to the hearts of some of us, because we had occasion to spend many years in that vicinity. And in the beautiful Illinois Valley, close by one of the finest attractions of natural scenery we have in the state, Starved Rock, on the Illinois River, a Park that is now owned and controlled by the State of Illinois, nestles one of the finest cities in the state.

The city of Ottawa I desire to present to you cannot claim at this time that they have a union mayor, nor are the trades all as thoroughly organized as they would like to have them, and the chief object in trying to get the convention to come there is to help organize the balance of the trades. If you will look over the

Credential Committee's report you will find that, taking into consideration the size of the city, they have perhaps more delegates representing organizations than any other city of like population; but, regardless of that fact, the organizations there for some time have been struggling to maintain themselves and if we can get a convention there the delegates feel they can organize trades that are not organized and strengthen those that are now struggling for maintenance. Not only that, but the city of Ottawa is 85 miles from Chicago on a direct line on the Rock Island road; it is 16 miles from Sreator, a great industrial center, where organized labor has always taken an active part in affairs; it is only 14 miles from La Salle, another large industrial center, both places connected by street cars and interurban lines.

In Ottawa a few years ago we had a great labor demonstration. The President of the American Federation was one of the chief speakers, and I am informed that after that great demonstration the city became proud of the organized movement there and it stimulated and moved it forward more than anything else could possibly have done. Lately the president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor had occasion to address a farmers' convention there. I am told the city took care of a convention of farmers numbering 1,000.

I want to present the city of Ottawa, first, because economically it is more centrally located than any other city perhaps that is asking for the convention. I feel the delegation as a whole will save money, thousands of dollars, which in these hard times is a vital factor, and the further fact that they want to take all the trades unionists of Illinois up in that part of the country and show them where your money has been spent in securing that park by the state. Ottawa has this great natural park, twenty minutes' ride on the street car from the city, and it has another claim to fame—it is a place where Lee O'Neill Browne comes from. The delegates from the Illinois Valley have come here pledged to their various organizations to try to land the next con-

vention in the heart of an industrial center for the purpose of trying to stimulate the unions that are already established and put them on a firm foundation

I appreciate the fact that Alton and other cities should be given consideration, and I trust as the years go by we can make arrangements to distribute our patronage and visit the various parts of the state for the purpose of building up the organization; but I think the movement owes it to the struggling organizations to go in and bolster them up where they are not as strong as they should be, and then go on to the next place. One of the best things that can be done by this convention when we visit a city is for the delegates of all crafts to look up members of their trades and put them in the organization. I ask you to give favorable consideration to this. The business men are not asking that you go to Ottawa, this is simply the request of the trades unions. Not a nickel has been contributed by business organizations to induce you to come to that city. It is simply a plain, open request on the part of honest, open-hearted trade unionists to come there and help them build up their movement. I therefore take pleasure in presenting one of the finest places in the state of Illinois for your consideration, the city of Ottawa.

Delegate Hunt, Quincy: If you will look through the proceedings of last year's convention, pages 154-5, you will find the claims Quincy made at that time for the convention for 1914. Those same claims stand good for 1915. Perhaps some of you have discarded your proceedings and therefore I think I will repeat some of what was said there.

We have eight first class hotels that are this week accommodating a convention of 1800 people, the golden anniversary celebration of the Knights of Pythias. The shopping district is on the river, there are no hills to climb. We have a magnificent labor temple in Quincy, the fruit of the hard labor and persistent effort of the trades unionists of Quincy for the past twenty-five years. There is nothing like having a home of your own

from which no one can drive you. It would be of interest to know how we acquired this labor temple. Not one cent of the money in that temple came from any other source than the pockets of union men. We did not have enough money on hand when it was started to complete the work and we borrowed. The banks were only too glad to loan it at 5 per cent, but we found a better plan. The local unions had money in the banks that was drawing 3 per cent, and we concluded it would be better to withdraw that money and loan it to the labor temple association at 3 per cent than to borrow it from the banks at 5 per cent.

Seventy-five per cent of the working men of Quincy own their own homes, and they are real homes, homes that would be a credit to any class of people. We have a natural park system. There are the palisades of the Mississippi, the Indian mounds in the southern part of the city, and the line of the river there extends for six miles of the grandest views in this country. We will entertain you with a ride on the Mississippi and show you one of the greatest pieces of engineering of the twentieth century, the Keokuk water dam. The reports of the delegates to this convention that are being spread throughout the city make it appear there are a great many men out of employment, men who are enduring enforced idleness, and that would be a great opportunity for you to investigate why it is that a great many coal miners in this state are out of employment. When you consider that that power dam displaces millions of tons of coal every year you will understand one cause of their enforced idleness.

We are under obligations to no one but the trades unionists of Quincy if we land this convention. There is not at the present time one cent of money appropriated for the convention. We have not spent anything so far, but every union man and woman in the city will be assessed a certain amount to defray the expenses of the convention, so you will be under obligations to no one except your own people.

A Delegate: Is Quincy wet or dry?

Delegate Hunt: The dry element secured a petition of nearly 7,000 signatures asking that the city of Quincy become anti-saloon territory. When the election took place they received 3,368 votes and we beat them over 7,000.

Delegate Kelly, Alton: In presenting the name of the city I represent I wish to say that the last convention was held there in 1892. We feel that the southern part of the state, not only the city of Alton but the Mississippi Valley, should have another convention. In the last few years millions of dollars have been invested in our surrounding territory by big manufacturing companies. The convention will have a moral effect upon the movement there. We are capable of taking care of any convention. We are surrounded, not by natural parks, but all our territory along the banks of the great river is beautiful, there is as fine scenery there as there is in the world. We do not use that as an advertisement, because every one knows that Alton is located in the midst of magnificent scenery on the banks of a magnificent river.

The hotels, meeting place and depot are within three squares of the river. We can assure you that everything will be attended to with promptness in handling the affairs of your convention. We do not feel like taking up much of the time of this convention in presenting Alton, but we feel that, representing not only Alton but the surrounding part of the state, we are entitled to this consideration. If you select our city it will be a red letter day for that locality.

Delegate Carlson: I move that when we vote for the officers of the Federation we also take a vote on the convention city; that the votes for the convention city be placed in a separate box and a separate committee selected to count them and present the results to the convention. (Seconded and carried.)

President Walker: According to previous arrangement our old friend and former guest, Raymond Robins, was invited to address the convention briefly this morning in the same man-

ner he has for a number of years in the past. Secretary Morris is acting as an escort and body guard to bring him forward. Mr. Robins has been with us in many previous sessions of our convention. He is not a stranger to the delegates of our annual meetings. He has not alone been with us in the conventions, but between the conventions in the work we have been planning to do to make progress for our workers in the state and nation in a legislative way he has always been in evidence doing the best he could. He has been invited this morning to be with us as an old time friend. I suppose a person cannot help being a candidate at times, but that hasn't any connection with his visit here. Diseases take us when we cannot avoid them, and I suppose he could furnish that sort of an alibi in this case.

I take great pleasure in introducing Mr. Raymond Robins to the convention for a brief address.

Mr. Raymond Robins: Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Board, Vice-Presidents, Gentlemen of the Press, Ladies and Gentlemen, Delegates and Friends—I count it a real privilege to stand here this morning to speak to you for just a little while. This is the most splendid gathering of the men and women of labor that has ever come together at a meeting of the Federation of Labor of the State of Illinois. And I believe this splendid gathering and the increase in membership, which is a credit to the whole organized labor movement of this state, feels as I do, a personal satisfaction in the ability and leadership of President Walker. I have been reading the reports of presidents of state federations, not only of Illinois but of practically every state in this Union where there is a federation. for the past ten years, and I hope that every delegate, if he hasn't the time during the convention, will take the time to read this report I hold in my hand. It is the most constructive statement of what we want and the general advanced program of labor it has been my privilege to read in a good many years' perusal of labor reports of one sort and another.

I want to congratulate you further.

I am one of the men who shared in a small way in that struggle to get a difference made between human labor power and iron and steel and other commodities in the law of this country. And I can say to you this morning that because of the splendid service of the men of labor, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor and other men, and honest democrats and honest republicans and honest progressives alike in Congress, you are now in this country placed in somewhat the same position that the labor of Great Britain was placed in by the passage of the great Trades Dispute Act a number of years ago. I don't know that every one in this hall is familiar with the fact that under the Anti-Trust Law we were in position to have human labor power treated in exactly the same way as you treated iron and steel or any other commodity, and at last we have won through the laws of the nation the enactment into law of the doctrine we began to fight for in the great United Hatters' strike in this country a number of years ago. At last we have won that right so that under the anti-trust law human labor power is not placed in the same category with iron and lumber and other commodities.

And in doing so we have taken no radical stand. Abraham Lincoln, more than fifty years ago, gave enunciation to the doctrine that labor was of more moment than money, that labor deserved much more consideration than money. And that wasn't because Mr. Lincoln was against the just rights of property. No man will make such claim. But Mr. Lincoln knew that when you deal with money you deal with some intangible property. A man may have his money invested in a distant land and he, his life and his home in no wise involved; but whenever you deal with labor you deal with the human being, you deal with the man, the potential father, with his heart and his hand and his brain, you deal with humanity; and because of that the rights of labor are the rights of men, and the rights of men are superior to the rights of property. And we have at last got

that enacted into the law of this nation.

We have made another great advance on which I congratulate you. It has been the custom in this nation, not a sound custom, a custom that came from the extension of the doctrines of the law in dealing with contempt cases, to exercise the power of the court against men, many hundreds of them, for alleged offenses committed outside of the presence of the court. The old doctrine of contempt was always for a contempt committed within the presence of the court. And now at last in the federal legislation of the United States we have secured the doctrine for which some of us have been fighting, in season and out of season, for the past fifteen years, the doctrine that only contempts committed within the presence of the court shall be dealt with summarily and that all other contempts shall be dealt with by a jury trial. Those two enactments are of more substantial concern to the men and women of labor than any gains we have made in legislation in a long time.

But I have often thought that some of us in arguing our case are not always certain of the value outside of our own group of the contentions we have. What do I mean by that? I mean that good wages and short hours and fair working conditions are not only good for men and women of labor, but they are good for the whole citizenship and the national prosperity as well. And I wish that we might always have the broader view in our pleas for our cause. I am among those people who believe you can make the battle of labor successful by controlling and affecting the honest public opinion of fair-minded men of every group and every class. And I believe that the cause of labor advances more surely when we deal with the whole community, assuming that it is willing to be fair if it knows the truth, than when we take a narrow and partisan position. May I say to you that the education I got in the labor movement didn't come from reading books? It didn't come from desiring the fellowship of labor men, it didn't come from seeking

votes. I have never sought votes in the past, and there are some people that know, although I am a candidate, I am not a candidate because I sought to be at this time.

I began in the labor movement as a worker in the unorganized mines of Tennessee twenty-two years ago. At Coal Creek, in old No. 3, in Anderson County, Tennessee, I worked under conditions when there wasn't a single organized man in that state. I worked twelve hours a day for a dollar a day, and frequently worked on Sunday and worked over time without any compensation. Not only that, but when we came to places in the drift where there was danger that the props would break or the shoring would give way, as we used to say, I have turned to my superintendent and said, "This is dangerous," and he said to me: "If you don't like this mine you get to hell out of here!"

When we finished our twelve hours of work we didn't study the questions of labor, we didn't study the welfare of mankind. We didn't have enough juice left after twelve hours in that drift to study anything. All we did was to get into our cook kitchen, get some grub and then go to our bunks and sleep until the whistle blew in the morning, when we went to the cage and went down again. There came there a union miner from Colorado who was a refugee. He had got into some trouble out there. He told me about organized labor. I never had heard of it. There was not a single organized man in the mines of that state at that time. This man told me that men worked eight hours a day, six days a week and got four dollars a day. I thought he must be lying. I thought maybe somewhere somebody worked eight hours a day, but I didn't believe anybody but a banker got four dollars a day.

This man interested me. I was not able to keep awake at times, so I would get a pan of cold water and put it at the foot of my bunk, and when my feet would begin to slosh around I would wake up and continue thinking and talking to this man. Then I began to organize the men. The superintendent came to me and said: "What is this stuff? What are you doing it for?" I said it would be for

the good of the men and he should join us. He said: "Cut that out or leave." I did. I went to Colorado and worked in the old Leadville district. I worked eight hours a day and got four dollars a day for doing it. And I found a new world. I was able to study at night, I had enough juice left over to think and study, and I laid the foundation of whatever education I have at this moment. And not only that, I saved money and laid the foundation for what prosperity I have now. I saved money enough to grub stake me when I went to Alaska.

Any man who says an eight-hour day is only good for labor is a foolish man. It is good for citizens, it is good for the whole community, it gives you an intelligent and a fine laboring man instead of a mere machine. Any man who says a good wage is only good for labor is a foolish man. Good wages mean lots of money for business; good wages mean the purchasing power of the town is better, and you ought to have every church and every store and every intelligent man of the community on your side in the battle for good wages, because it means a better community and a higher prosperity for every human soul. Good working conditions are part of the gain of the whole community and not part of it. Every time you cripple a man, every time you kill a man, every time you give a man tuberculosis because of the conditions under which he labors you work an injury on the community as well as upon labor itself. It is a burden upon the people and an injury to the life of the whole nation and the city where you live.

Let us fight our battle on big, wide grounds; let us stand not only for the economic and social program, but let us stand for the political program. And that doesn't mean, Brother mine, candidates for office. You vote for the candidate for office you think is on the square and don't care about party labels. That is the position of organized labor, and it is the right position. But there are measures that are worth something to labor, not only these great measures we have talked of, but the fundamental control by the people over their own govern-

ment. Labor has endorsed the initiative, referendum and recall, and you ought to fight for it everywhere, not fight for parties. But fight for principles, not fight so much for men as for principle. Men come and go, the fairest speaking and the greatest men pass from the world. Great principles and the machinery of free government endure and grow from generation to generation.

You men, if you will get the initiative, referendum and recall into government, will find an avenue or beating the bipartisan combination and the corporation bosses. When your laws are killed in committees and strangled to death without roll call you will not be helpless any longer, you can call public meetings. If there is a law you want passed and they strangle it to death in committees you can get a petition signed, get the question on the ballot and you are there with power to enact it into law. When you want to kill dishonest laws, laws passed in favor of special interests, you can kill them on the referendum. And the recall is the common friend of all honest government everywhere. Why shouldn't you have the recall? When you put X in front of a man's name on the ballot you hire that man just as much as if you went up to him and said, "Bill, I want you to go to the court house, I want you to go to Springfield, I want you to go to Washington. I cannot do it, I am too hard at work." And when you pay taxes or rents you pay Bill, your public servant, as much as if you went up to him and said, "Here are 13 cents, my share of your salary." If you hire Bill and pay him, why shouldn't you fire Bill when he doesn't do what you want done?

You sometimes do not get public men to come before you except when they are candidates for office. Did you ever notice that? They are a great deal more busy during election time to answer the call of labor than at any other time. I want the power in your hands, and you want it, to call public officials before you. Here is a public official that has betrayed you. If you have the recall you are not helpless. You sign a recall petition and bring him before you to explain the way he has done the bus-

iness you paid him for. Will he come? He will surely come. If you will keep in your hands the cord that ties Bill to the payroll he will come every time you call him. When you get Bill in front of you you will say: "Bill, give an account of the way you did our public work that we hired you for and paid you for." And if Bill gives a good account you will say, "Go back Bill and finish the work." If he doesn't, you will say, "Go 'way back and sit down, Bill, and we will send somebody else to run the job." That is government of the people, by the people and for the people 365 days in the year.

I have delayed four or five days saying anything about an attack upon a union man who has carried a union card a great many years, by Mr. B. M. Chipperfield. He wanted to attack me because he knew, as everybody knew, there were no union mines in Tennessee when I worked there. Then I worked in the gold mines. He knew I hadn't a coal miner's card. He tried to ask a question and involve an honest witness in it. I want you to ask Mr. Chipperfield how it was possible for me to drive him out of a theater in his own home town on the 13th of September, 1910? I was there speaking for the initiative, the referendum and recall, and Mr. Chipperfield, one of the notorious gangsters in the legislature, had a rotten record and didn't want me to attack it. He sent word if I told about his voting with Lorimer and the corrupt interests he would hang something about my neck. I spoke. He took a front seat and brought in about fifty of his hoodlums. A man said, "It is dangerous here." I said, "Don't worry, I am used to catching bricks."

When I got about half way through my speech Mr. Chipperfield beat on the floor with a little cane he carried, and stood up and made an attack on me. I said, "Mr. Chipperfield, will you explain to your constituents this vote, and that vote, and that crooked corporation vote," and he turned red and stammered and left. He left the theater with his hoodlums in his own home town, amid the jeers and laughter of his own town folks. When he explains that to the people of Illinois

I will explain anything he wants to ask me.

Now, one word and I am done. I want this splendid gathering of men and women of labor to know this: The battle of organized labor will not grow less keen, it will grow more intense because of the conditions in the nation's life. Don't any of you men be easy and forgetful. Organize your women, organize all unorganized trades, because the battle is a real one and not a sham battle. There used to be an escape in this country when there were hard conditions of unemployment or no opportunity you used to go west. You could go out to the open land and find a new opportunity and a new freedom. You cannot do it any longer.

I was one of the men of the last frontier, one of the men who carried the last pioneer's line that will ever be carried in this world. I went to Alaska in 1897 carrying 2,000 pounds of grub on my back, carrying a hundred pounds at a time over the rocks of Chilkoot and down in the valley of the Yukon. I lived there three years. In March, 1898, I stood on a cliff looking out over Behring Sea. The icebergs had come down from the Arctic, great mountains like the one that sunk the Titanic, and they were ranged along the shore. The sea was frozen, the salt water, out three miles from the shore, because of the great cold. The great cold there does the same magic the heat does in the desert lands of the east. You have heard of the mirage, you know that men in caravans going across the desert see in the distance what looks like water and smiling palm trees, and it is nothing but the burning sands.

I stood there and looked across the frozen sea and the icebergs and saw on the low western horizon the cliffs of Siberia; the old East Asia, ninety miles away, had been lifted up and painted there on the skies. I did not know then what it meant, but I know now. It meant the close of the frontier, it meant that you cannot escape the struggle; it meant that thousands of country boys will come into the cities and mill towns and fight, without the knowledge of organized labor, for a chance to live. And they

are beating on the lines of organized labor. Not only that, the foreigners from the old world, the oppressed from Europe are coming here. They do not go to the outlying districts any longer, they come to the mill towns and pile up in the tenement districts, driving American workmen out on the streets.

Don't fail to see this situation. In this nation today the strain to keep organized labor, to protect hours and wages and working conditions is greater than it has ever been, and it will grow more intense. As you sit in these seats this morning they are coming thousands strong from the farms, from the old countries of Europe, coming in to beat against the standard we fought to make through long years of struggle. Keep your lines steady, stand square, don't let men divide you. You stand for principles, you stand for measures, you choose your men. Let no party pride divide the great forces of the men of toil and the future will bring victory for our cause. I thank you one and all.

President Walker: The special order set for this time is the election of officers. The Credentials Committee has a brief final report to make. If there are no objections they will make it.

Delegate Argust: I would like to ask the chair if he has forgotten the motion that was adopted the other day by the convention.

President Walker: The motion was that Delegate Germer be invited to address the convention. The motion was carried, I think by unanimous vote. The special order being set for 10 o'clock, we expected to have the statements made this morning before that time. The chair has no objections, in fact, would be glad to hear Brother Germer speak at this time. If it is the wish of the convention to set aside the special order he will be glad to have it done.

Delegate Argust: I move you that we suspend the rules and hear from Adolph Germer at this time. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Anderson: I am sorry you did not recognize me before the motion was put. I would like to call the attention of the convention and the chair to the fact that we had a special order of business yesterday and a special order for today; a great many of us are here at considerable expense and sacrifice to ourselves, and it does seem to me we ought to at some point cease suspending the regular procedure and get down to business. This is Friday morning, almost 10:30. I must leave tonight and so must some of the other delegates. While the speeches have been good I do think we can dispense with some of the speeches now and get down to business. I therefore want to enter a protest against speeches we can hear at any other time. The speakers yesterday repeated themselves. Their speeches could have been a great deal shorter and the time of the convention used a great deal more profitably than it was.

President Walker: Yesterday the time was devoted to speech making because there were no committees ready to report. Last night the chair was at the special session that was arranged for fraternal delegates so that the time of the convention might be utilized out of the regular sessions. I don't know whether the brother was there, but the chair was there until the session was over, and I think we saved almost an entire day by that procedure. I don't know of anything that would be of more importance than to hear those speeches and have the convention hear from the representatives of outside federations and organizations within the state that we should have in here with us.

Delegate Anderson: I move that the brother be limited to ten minutes.

President Walker: The convention by motion suspended the regular order of business and invited Brother Germer to make an address. I do not remember the amount of time he was expected to be given by the original motion; I think it was understood he was to be given at least as much time as the speaker he was to follow. Unless the convention rules oth-

erwise that will be the procedure. The chair takes pleasure in introducing to you a delegate to the convention, a member of an organization that is affiliated with the State Federation of Labor, an ex-coal miner also, who is a candidate for member of the United States Senate.

Delegate A. F. Germer, Mine Workers: Mr. President, Delegates to the Convention, Friends—I assure you I greatly appreciate this privilege of saying a few words in the interests of labor this morning. I likewise promise that, in view of the amount of important work to be transacted by the convention, I shall consume but very little time, although, like President Walker, I usually have a lengthy speech in my system, and I like to relieve it on some one.

This is an age of organization, organization promoted, extended and perfected in every line of human endeavor. The large combinations of capital are organized to protect the material interests of their members, to increase their income and when they do that they do it at the expense of labor. Labor, on the other hand, is organized in its vast numbers to halt the encroachment of capital, that organized capital that every day of the year imposes on labor. Organizations of labor are the only avenues that are left to the working people to protect themselves against the avarice and greed of organized capital.

Yesterday we listened attentively to the address of Mother Jones as she recited the battles that organized capital, not individual capitalists, but organized capital was conducting against organized labor in Colorado, to deprive labor of the rights guaranteed by the laws and constitution of the state and nation. My friends, it is not so much a matter of making laws; we could have our libraries and our archives filled with laws of the most remedial nature, but they would be of no value to labor unless they are executed by those who are elected, sworn and paid to execute them. You heard how in the state of Colorado the most beneficial labor legislation had been passed, guaranteeing the most important rights to labor of that state. And you likewise heard how

those who had been elected and paid and sworn to execute those laws had miserably failed in their duties. And why did men in Colorado fail in the execution of those laws? Not because they were bad men, for the men elected in the state of Colorado to execute the laws, especially the governor of the state, had the endorsement of organized labor, officials of organized labor sat on the advisory committee and they were satisfied that Governor Ammons was on the square and the best man.

There is such an element as economic determinism and Karl Marx put it plainly when he said the way a man earns his living determines his mode of thinking. And in this society of class division men usually act in accordance with the way in which they earn their living. And Governor Ammons, although on the square in the opinion of union men prior to his election, was not a working man, but one of those friends of working men they are appealed to to elect. There is a difference between the friend of the working man and a working man. It is much easier to be a friend of working men than to be a working man, and because of that, because of the deception, because of the traps into which we have been led we supported friends of labor rather than labor itself. That is why we have placed the machinery of government in the hands of the agents of capitalists and they have used it against the interests of labor.

If working men and working women who have the ballot were as loyal to their class interests as the Rockefeller, the Goulds and the Morgans are to their interests, rather than have friends of labor who make their living different from labor, we would have labor, and instead of the policeman's club and the rifle and the machine gun being in the hands of the enemy they would be in the hands of labor, and the Ludlows, the Holly Groves, the Calumets, the Virdens, the Homesteads and the Latimers would never have been known to disgrace civilization. If the machinery of government in Colorado, in West Virginia, in Michigan and in Alabama, and if the machinery of government

in Chicago during the garment workers' strike and the printers' strike had not been in the hands of the capitalist class those strikes would never have occurred. It is upon the machinery of government that organized capital depends, and when they know that the machinery of government, that the policeman's club, that the bayonet, the machine gun and the federal troops are in the command of their agents, then of course they are perfectly safe in engaging in industrial conflicts with labor, because they know labor is helpless and has no means to defend itself.

There are three important wings in the labor movement. One is the economic organization to shorten the hours of labor and increase wages, improve conditions and raise the general standard of citizenship. There is another wing, the co-operative movement, to which we are now turning our attention, which deals with another encroachment of capitalistic greed. Every time working men receive an increase in wages through their organizations the price of the necessities of life go up and we turn those increases over to our enemies. In order to rob the enemy of that exploiting power we are now turning our attention to the co-operative movement, and I hope every effort will be made by working men everywhere to further the power and influence of co-operatives, not only in this state, but throughout the nation. A great deal of the achievement of organized labor depends upon its strength, its resources and its endurance, and if the organized enemy knows that organized labor has stores, warehouses, factories and other resources it will be a splendid argument for an increase in wages, for a reduction of hours and for an improvement of the conditions of labor.

The third arm, and that is one to which our European comrades have also turned, is the political wing of the labor movement. I happened to be in Europe a few years ago with President Walker and we visited a number of the national capitals. Now here in America we elect men to the legislatures and to congress; we pay them splendid salaries, and after we

have elected them and paid them we select men of our own rank to go and beg for legislation from them. In Europe the situation is somewhat different. Instead of paying men from the labor organizations, instead of using the funds of the labor organizations to send begging committees to London, Berlin, Paris or Brussels, they elect men of their own ranks to go into the halls of legislation and command legislation in the interests of labor. And, no matter what others may say, the industrial conditions, because of protective labor legislation in Europe, are considerably better than they are in America, and the number of accidents and deaths caused by industrial occupations is considerably lower than in the United States.

In addition to protective labor legislation which could be secured here by a united effort of labor we could, as I said a moment ago, place in our hands that power to which our enemies resort whenever we ask for a greater share of the wealth we create. And if we turn our attention and our activities to these three wings of the labor movement, and if we recognize ourselves as working men and working women in our union, out of our union, in the union on Labor Day and election day, I want to say to you that you will strengthen your organization and through the strength of your organization, and depriving your enemies of the power they use against you, you will be able, instead of working eight hours a day, to reduce the hours of labor per day, increase the share of wealth that goes to the possessors and thereby materially increase the standard of citizenship which every one desires so much. So long as we have a few owning the jobs we must have in order to live, so long will those few endeavor by corruption and deception, by trickery of all descriptions, to deceive labor, divide labor against itself on religious lines and every other line, that they may retain the power of government in their own hands and use it against organized labor.

The measures I have pointed out are only palliatives, but there is a final solution of this labor question, a final solution that will eliminate en-

tirely from labor's history in the future of the Ludlows, the Homesteads, the Latimers and the Panas, and that is by the workers, by the common people getting possession and control of their jobs, by getting possession and control of the natural resources and the instruments of production and distribution, then let the workers who create the wealth get the full social value of their labor power. And when the workers own the industries, when the people of the United States own the industries, when they manage them and when they get the full social value of their labor, then the Rockefellerers and the Goulds and the Vanderbilts will have no forces to use to corrupt a government; they will have no wealth with which to corrupt presidents of the United States, with which to buy a congress or a legislature, a judge, a sheriff or even a village constable. And when they have lost the means to corrupt government, then I say no more Homesteads, no more Virdens, no more Latimers, no more roasting to death of helpless women and innocent children as at Ludlow.

I, too, have worked in coal mines. I started to work in a mine at the age of eleven years and worked for sixty cents a day for ten hours. I know the value of organization. I know the difference between conditions under unions and no unions. I have gone through some of the struggles labor had to undergo to obtain improved conditions in mines, but in spite of those movements, in spite of the shortening of hours, in spite of the increasing of wages, I wish to agree with the preceding speaker that the struggle is no less intense, but is growing more intense day by day, because the large aggregations of capital are becoming more immense day by day and their influence is more corrupting as time goes on.

So I say, instead of dealing with palliatives alone, instead of increasing wages only to have somebody take them away through the increased cost of living, instead of placing the reins of government in the hands of the agents of capitalism, we should exercise a loyalty to labor and its interests such as is shown to us by Wall

Street and Broadway. And instead of leaving the sources of life in the hands of those elements, let us extend the example Uncle Sam has set in the Isthmus of Panama. There we own to a certain degree some of the industries. Uncle Sam owns co-operatives on the Isthmus, laundries and industries of various kinds. If Uncle Sam can operate industries on the Isthmus of Panama, then I say we ought, in the interests of humanity, extend that ownership and operate and extend the control of those industries throughout the United States that they may be operated in the interest of the people, for the people and by the people.

Delegate Neer, Teamsters: During the second day's session we arranged that a day should be set aside for delegates to mark on their attendance cards the number of articles of union wearing apparel. I move that at the beginning of the afternoon sessions they mark on the back of their card the number of labels on their wearing apparel, and that those who use union tobacco also note that fact. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Sumner: I would like to have added those that drink union whiskey.

A Delegate: We will have to have a bigger card.

President Walker: If you fill the card you will have a good excuse for leaving some things off.

The special order now is the election of officers. If there are no objections, and with the consent of at least one of the candidates the chair will appoint the tellers. I will appoint William Neer, Ed. Nockels and Duncan McDonald. While the ballots are being distributed we can consider a brief report of the Committee on Credentials. First the chair will appoint as a special committee to count the votes for cities, H. P. Stevens, Ottawa; Brother Blakely, Alton, and Brother Hunt, Quincy.

Delegate Freeman: I would like to move that the delegates have their cards when they vote to show that

they are entitled to do so. (Seconded and carried.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

The committee reported that H. A. Crawford, Lincoln Central Body, had been included in the list of delegates, but a mistake had been made as the organization he represented had not paid its per capita tax, and their representatives was not entitled to a seat in the convention. The committee stated that no action was necessary, but that a record be made of the matter.

Delegate Kain, for the Committee on Credentials, read a final list of delegates whose seating was recommended. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Following is the complete list of delegates reported by the committee and seated in the convention:

AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF STREET AND ELECTRIC RAILWAY EMPLOYES.

- L. U. No. 125, EAST ST. LOUIS
Earl Almon
L. R. Friend
Chas. F. Northrop
- L. U. NO. 260, CHIGACO
Roulard Sheldon
- L. U. NO. 241, CHICAGO
Wm. Quinlan
- L. U. NO. 308, CHICAGO
George Koch
- L. U. NO. 313, ROCK ISLAND
Jerome Harper
- L. U. NO. 236, ALTON
W. H. Thompson
- L. U. NO. 416, PEORIA
Henry Culver
John Conlon
Elmer Collier
- L. U. NO. 513, PEORIA
Henry Taylor

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES COUNCIL

PEORIA

M. H. Snider

CHICAGO

Jas. Williams
Arthur W. Smith

ASBESTOS WORKERS

L. U. NO. 17, CHICAGO

Andrew J. Kennedy

BAKERS' UNION

L. U. NO. 145, PEORIA

Henry W. Funk

L. U. NO. 2, CHICAGO

Gothlieb Gutekunst

L. U. NO. 219, PEORIA

Herman Ross

BOILER MAKERS' UNION

L. U. NO. 22, DANVILLE

John Barry

Jos. Flattery

L. U. NO. 60, PEORIA

Frank Hierspiel

BARBERS' UNION

L. U. NO. 140, STREATOR

Thos. Kelly

L. U. NO. 44, PEORIA

L. A. Hill

L. U. NO. 138, E. ST. LOUIS

George Schaub

L. U. NO. 90, DECATUR

Thos. B. Davis

L. U. NO. 108, Belleville

Wm. Jampel

**BREWERS AND MALSTERS,
BREWERY WORKERS,****ETC.**

L. U. NO. 33, PERU

Wm. Croisant

L. U. NO. 364, ROCK ISLAND

Henry Grampp

L. U. NO. 337, CHICAGO

Math Lorenz

L. U. NO. 248, CHICAGO

John Szalay

Paul B. Lussnig

Frank Matrzel

Chris Kramer

Anton Schirmang

Peter Fischer

Abe Frank

L. U. NO. 167, PEORIA

Jos. Muthers

Wm. Luenz

L. U. NO. 21, BELLEVILLE

Albert Nebgen

Adam J. Funk

L. U. NO. 335, DANVILLE

Wm. Clark

L. U. NO. 121, CHICAGO

Geo. Johnson

Jos. Doyle

Frank Lelivelt

L. U. NO. 18, CHICAGO (BLUE ISLAND)

Chas. Berger

Otto Gunia

Anton Huebner

Chas. Gaude

Gus. Scheel

Wm. Pfeiffer

L. U. NO. 344, CHICAGO BREW-
ERY DRIVERS)

Robt. Figg

Emil Strickland

Geo. Diest

E. Steffan

L. Dorman

W. A. Sarcina

H. Young

Jas. T. Patterson

**BARTENDERS, WAITRESSES,
HOTEL AND RESTAU-
RANT EMPLOYEES**

L. U. NO. 332, EAST ST. LOUIS

Fred W. Swaynig

L. U. NO. 834, ROYALTON

J. E. Hicks

L. U. NO. 573, SPRINGFIELD

John McGrath

W. R. Harmon

L. U. NO. 153, QUINCY

John H. Halfbrink

W. M. Snell

L. U. NO. 221, KEWANEE

Robt. J. Wilson

L. U. NO. 218, STREATOR

John James

L. U. NO. 325, VIRDEN

C. L. Dodgson

L. U. NO. 325, BREESE

Harry Berndson

L. U. NO. 286, PEORIA

John M. Irish

Clifford Hinkle

Clarence Dibble

L. U. NO. 844, STAUNTON

Jos. W. Rizzie

L. U. NO. 37, DECATUR

Frank DeValon

L. U. NO. 543, DANVILLE

Geo. Govan

L. U. NO. 850, ROCK ISLAND

I. W. Wynn

Wm. Irvins

L. U. NO. 818, PEKIN

Geo. Poebel

L. U. NO. 568, GILLESPIE

M. A. Hampton

L. U. NO. 213, PANA

Carl Craig

L. U. NO. 444, PEORIA

Mae Trapp

L. U. NO. 102, GRANITE CITY

Carl Frey

L. U. NO. 139, Lincoln

W. H. Foster

BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL

AURORA

P. Hickey

Norbert Berve

D. H. Richmond

GALESBURG

R. F. Porter

PEORIA

W. A. Dare

S. W. McAllister

Elmer Blythe

BROOM AND WHISK MAKERS' UNION

L. U. NO. 29, CHICAGO

W. R. Boyer

BILL POSTERS AND BILLERS

BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS

L. U. NO. 94, CHICAGO

Agnes Johnson

BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS

L. U. NO. 1, CHICAGO

Martin S. Newsted

L. U. NO. 112, PEORIA

Jas. E. Ray

BRICK MAKERS, BRICK, TILE AND TERRA COTTA WORKERS

L. U. NO. 1, CHICAGO

F. W. Flint

Frank Kasten

Jas. McGraham

W. T. Tracey

L. U. NO. 255, EAST PEORIA

H. Mauschaugh

L. U. NO. 2, BURNSIDE (LAN-SING)

Anthony Koslke

Frank Overmeyer

Chas. H. Lange

L. U. NO. 203, CHICAGO HEIGHTS

C. Woodard

I. U. NO. 2539, GALEWOOD

Thos. O'Neil

L. U. NO. 116, DANVILLE

A. Hardin

Oscare Coon

L. U. NO. 49, EVANSTON

Chas. Johnstone

Martin Luebbing

L. U. NO. 214, MANTENO

Frank Gray

L. U. NO. 14, SHERMERVILLE

Ed Juehrend

Fred Man

L. U. NO. 3, BLUE ISLAND

Wm. Rowlo

Albert Beedy

Andrew Lechner

CIGAR MAKERS' UNION

L. U. NO. 20, DECATUR

Chas. Wright

L. U. NO. 80, DANVILLE

S. T. Leonard

L. U. NO. 14, CHICAGO

J. A. Kain

O. S. Kelly

Robt. Frezell

John W. Roberts

A. E. Adeloff

Henry Goebel

L. U. NO. 118, PEORIA

T. McWhinney

L. A. Allton

L. U. NO. 73, ALTON

Arthur Putze

CARPENTERS AND JOINERS' UNION

L. U. NO. 44, URBANA-CHAM-PAIGN

H. V. Downey

G. B. Jenkins

J. Schmitt

L. U. NO. 742, DECATUR

Otis Green

W. G. Collins

L. U. NO. 63, BLOOMINGTON

Geo. L. Meyers

F. J. Morgan

L. U. NO. 1544, COAL CITY

D. J. Farley

L. U. NO. 633, GRANITE CITY

J. M. Bovard

L. U. NO. 183, PEORIA

W. M. Deal

T. E. Gerdes

E. Y. Wrigley

L. U. NO. 337, ALTON

Roland Admas

L. U. NO. 661, OTTAWA

Mark Bennett

COOPERS' UNION

L. U. NO. 94, CHICAGO

Chas. Koenig

**ELEVATOR CONDUCTORS AND
STARTERS' UNION**

L. U. NO. 11959, CHICAGO

Wm. Meyers
E. N. Nockles
Jos. W. Ryan
Mack L. H. Larsen
W. A. Clark
Jas. J. McAndrews

**ELECTRICAL WORKERS'
UNION**

L. U. NO. 146, DECATUR

C. R. Wylie

L. U. NO. 184, GALESBURG

Earl Haskins

L. U. NO. 176, JOLIET

C. W. Hughes

L. U. NO. 427, SPRINGFIELD

Wm. M. Chiles

L. U. NO. 34, PEORIA

Ben Priddy

L. U. NO. 134, CHICAGO

Edw. J. Evans

Jas. Noonan

R. Cleary

C. P. Ford

L. U. NO. 461, AURORA

C. A. Townsend

FEDERAL LABOR UNION

L. U. NO. 7426, SPRINGFIELD

Mary Morris

L. U. NO. 14532, PEORIA

D. J. Gorman

L. U. NO. 14628, WEST FRANK-
FORT

Wm. Rotramel

L. U. NO. 14481, DECATUR

George Duncan

L. U. NO. 7087, BELLEVILLE

Alvin Teel

L. U. 8367, LA SALLE

Jas. P. Trench.

FOUNDRY EMPLOYEES

L. U. NO. 7, BELLEVILLE

Walter Schlott

FLAT JANITORS

L. U. NO. 332, CHICAGO

Geo. Bowen
Elmer Swanson
C. R. Rowens
J. D. Sullivan
Fred D. Rowens
Wm. F. Quesse

FIREMEN'S UNION

L. U. NO. 7, CHICAGO

Jas. W. Morton

M. C. Freil

**FIREMEN'S ASSOCIATION (City
Fire Department)**

L. U. NO. 12270, CHICAGO

John O'Neill

C. J. Hallahan

Wm. Christianson

John Clancy

Henry Ward

GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

L. U. NO. 164, JOLIET

Matt Stubler

L. U. NO. 39, CHICAGO

A. Fisher

M. Feinberg

Sam Itskowitz

Solomon Bobroff

A. D. Marinpietri

L. U. NO. 61, CHICAGO

Sam Bloom

Harry Wolcchinovsky

L. U. NO. 146, PEORIA

Katheryne Clift

L. U. NO. 21, CHICAGO

Geo. C. Slater

GLOVE WORKERS' UNION

L. U. NO. 18, CHICAGO

Margaret Blake

**GLASS BOTTLE BLOWERS'
UNION**

L. U. NO. 3, STREATOR

John A. Jones

L. U. NO. 2, ALTON

Wm. E. Kelly

Jno. H. Coleman

HORESHOERS' UNION

L. U. NO. 4, CHICAGO

John J. Fitzpatrick

**HOD CARRIERS' AND BUILDING
LABORERS' ASSOCIATION**

L. U. NO. 134, OTTAWA

Jos. Russell

**HOSPITAL NURSES AND
ATTENDANTS**

L. U. NO. 14655, DUNNING

Henry Schwarz

L. U. NO. 14714, KANKAKEE

W. H. Frith

Allan Moore

LAKE SEAMEN**CHICAGO**

V. A. Olander

MUSICIANS' UNION

L. U. NO. 131, STREATOR

J. W. Finlayson

MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHERS

L. U. NO. 87, CHICAGO

Dennis Lane

L. U. NO. 320, CHICAGO

G. Metz

METAL POLISHERS AND BUFFERS, ETC.

L. U. NO. 6, CHICAGO

Edw. Lieberman

MACHINISTS' UNION

L. U. NO. 493, DECATUR

C. O. Miller

L. U. NO. 360, PEORIA

J. W. Gentry

L. U. NO. 208, CHICAGO

Ed Carbine

A. H. Greener

L. U. NO. 695, ROCK ISLAND

John A. Nelson

J. S. Milton

L. U. NO. 660, ALTON

John O. Fritchie

L. U. NO. 473, DANVILLE

H. A. Wise

C. B. Adams

MOLDERS' UNION

L. U. NO. 182, BELLEVILLE

Alois Towers

Wm. Christopher

Chas. Lotz

MOLDERS' CONFERENCE BOARD, E. ST. LOUIS AND VICINITY

Herbert Rauth

Edw. J. Gilson

Chas. Markham

L. U. NO. 44, QUINCY

Frank Hunt

Henry Rosendale

L. U. NO. 220, BELLEVILLE

Oscar Miller

L. U. NO. 412, GRANITE CITY

R. J. Dickson

Martin Carroll

Harry Waldorf

CONFERENCE BOARD, CENTRAL ILLINOIS AND IOWA (ROCK ISLAND)

Jos. Trumble

PAINTERS, DECORATORS, AND PAPER HANGERS' UNION

L. U. NO. 288, DECATUR

Carl Ewing

L. U. NO. 515, STREATOR

George Warren

L. U. NO. 147, CHICAGO

John Perrin

Jas. Mooney

L. U. NO. 448, AURORA

Geo. Griffey

L. U. NO. 465, OTTAWA

M. R. Duckworth

L. U. NO. 157, PEORIA

Wm. D. Corner

Geo. Beardslay

PHOTO ENGRAVERS' UNION

L. U. NO. 5, CHICAGO

Matthew Woll

POST OFFICE CLERKS' ASSOCIATION

L. U. NO. 1, CHICAGO

Pierce E. Buttler

PLUMBERS, STEAM FITTERS AND HELPERS' UNION

L. U. NO. 137, SPRINGFIELD

W. A. Meyers

L. U. NO. 466, OTTAWA

John O'Regan

L. U. NO. 383, KANKAKEE

Howard Shine

RETAIL CLERKS' ASSOCIATION

L. U. NO. 1130, HERRIN

Joe McNanna

L. U. NO. 92, BLOOMINGTON

C. C. Rakow

DIST. NO. 1, ILLINOIS

J. F. Foley

J. F. Daughton

STEEL, TIN, IRON AND GRANITE WARE WORKERS' UNION

L. U. NO. 10943, GRANITE CITY

Miss Margaret Mellon

Walter Arbogast

Roy Clark

STEAM ENGINEERS

- L. U. NO. 569, CHICAGO
A. W. Jenozerosky

STREET PAVING ENGINEERS

- L. U. NO. 464, CHICAGO
Matt Keefe

STEAM AND OPERATING ENGINEERS

- L. U. NO. 401, CHICAGO
Albert Peterson

SWITCHMEN'S UNION

- L. U. NO. 224, PEORIA
Dennis Smith
L. U. NO. 58, CHICAGO
Jas. B. Connors
L. U. NO. 16, E. ST. LOUIS
H. Kerr
L. U. NO. 199, CHICAGO
Thos. D. Honan
L. U. NO. 53, DECATUR
Harry Hackett

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

- L. U. NO. 16, CHICAGO
E. R. Wright
R. Carville
Jas. Miles
Jonh Harding
Chas. M. Fox
H. Harvey
A. V. Billings
E. D. Quinn
Geo. Webber
Wm. Griffin
W. M. Klinger
J. H. Woods
M. C. Davidson
M. S. Perrigo
Wm. Carville
W. W. Bartnett
F. M. Cruickshank
W. T. Sowers
B. W. Swift
Wm. Flynn
Geo. Garver
R. E. Burris
W. H. Brown
F. DeVaney
Wm. Bowne
H. Klotenback
Harry Ogden
E. F. Fanning
O. E. Scheupp

F. R. Anderson
C. R. Coleman

- L. U. NO. 177, SPRINGFIELD
Geo. P. Leisher
L. U. NO. 215, DECATUR
W. J. Arnold
L. U. NO. 265, OTTAWA
H. P. Stevens
L. U. NO. 107, ROCK ISLAND
W. J. Rank
L. U. NO. 444, URBANA-CHAM-
PAIGN
Guy S. McCoy
L. U. NO. 213, ROCKFORD
R. S. Barnes
L. U. NO. 29, PEORIA
F. Ritter
L. U. NO. 124, BLOOMINGTON
Jas. Ryan

**STATE ORGANIZATION,
PEORIA**

- Walter Bush
Ed Bessette
Chas. Embick
L. U. NO. 306, ALTON
Gus Tibbitt
L. U. NO. 23, DANVILLE
A. F. Woodruff

TEAMSTERS' UNION

- L. U. NO. 753, CHICAGO
Paul Doerr
Thos. Gerstel
Wm. A. Neer
F. W. Grimsley
Mike Wallace
F. Ray Bryant
Harry Hughes
Louis Schondorf
Jos. L. Patterson
Peter Ennis
J. S. Strudeman
Wm. R. Strong
Jack W. Cook
Elmer Larsen
Victor Hopp
Fred Dahens
Chas. Dorland
Robt. Fitchie
Steve Sumner
Robt. O'Connell
L. U. NO. 712, CHICAGO
John G. Clay
L. U. NO. 710, CHICAGO
Geo. Golden
Peter Bluminthal
Peter Yore
Fred Sands
Chas. Finske
Geo. O. Johnson

L. U. NO. 179, JOLIET
 John Fanning
 L. U. NO. 342, CHICAGO
 Martin McGraw
 Otto Eszberger
 Andrew Hartman
 Fred Bisser
 Chas. Webber
 Rudolph Strauss
 L. U. NO. 660, PEORIA
 L. T. McArthur
 L. U. NO. 729, E. ST. LOUIS
 Wm. Freeman
 C. Caughlin
 E. J. Kerns
 L. U. NO. 77, STREATOR
 Harley B. Worrell
 L. U. NO. 769, CHICAGO
 J. Dwyer
 L. U. NO. 739, CHICAGO
 Dennis L. Dillon
 L. U. NO. 772, CHICAGO
 R. B. Haslett
 Jas. Heckl
 L. U. NO. 727, CHICAGO
 T. F. Neary

UNION LABEL COUNCIL, SPRINGFIELD

R. E. Woodmansee
 Robt. Eadie

MOVING PICTURE OPERATORS

L. U. NO. 75, PEORIA
 Clarence Hammer

WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE

CHICAGO

Agnes Nestor
 Mrs. Mollie Chambers
 Emma Steghagen

WOMEN'S UNION LABEL LEAGUE

L. U. NO. 9, CHICAGO
 Mrs. J. F. O'Neill
 L. U. NO. 290, PEORIA
 Mrs. Della Smith
 L. U. NO. 288, DANVILLE
 Mrs. John F. Demlow
 DECATUR
 Mrs. Peebles

CENTRAL BODIES

DANVILLE

John F. Demlow
 Edw. Methe
 James Keenan

HERRIN

L. E. Jacobs
 Tom Howard
 A. T. Pace

QUINCY

Thos. Bisser
 Jno. J. Kearney
 David Ross

...

MT. OLIVE

Fred Dingerson

MURPHYSBORO

Chas. H. Andre

SPRINGFIELD

Jerry Sheehan
 Henry Bogaske
 Steve Sullivan

DUQUOIN

Robt. Paxton

JOLIET

Robt. Pell

CHAMPAIGN-NRBANA

John W. Royer
 Geo. Hankin
 A. E. Strode

W. FRANKFORT

Robt. Maddox
 Sam Winstead

BELLEVILLE

Chas. Muendelein
 Tom Hitchings

AURORA

A. N. Ament
 J. L. Quirin
 M. J. Snover

O'FALLON

Jas. T. Lilly

LASALLE

Peter Jones

ROCK ISLAND

B. W. Newton
 J. C. Kinsley
 P. J. Carlson

HARRISBURG

W. T. Lacey

GRANITE CITY

Tom Cavanagh

PEORIA

Miss Sophia Reidlinger
 J. S. McCaslin
 W. A. Allton

OTTAWA

John Montgomery
 Benj. E. Dale
 E. C. Thompson

JOHNSTON CITY

Miss Agnes Burns

STREATOR

Wm. Topham
 Wm. Atkinson

CHICAGO

L. P. Straube
Miss Annie Fitzgerald
Miss Mary Anderson

ALTON

W. E. Miller
H. C. Maddox
John Gearey

KANKAKEE

L. W. Healy

E. ST. LOUIS

O. B. Kirk
Hunter B. Keith
Michael J. Whalen

BLOOMINGTON

H. W. Grant
W. S. Brown
J. L. Salch

GALESBURG

G. H. C. Palmer
W. E. Wagoner
Steve Mayo

BREESE

Anton Knies

COLLINSVILLE

Edw. Franek

DECATUR

E. H. Black
Joe Clark
Frank Burg

UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

L. U. NO. 2708, BELLEVILLE

Jas. Mason
Bert Miranda
David M. Jenkins

L. U. No. 578, BENTON

Geo. Blakely
E. P. Laden
S. A. Miller

L. U. NO. 848, COLLINSVILLE

Thos. Lewis
Frank Hefferley

L. U. NO. 388, CLIFFORD

John Oaks
John Young

L. U. NO. 1458, DUQUOIN

R. T. McAllister

L. U. NO. 2515, DORRISVILLE

Fred Potts

L. U. NO. 730, GILLESPIE

John Christian
Thos. J. Ellis

L. U. NO. 1248, HERRIN

Hugh Willis

L. U. NO. 2650, HARRISBURG

Arthur Abrams

L. U. NO. 1000, HERRIN

H. C. Cates
O. E. Heiple

L. U. NO. 1239, JOHNSTON CITY

Pete Crosby
Dick Curry

L. U. NO. 478, DUQUOIN

Andy Tryban
Joe Hartley

L. U. NO. 503, WESTVILLE

Thos. Metcalf
John Patterson

L. U. NO. 1103, WESTVILLE

J. H. Walker
Frank Billot

L. U. NO. 707, PEORIA

Henry Hanbry
Pete Christinsen

L. U. NO. 125, MT. OLIVE

Wm. Jones
John Hittmeier

L. U. NO. 1401, MATHERSVILLE

Wm. Humes

L. U. NO. 705, O'FALLON

Dave Wilson
D. L. Thomas

L. U. NO. 331, SPRINGFIELD

Walter Lee
J. F. Morris

L. U. NO. 2403, SPRINGFIELD

Jacob Weising
Joe Ngdavenis

L. U. NO. 283, WESTVILLE

Lewis James

L. U. NO. 1971, W. FRANKFORT

Thos. Brummett
W. C. Russell

L. U. No. 492, SPRINGFIELD

Wm. Hall

L. U. NO. 1475, PANAMA

Luther O'Neal
Max Von Brunn

L. U. NO. 992, ZEIGLER

Temple Donaldson
Ed Tate

L. U. NO. 766, HERRIN

Marion Rogers
Wm. Burton

L. U. NO. 1391, THAYER

Elmer Scott
Alex Watson

L. U. NO. 1484, NOKOMIS

W. C. Argust
Frank Davis

L. U. NO. 959, W. FRANKFORT

Ed Rich
L. A. Seibert

- J. H. Young
J. O. Seibert
L. U. NO. 493, NOKOMIS
Samuel Willis
L. U. NO. 2385, SPRINGFIELD
J. E. Sanks
L. U. NO. 745, PAWNEE
John James
Jas. Shanahan
L. U. NO. 303, ORIENT
W. J. Perryman
L. U. NO. 734, PEORIA
Frank Milem
L. U. NO. 2468, CHRISTOPHER
Hosea Pruitt
Jos. Wallworth
L. U. NO. 728, MT. OLIVE
Louis Ernst
Wm. Feldman
A. F. Germer
L. U. NO. 986, HERRIN
Groce Lawrence
W. J. Sneed Jr.
L. U. NO. 1151, REND
Jas. McLeish
Pete Devlin
L. U. NO. 1880, MARION
Gro. Koonce
L. U. NO. 1782, ROYALTON
Jock Miller
Jno. Bauer
H. Straus
J. Mullin
S. Clayton
L. U. NO. 2514, SHILOH (BELLE-
VILLE)
Frank Safford
L. U. NO. 264, COLLINSVILLE
John Johnston
L. U. NO. 893, CANTON
John Spargo
Harry McGraw
Geo. Purcell
Nelson Spenny
G. L. Mercer
L. U. NO. 620, LA SALLE
Frank Lyewski
L. U. NO. 91, JOHNSTON CITY
Fred Liddell
Ben Johnson
L. U. NO. 1228, DEWMAINE
D. H. Holley
L. U. NO. 1466, HERRIN
W. A. McCall
L. U. NO. 2404, VIRDEN
Geo. Smish
Dominic Nerone
L. U. NO. 329, W. FRANKFORT
Chas. Norman
Jack Otterson
L. U. NO. 789, W. FRANKFORT
Thos. Jones
L. U. NO. 232, CHRISTOPHER
Bart Ogilvie
L. U. NO. 1237, SESSOR
Earl C. Finley
L. U. NO. 1103, WESTVILLE
Wm. Jones
L. U. NO. 2621, HERRIN
Joe Jeffrey
Abe Hicks
L. U. NO. 2219, GILLESPIE
Jas. McClelland
Wm. Granger
L. U. NO. 753, BLOOMINGTON
Henry Potthoff
L. U. NO. 2553, SPRINGFIELD
Andy Risse
L. U. NO. 1927, FARMINGTON
Jno. T. Davidson
L. U. NO. 598, LINCOLN
Tom Parry
L. U. NO. 2679 SCHRAM CITY
(HILLSBORO)
John Smith
L. U. NO. 784, MARISSA
R. J. Wilson
L. U. NO. 470, DUQUIN
Nick Romeo
L. U. NO. 2837, CARRIER MILLS
Jas. L. Beasley
L. U. NO. 944, HERRIN
John Reid
Geo. Telfrey
John Davis
L. U. NO. 685, COLLINSVILLE
Aug. Cardott
Robt. E. Bertelero
L. U. NO. 1356, GEORGETOWN
Mark Cooper
Wm. Moyer
L. U. NO. 683, MURPHYSBORO
O. G. Hearn
L. U. NO. 1213, FARMINGTON
Dan McKindlay
L. U. NO. 1146, CARTERVILLE
Robt. Hadfield
L. U. NO. 2384, MATHERSVILLE
Wm. Strachan
L. U. NO. 2469, HERRIN
John C. Wilson
L. U. NO. 43, SPRING VALLEY
Pio Franckey
L. U. NO. 1421, BUCKNER
P. F. McAuly

- L. U. NO. 2707, BENLD
Otto Fries
Owen Neal
- L. U. NO. 711, JOHNSTON CITY
A. Westbrook
R. H. Lewis
- L. U. NO. 1117, MARION
Ralph Furlong
- L. U. NO. 1800, PEKIN (WESLEY CITY)
Thad W. Mott Jr.
- L. U. NO. 2556, CARTERVILLE
Arch Adams
- L. U. NO. 758, LEDFORD
John Moffitt
- L. U. NO. 2711, CHERRY
Ernest Casagrande
Archie Hammil
- L. U. NO. 88, ELDORADO
John H. Evans
- L. U. NO. 999, SPRINGFIELD
Patrick Boyle
- L. U. NO. 320, WESTVILLE
Evan Evans
Henry Steube
- L. U. NO. 2215, JOHNSTON CITY
W. C. Sullivan
A. Cross
S. Long
Elmer Yates
- L. U. NO. 731, SPRINGFIELD
Walter Young
Harry Fishwick
Mark McGraw
- L. U. NO. 1802, MARYVILLE
Ben Kettel
John Roach
Chas. Blythe
Wm. Holliday
Mose Johnson
- L. U. NO. 221, BARTONVILLE
Jas. Driscoll
- L. U. NO. 238, BELLEVILLE
Jos. Pope
Ed Dobbins
- L. U. NO. 1040, HARRISBURG
Geo. Sherfield
- L. U. NO. 2441, SPRINGFIELD
Victor King
- L. U. NO. 1893, WITT
Allan Haywood
- L. U. NO. 2657, W. FRANKFORT
C. T. Jones
Earl Logan
- L. U. NO. 929, OGLESBY
Duncan McDonald
- L. U. NO. 1910, HARRISBURG
Jno. A. Tuttle
Walter Stump
- L. U. NO. 2368, MURPHYSBORO
Thos. Murphy
Peter Summers
- L. U. NO. 605, MURPHYSBORO
Jake Wilson
- L. U. NO. 1776, W. FRANKFORT
Geo. F. Cooper
- L. U. NO. 1213, FARMINGTON
Jas. Lord
- L. U. NO. 2555, BUSH
J. L. Ogilvie
W. E. Wood
- L. U. NO. 655, HERRIN
Chas. Kelly
- L. U. NO. 1470, BENTON
A. L. Hatchett
Chas. Childers
H. W. Jones
Earl Wilson
- L. U. NO. 2678, HERRIN
Morton McPherson
- L. U. NO. 843, HARRISBURG
Enoch Davis
- L. U. NO. 563, EAST PEORIA
Walter Boundy
- L. U. NO. 693, VIRDEN
Jas. Shaw
- L. U. NO. 732, EAST PEORIA
Thos. R. Downie
- L. U. NO. 2703, JOHNSTON CITY
McElroy Trout
- L. U. NO. 1959, BENTON
Noah Moore
- L. U. NO. 473, LA SALLE
Frank Van Crane
Chas. Bennett
- L. U. NO. 755, STAUNTON
Tilden Bozarth
- L. U. NO. 743, PEORIA (LEBANON)
Leonard Lewis
Marion Stevens
- L. U. NO. 600, CANTRALL
Robt. Eadie
- L. U. NO. 1059, CARRIER MILLS
Jas. K. Pittman
- L. U. NO. 2513, TAYLORVILLE
Ben Williams
- L. U. NO. 715, ODIN
Sam Lane
- L. U. NO. 3, GEORGETOWN
Geo. James
- L. U. NO. 798, HARRISBURG
Chas. A. Sullivan
- L. U. NO. 754, RIVERTON
Enoch Martin
T. R. Davis
Ino. Glenright

F. W. Blane
 Jacob Hunt
 L. U. NO. 304, BELLEVILLE
 Jno. R. Schaefer
 L. U. NO. 503, WESTVILLE
 Frank Watkins
 A. T. McGurk
 Thos. Pitchfork
 Lige Norman

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Missouri Federation of Labor—J. F. Altheide.
 Wisconsin Federation of Labor—Frank J. Webber.
 Farmers' Grain Dealers' Association, Bement—Chas. Adkins.
 Bricklayers' International Association Chicago—John G. Gleason.
 Brick Layers' International Association, Peoria—F. M. Schmitt.
 Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers—J. A. Culp.
 Railway Conductors—W. W. Carroll.
 Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen—A. D. Burbank.
 Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen—D. M. McCarthy.

Delegate Leisher: What is the total number of delegates who have been seated in this convention?

President Walker: The committee says they haven't the total number.

Before the election begins, in justice to Vice-President Allton, as well as to the co-operative movement here in Peoria and the trades unionists that are members of it, I will read the following statement:

"Peoria, Ill., Oct. 24, 1914.

"To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

"I have just been informed by delegates to this convention that the statement has been circulated by a few delegates that the Peoria Co-operative Society, located at 1003 Garden Street, is advertising Tuxedo Tobacco, a non-union product. In declaring this statement to be absolutely false, I wish to state further that there is not an ounce of unfair tobacco on sale at the co-operative store.
 "L. A. ALLTON, Manager."

Delegate Evans, Electrical Workers: I see by the list of delegates that the name of D. F. Cleary, of Chicago, has been omitted.

President Walker: The committee says there are some delegates whose names do not appear on the list. They did not have their report completed when the list was printed. Wherever such delegates are able to show they were duly seated there will be no trouble.

One of the delegates desires to ask the gentlemen who placed the different cities in nomination if any one of them can assure us we will be able to have a hotel for headquarters where everything is organized from top to bottom.

A delegate from Alton stated that not only were the barbers and bartenders organized, but everybody else in the hotels was organized.

Delegate Kearney, Quincy: In behalf of the city I represent I am not going to make you a promise about something I do not know, but I will assure you that, as a delegate to the Illinois State Federation of Labor I will not only try to have one hotel in Quincy organized, but all of them.

President Walker stated that Delegate B. W. Newton, of the Typographical Union, Rock Island, desired the announcement made that he was not a candidate for second vice-president.

Delegate Wolchinovsky: A great many of the candidates are not known to the delegates and for one I would like to see them arise so they will be known to the delegates who are to vote for them.

President Walker: The usual custom is to have some demonstration made to let the delegates know who the candidates are. If there is no objection we will proceed with that arrangement. I think the best thing to do is for them to come to the platform.

Delegate McDonald, Mine Workers: The question arose as to union hotels while I was distributing the ballots. The bartenders in Ottawa have been

organized for some time and they will see to it that the waitresses are also organized.

Delegate Boyer: The broom makers have but one delegate here, but hope to have more in the next convention, and any hotel in any of those cities will not be considered fair that uses prison-made goods.

President Walker: In voting for members of the Executive Board you can only vote for one for each of the six positions. Of course it is understood under the law that no two members of the executive board can come from the same town or belong to the same organization.

Delegate Thomas, Mine Workers: I would like to know if any statement has been made concerning Quincy and union hotels.

President Walker: Quincy has stated they cannot guarantee, but they will do the best they can to see that you can get a union hotel.

Delegate Ross: As far as the bartenders are concerned, every hotel is union, and if Quincy gets the convention the waitresses will be organized. If you go to Quincy you will go to the best little union town in the state of Illinois.

President Walker read the following telegram:

"Ottawa, Ill., October 22, 1914.
"W. S. Duckworth,
"Peoria, Illinois.

"The citizens of Ottawa join with the city officials in extending a most earnest and sincere invitation to hold your next convention in Ottawa. We can assure you a most hearty welcome and ample accommodations. Hoping to have you with us next year I remain,
Yours very truly,

"E. F. BRADFORD, Mayor."

Secretary Morris: I have here some tally sheets. It was 11:30 last night when I got these from the Credentials Committee. I then placed it in the hands of the printer. Some delegates were reported upon this morning whose names were not placed on

the roll call, and there may be some typographical errors.

President Walker: If the delegates whose names are not called will remain in their seats, as soon as the tally sheet is gone through with we will call the men from the corrected copy, and those delegates who were seated this morning will be added.

Printed ballots were distributed, accompanied by blank slips on which the delegates were requested to write their votes for the convention city. The roll was called by the secretary, assisted by A. R. Woodmansee and the members of the Auditing Committee. The delegates, as their names were called, came forward and deposited their ballots in the box, displaying their cards to the tellers as they did so.

At 12 o'clock the chairman announced that unless the delegates ruled otherwise the election would be proceeded with until it was completed and an adjournment then taken to 2 o'clock. No objections were offered.

Delegate Eadie, Cantrall: My local union saw fit to send credentials in here for me as its representative. However, as I am an appointee on one of the state boards I do not intend to participate in this election.

At 12:30 the calling of the roll from the printed list was completed.

President Walker: I understand a number of men have left the hall without voting, thinking you would adjourn at 12 o'clock. Do you desire the list of absentees to be called after reconvening this afternoon?

Delegate Germer: I move that we recess until 2 o'clock, and that upon reconvening the roll of the absentees be called. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Neer, Teamsters: I am opposed to that. I arose to make this protest but the chair did not recognize me and put the motion. I object to recessing during the election. I want to be recorded as protesting against that. I want to be recorded as voting "No."

President Walker: I agree with

you. Those delegates should have remained here until their names were called. Brother Neer was asking for the floor and I heard him as I put the motion. There was no desire to choke him off. If there are no objections on the part of the convention we will leave it the same as though the motion had not been carried, and try to agree on what is best to be done at the present time. Hearing no objection, we will consider the motion as not being adopted.

Delegate Neer: I move to proceed with the regular order of business as stated by yourself, that the convention would stay in session until the election was over. I therefore move as an amendment that we remain in session and complete the election.

President Walker: Unless the convention decides otherwise.

Delegate Woll: A point of order. The amendment of Brother Neer is to not adjourn and the motion is to adjourn.

President Walker: The point is well taken.

Delegate Stevens: A motion to adjourn is not debatable, and the fact that the brother was not recognized does not affect the matter.

President Walker: The chair took the position that Brother Neer was on the floor. I noticed it too late, but it looked as though I was trying to prevent his being heard. By general consent the vote on the motion was considered as though it had not been taken. The motion to adjourn is not debatable.

Delegate Germer: The motion was to take a recess and call the appointees at the beginning of the next session.

Delegate Argust: I don't believe any one who wants to be fair would want to continue the session at the present time, with practically all the delegates out of the hall. I think the motion should be abided by.

Delegate Neer: Has the precedent ever been established to take a recess

in the middle of an election and call the absentees in the next session? I don't know who is absent and who is present, but this is out of order according to any precedent that has ever been established, and I am opposed to it.

Delegate Germer: I don't think so.

Delegate Fitchie, Teamsters: I don't believe it is fair for a handful of men to come in here and legislate, when the chair announced at the beginning of the election that the delegates should remain seated until the election was completed. I want to know why there should be an objection raised now. Let us talk cold turkey—I know why it was raised. I have looked this roster over.

Delegate Germer: Has it not always been the policy of the convention that when the secretary had gone through with the roll call he would afterwards go over the absentee list and give them a chance to vote?

President Walker: Yes.

Delegate Germer: The only difference is that the roll has been called at a different time of the day, it has never extended into the noon hour as this has. That is why there is quite a different procedure. If the absentees are entitled to vote I don't think it makes any difference whether they vote after the adjournment or a continuation of this session.

President Walker: We started to vote somewhere about 11:30. No delegate who wants to attend to his business and do what is right should have left the convention. The chair stated that unless the convention ruled otherwise the election would be continued until it was completed and then we would adjourn until 2 o'clock. There were no objections raised to that course being pursued, the convention did not attempt to rule otherwise, and we went on with the election. As a matter of fairness I believe the only thing that can be urged as a reason why those who are in the city did not get an opportunity to vote in this election, and that is absolutely and un-

qualifiedly because they were not attending to their business.

Delegate Neer: Then let them go back to their organizations and square themselves for not being here.

Delegate Haywood: I know a bunch of delegates left the hall thinking we would adjourn at noon. The privilege of the floor was given to Mr. Robins and Brother Germer. A delegate said he thought he knew the reason why the absentees were to be called.

President Walker: At 11:30 the convention agreed by silent consent to stay in session until this election is completed.

Delegate Woll: I don't know this body of men and women that are here now ought to determine this question for themselves. I suggest that the chair read over the absentees at this moment, and then when we convene in the afternoon session let the convention determine whether they wish to hear any more absentees or not.

President Walker: The convention will have a right to do what it pleases after we reconvene.

Delegate Neer: In an election?

President Walker: They will handle it, not the chair.

Delegate Neer: Do rules count?

President Walker: I think so.

Delegate Neer: After an election is closed can it be opened by a convention?

President Walker: After an election is closed and the result of the vote declared and accepted by the convention, even then I believe if there were good reasons assigned for it—because we are only trying to do the right thing in these matters—there would be no objection; but until the convention finally accepts an election itself it is open legitimately under all rules.

Delegate Fitchie: I want a ruling from the chair on the proposition. Is your ruling that the decision that was

made at the opening of this election is law?

Delegate Woll: I arise to a point of order. Unless the rules are suspended they provide for an adjournment at 12 o'clock.

President Walker: Brother Fitchie, don't get steam up. The men who have not voted should have stayed in the convention, that is true. If you can suspend the rules once you can suspend the rules again, and there was no law that required those who have voted to leave. Actually, on its merits, impersonal in the matter, with no feeling other than to rule in such a way as to be absolutely fair and right, if we could suspend the rules before we can suspend them now, because the man who voted had just as much right to stay in the convention as those who have not voted, every bit. What I want to do is, if possible to try to get this matter adjusted without any feeling being generated at all and the election decided squarely on its merits to the satisfaction of the delegates.

Delegate Pace, Mine Workers: The announcement was made at the time the convention was in an uproar and not enough attention paid to it. Naturally, when the hour of adjournment arrived many of the delegates felt justified in leaving the hall.

President Walker: They were not justified in leaving before the convention adjourned.

Delegate Pace: This question came up in the Rock Island convention in 1910, and we proceeded with the roll call and got through by 12 o'clock. It was decided that the absentees should be called.

Delegate Neer: By unanimous consent of this convention the delegates agreed to stay in session until this election was completed. It was the unanimous wish of the convention to do so.

Delegate McDonald, Mine Workers: The only way I see now is for the secretary to call the absentees and let them vote if they are here. If the convention after dinner sees fit to let the other fellows cast their votes I

think we ought to be willing to abide by the majority of the convention. I recognize the point raised by Delegate Neer, that we should have remained in session until the vote was cast. It is a great task to count this vote. I helped count the votes in the last convention and we had to go without dinner and supper to do it. I suggest that you call the absentees and when the convention is all here, if they decide to have the absentees called again it can be done.

President Walker: I am going to rule now. I will not anticipate what the convention will do in the future. We will take care of that when any action is contemplated by anyone making a motion. The chair will rule that, as a matter of ordinary common sense, the average individual felt there would be no question come up and it would be only right to take advantage of the opportunity to get his lunch. I do not say he had a right to do that, he was taking chances when he left. At the same time I believe the fair thing to do is to go through with the understanding that the convention had when the election was started, and if later on the convention desires to take any other action that will be a matter to determine.

I am going to rule that the secretary will call the absentees. Those who are here can vote. The tellers will then proceed to count the ballots. In the making of their report if any one wants to take action that will be for the convention to determine.

Delegate Stevens: I take an appeal from your ruling to this body.

President Walker: I don't believe that is fair.

Delegate Fitchie: We don't think it is fair, either.

Delegate Germer: It is very unfair.

Delegate Argust: Who has a right to close the election?

Delegate Woll: That is my point.

President Walker: The convention by silent consent agreed the election should be continued.

Delegate Woll: Then let the election proceed until the convention closes it.

Delegate Germer: Is it not a fact that the convention decided to recess until 2 o'clock and then call the absentees?

President Walker: It is true the few delegates remaining did that. It is also true Delegate Neer was trying to get the floor when it was done. I asked that the motion be recalled and the matter left open. The convention consented to that. It is true, after further considering the matter, and I believe it is a wise thing for this Federation, because this election is not the most important matter in connection with the convention, but I believe it is a wise thing to go through with the understanding that was agreed to by the convention before the roll call started, and I am going to ask you men to agree to it. Later on if you have any grievances and desire to take any further action you can bring it up when the full delegation is seated in the convention. Then we will be able to determine in such a way there will be no question of what is right. I don't care in what way it is determined the men on the losing side will say it was not fair.

Delegate Germer: I think the convention will be right in saying it is unfair to deprive 100 delegates of their votes.

Delegate Neer: Those men were paid to come here and attend to business and it is not the fault of the rank and file if they are not here.

President Walker: Not a great many of them failed to vote.

Delegate Germer: Why do certain delegates want to deprive other delegates of a right to vote?

President Walker: They didn't deprive you of the right to vote, and you were pretty far down in the list. If others had been as anxious as you to record their votes this wrangle would not have started.

Delegate Blvthe: The election was

a special order of business. The rules were suspended to give a man a chance to deliver a lecture, and after the ballot was called for it was stated if there were no objections the convention would continue in session until the ballots were all cast. There was not a dissenting voice at that time. Now an objection is raised after a majority of the people who were in the hall at that time have left. It is not the fault of the convention because people were outside lobbying, or down the streets looking for votes. A majority of the delegates were here when the chair stated if there were no objections we would continue in session until the ballots were called and then the election would be closed. There was not a dissenting argument against that. I was in the hall at the time and I had already voted. You are not cutting any of my delegation out from voting. Let us live up to the rules of the convention. I agree with the chair's ruling.

Delegate Straube: The statement has been made that it is the general desire to preserve harmony. The statements made here point out the fact that a handful of men and women cannot consistently represent the great big body that was assembled here, and we know it.

Delegate Neer: I want to know if it says in your constitution—

Delegate Argust: I arise to a point of order. He is interrupting the speaker.

Delegate Straube: The chair is credited with taking the right position. He has recognized the right of the convention as being supreme to determine what, in their estimation, as a deliberative and legislative body constitutes justice. It seems to me if we are striving for the harmony we talk so much about we would put this up, not to a minority of the majority, but to the body as a whole and let them decide. We can consistently do so and be absolutely fair to ourselves and to those who have a right to talk on the proposition. If you do not you are going to court and invite a position that will be resented by any number of people in the convention, because

the convention as a whole will not accept the decision of a very few who are fortunate enough to be here.

President Walker: The chair will rule now that the secretary will call the roll of absentees as well as those who are not on the original list who were seated this morning. They are here waiting to vote. Then if the convention desires to take any other action than was taken this morning it will be done by the entire convention. This representation is not a full convention. Every man and woman may stand on one side of any question and you would be a small minority if the others took the other side.

Delegate Neer: Is the convention not in session now?

President Walker: The ruling of the chair is that the convention is in session to carry into effect what the convention as a whole agreed to.

Delegate Neer: Is the convention in session now?

President Walker: I would like to understand your position.

Delegate Neer: Is this convention in session or is it not?

President Walker: If I say it is then they can pass the motion you are objecting to and saying is unfair. If you want to put me in a technical position—

Delegate Neer: I don't at all.

President Walker: The convention is in session insofar as the expressed order to carry on this election is concerned.

Delegate Woll: It is not my purpose to deprive any one of his rights, but I like to insist upon my own rights. The statement has been referred to that the chair made. It did not include an adjournment immediately upon the completion of the election. The completion of the election will not necessarily adjourn the convention.

President Walker: The chair stated we would remain in session until the

vote was completed and then we would adjourn to reconvene at 2 o'clock. It is unfair for this handful of delegates to act for the convention on a matter of vital importance. The convention decided upon a certain course when all the delegates were here—at least they should have been here. I am going to insist on that ruling being carried into effect, and if anything else is done later it will be by the convention when it is in session.

Delegate Argust: Suppose you call the roll of absentees and the election is closed under that rule, will the convention have a right to reopen it?

President Walker: The chair is going to take the position that a convention assembled as a whole has a right to do anything in connection with an election that is in conformity with the rules governing an election as laid down by the law. That is as far as they can go. If there are any irregularities that would justify a convention in acting, I believe they would have a right for the best interests of the organization to do it.

Delegate Stevens: It seems to me a handful of delegates are trying to control the vote to a certain extent. We are here in conformity with the action of the convention as a whole. Therefore I don't think it is right to accept so many motions and put them before the meeting.

Delegate Brown: Only one motion was accepted and that was recalled.

Delegate Stevens: Those delegates felt they had plenty of time to get their lunch and return. I went out for a few minutes and the man was calling the names so rapidly I missed my chance to vote. I am one of the absentees.

Delegate Woll: Will the chair entertain a motion that we remain in session until 2 o'clock to complete the roll and receive any absentees until 2 o'clock. I make such a motion. (Seconded.)

Delegate Neer: When the roll of absentees is called what is going to be the business before the convention?

Are you going to interrupt the roll of absentees with other business, or keep calling the roll continually? What is your purpose?

Delegate Woll: To give the absentees an opportunity to vote.

Delegate Neer: Who is going to hunt them up?

Delegate Woll: Not I.

Delegate Neer: The convention does not convene until 2 o'clock and somebody will have to go out and hustle the absentees or they won't be here.

Delegate Argust: Do you believe every delegate should have a right to vote?

Delegate Neer: Yes.

Delegate Argust: Then why are you trying to block their doing it?

Delegate Neer: This convention is in session to allow the delegates to vote, not for the purpose of going out hustling the delegates.

President Walker: The secretary will call the roll of delegates who were duly seated who are not on the regular list and then call the absentees.

Delegate Germer: Has the convention a right to act on this later on?

President Walker: The chair is not going to answer any more questions. We are going to proceed to carry out the expressed will of the convention.

Delegate McDonald: Then the chair was in error in entertaining a motion to take a recess.

President Walker: The chair agrees entirely with you that he was.

Delegate Brown: I see no reason why we cannot entertain other motions.

President Walker: The chair has simply ruled that the convention was in session only insofar as carrying into effect the expressed desire of the convention when all the delegates were assembled. That means that the other motion that was entertained, adopted and then recalled, was entire-

ly out of order, all of it.

A Delegate: There are a dozen or two men here whose voices are good for 2 o'clock. I think they can keep the election from going on. I therefore move that the chair's ruling be overruled and that this convention recess until 2 o'clock.

President Walker: If that is the determination, if delegates are deliberately intending to do that, the chair will insist on the action of the convention being carried into effect. He is not going to entertain any more motions or answer any more questions.

Secretary Morris proceeded to call the list of delegates whose names were not on the printed roster.

Delegate Brown: A point of information.

President Walker: Has it anything to do with our proceedings?

Delegate Brown: No.

President Walker: Then the chair will not listen to anything else.

At 1:30 Secretary Morris asked if everybody who had not voted when the roll was first called had been called.

Delegate Finlay, Mine Workers: My name is not on the printed list, although I have my card.

President Walker: While delegates should have stayed in the convention the chair is not going to deny any delegate a right to vote before the polls are closed.

A Delegate: Have the tellers a right to say who shall vote?

President Walker: The tellers are conducting the election. They may disagree even with the ruling of the president. When they make their report is the time to take up such questions. The tellers are conducting the election.

A Delegate: One of the tellers said to this brother, "Come on up here and vote."

Delegate Neer: I am not telling anyone what to do. I was simply informing a man that he could come up and cast his ballot. The polls are still open and I am not denying any one a right to vote.

President Walker: If there are any others in the convention who have not voted.

Delegate Thomas, Mine Workers: Under what rule are we operating?

President Walker: Under the rule established when the full convention was here, that we would remain in session until the voting was completed. If there are no others in the hall entitled to vote who have not voted, I declare the polls closed.

Secretary Morris: I move that we adjourn to 2:30.

Delegate Woll: I arise to a point of order. The chair ruled that we would adjourn to 2 o'clock.

President Walker: I am glad to see you sticking so close to the ruling of the chair. We will adjourn to 2 o'clock and everybody will get back if possible.

At 1:40 the convention was adjourned.

FOURTH DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2:20 o'clock p. m., Friday, October 23rd, President Walker in the chair.

Delegate Beasley: I rise to ask a question. Are the polls closed?

President Walker: The polls have

been closed.

Delegate Beasley: I rise to object. I want to go on record as being opposed to the motion to close the polls without giving each delegate a chance to vote.

President Walker: We did not adjourn until almost 2 o'clock. Secretary Morris has not had time to get back to the convention. I do not like the beginning of the work of the convention in his absence, but if there are any committees ready to report we will hear from them. Brother James Connors, the chairman of the Committee on Officers' Reports, has been called away. I understand that committee is ready to report. Miss Nestor, the secretary of the committee, will make the report.

Report of Committee on Officers' Reports.

Delegate Agnes Nestor, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Peoria, Illinois, October 23, 1914.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of The Illinois State Federation of Labor:

We, your Committee on Officers' Reports, beg leave to submit the following report for your consideration. We have taken up and carefully considered the various reports submitted to us.

We find that the report submitted by James F. Morris, Secretary-Treasurer, shows that the finances of the Illinois State Federation of Labor have been honestly and judiciously guarded, and we feel that we would be derelict in our duty if we did not commend Brother Morris for his honesty as an official of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and his loyalty to the trades unionist men and women during the many years of service rendered in this office.

We are glad to note that the funds have been managed in such a way that it has been possible to meet the increasing demands made upon the Federation to carry on the work of organization, and other work benefiting the laboring men and women of our state.

President's Report.

In considering the report submitted by President Walker for the past year, we find that it covers in a broad and comprehensive manner the many different problems confronting the workers at this time. We hope the delegates will give the matters submitted

in this report careful consideration and, upon their return to their various homes, that they will call the attention of the members of their locals to the many things contained in this report. We consider it a document of such value that we recommend it to the convention that the incoming Executive Board be authorized to have a sufficient number of copies of the report printed in pamphlet form to be used for general distribution as an educational feature for our membership.

Membership.

It is encouraging to note the large increase in membership of newly affiliated organizations with the State Federation of Labor for the past year, and we look forward to a continuation of this good work until every organization in this state eligible for membership is affiliated.

Conditions of State, County and Municipal Employees.

In reference to President Walker's report on the conditions of the State, County and Municipal employes, we concur in his statement deploring the conditions under which the men and women employed by our state government are compelled to toil. We concur in his recommendations and recommend that the incoming Executive Board be authorized to introduce a bill at the next session of the Legislature, providing that eight hours constitute a day's work and that six days constitute a week's work in the state institutions; and to have a sufficient appropriation made so that the wages demanded by the organization of the Nurses and Attendants' Union, represented in this convention, be paid; and that an effort be made by the officers of the Federation in conjunction with the Women's Trade Union League to extend the work of organizing to the other institutions, and to build up in general an effective organization for these workers throughout the state.

Labor Temple Proposition.

We strongly concur in the report of the president in regard to the need and value of establishing labor temples in the different cities throughout our state, and we urge all delegates upon their return to their homes to bring

the matter to the attention of their local unions, so that the movement for labor temples may be fully discussed.

We most heartily endorse the recommendation made by President Walker that a state labor temple be built in the capital city, and we recommend that this be referred to the incoming Executive Board, with instructions that they submit plans to the delegates to the next State convention. Any suggestions of affiliated organizations relating to this matter may be submitted to the Executive Board for consideration.

Labor's Education.

We fully agree with President Walker in all he has had to say regarding the labor press as an educational source for trades unionists, and we recommend that the delegates to this convention take it upon themselves to urge the members of the various organizations to subscribe for the labor papers, as it is only through this medium they can get truthful information regarding the progress of this great movement. The labor papers are valuable assets as organizing medium, and should be encouraged and supported by our membership.

Unemployment.

We note with great interest what President Walker has to say with regard to the problem of the unemployed, and the conference called by the American Association for Labor Legislation, held in New York City, February 27-28, 1914. We desire to compliment him upon his address, and also for the amendments safeguarding the interests of labor that he succeeded in having introduced into the resolutions that were adopted by that body.

We heartily concur with this phase of the President's report in its entirety, and believe every effort should be put forth to end the privately owned or operated Labor Agency, which so often degenerates into an absolute scab market.

We especially favor the ideas expressed relative to the Government's undertaking such vast and needed improvements as levying the streams and rivers, draining the swamps, etc.

We believe in intelligent conservation, and especially in the conservation of life and health. The construction of a ship canal from Chicago to the Gulf would immediately find employment for hundreds of thousands of men. This would relieve the tense situation caused by a vast army of unemployed and would stimulate all industry, either directly or indirectly, and would be a more humane way of caring for the unemployed than at present, with less cost. It would save the lives we all know are to be lost every spring on account of the overflowing of the large rivers. It would do away with the swamps, and consequently with malaria and yellow fever, and would, in addition to conserving humane life and health, conserve or reclaim the swamp lands, millions of acres of the richest land in the world.

We believe every effort should be put forth by organized labor to have these ideas enacted into law.

Co-operative Movement.

Your committee fully concurs in the co-operative plan suggested in the President's report. This movement has worked out successfully and satisfactorily in some of the cities of this and other states. Therefore, we fully concur in the recommendations suggested by the President, and urge the delegates to take the matter up with their membership upon their return home.

We recommend that the incoming Executive Board be instructed to provide data from time to time, to be distributed among our membership for their information, in order that they may become fully conversant with the importance of the co-operative movement.

And we further concur in the recommendation of the President that the incoming Executive Board, in conjunction with other organizations, use its best efforts to have laws passed at the next session of the legislature to protect ourselves legally in every way in all forms of legitimate and honest co-operative enterprise.

Compensation Law.

The figures presented in the president's report with regard to the funds

paid into the insurance companies under our present Compensation Law, and also those of other states, proves the wisdom of his recommendation that we should have a state insurance fund whereby we can eliminate the tax which we now have to pay in dividends to the agents, officials, stock and bondholders of the insurance companies, and use all the funds for the benefit of our workers insured under the law, and that this Federation work towards the enactment of such a law; that we continue to strengthen the compensation act, so that the workers in our State may be protected to the fullest extent against death and accident.

Injunction Proposition.

We, your Committee, heartily endorse all that the President has to say in his report in reference to the abuse of injunctions and especially that portion referring to the tyranny of Judge Otis Humphrey, of the Southern District of Illinois, in the case of the American Steel Foundries vs. The Tri-City General Trades Council, et al. We realize that judges have trampled the constitution of this country under foot in order to punish the working men and women at the behest of vicious employers. Your Committee is of the opinion that a still greater protest should be made by organized labor against the prevalent practice of government by injunctions, or an unwarranted and illegal attack against our constitutional rights; we affirm the humane principle that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce; we hold that all men are justly entitled to disregard any infringement or limitation of these constitutional liberties of a free people. It is better to suffer whatever consequences may result in this assertion of our constitutional rights than to submit to any infringement of the actual and lawful rights of a free people.

We therefore recommend that all men and women of labor at all times assert their constitutional rights and defend themselves against any real or attempted abridgement of these liberties of a free people.

Union Label.

Believing as we do that the union label is a medium by which trades unions may be strengthened, providing the union men and women will be particular to see to it that the union label appears upon all things purchased by them, we therefore agree with the President in everything he has said in his report in this convention, regarding the union label; and we concur in the recommendation of the President that a state label department be formed for the purpose of more systematically and thoroughly doing the work of educational label propaganda. We recommend that this matter be referred to the incoming Executive Board to confer with such representatives as are selected by the label trades, so that they may submit a plan to the next convention under which this department can be organized.

It is encouraging to note that the Universal Trading and Supply Company has adopted the use and patronage of the union label, which we hope will be followed by other companies; and we urge our members to give such companies all the support they possibly can.

Vocational Education.

In considering the report of the Committee on Vocational Education, which was referred to us, we note with great satisfaction the consideration and study given to this important question by the special committee appointed by President Walker on this subject, and, inasmuch as it deals entirely with vocational education, and the recommendations submitted by the committee cover that question thoroughly, we heartily concur in the recommendations and in the report, and recommend the adoption of same by this convention; and, inasmuch as we consider this a valuable piece of literature on this subject, we recommend that the officers of the Federation be authorized to have a sufficient number of copies printed in pamphlet form so that it can be used for general distribution among our membership.

National Womens' Trade Union League.

With regard to the report of the Illinois State Committee of the National Women's Trade Union League, submitted to us; we note with satisfaction the splendid work accomplished by this Committee in the organization of the employes in the state institutions with the appropriation made at the last convention; and, realizing the value of continuing this work, we heartily concur in the request made by this committee, and recommend to the Finance Committee that an appropriation of \$300.00 be made by this convention to the State Committee of the Women's Trade Union League and that the Executive Board be authorized to increase this amount, if, in their judgment, it is needed to accomplish this work.

Appointment of Committees.

In view of the delay of business in the conventions of the State Federation of Labor, waiting for reports of the various committees, on account of the present rules under which they are appointed, we recommend that hereafter the Committee on Credentials, Officers' Reports, and Auditing, be appointed and meet at least 2 days prior to the convention, so that a report can be prepared ready to submit to the convention the second day of the convention.

Respectfully submitted,
JAS. B. CONNORS, Chairman,
DENNIS LANE,
B. BOGASKE,
MARTIN MCGRAW,
JAMES J. McANDREWS,
ROWLAND SHELTON
MATT KEEFE
JOHN C. HARDING,
JAMES LORD,
AGNES NESTOR, Secretary,
Committee on Officers' Reports.

President Walker: If there are no objections, we will take the report up section by section under the different captions, and each section will be adopted without the formality of a motion if there are no objections.

Delegate Nestor read that portion of the report of the committee in re-

gard to the report of Secretary-Treasurer James F. Morris.

Delegate Keefe: I move the adoption of that section of the report. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Sttraube: I would like at this time to move that a special committee of three be appointed to draft resolutions expressing the appreciation and gratitude of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to James F. Morris for the many years of unselfish service rendered to suffering humanity in general and to the trades unionists of Illinois in particular. (Seconded and carried by unanimous vote.)

President Walker: The chair will appoint on that committee Delegates Matt Woll, Ed. Wright and L. P. Straube.

Delegate Wright: As I have a great many things to attend to I would like to be excused. Not that I would not like to say a good word for Brother Morris, that will be taken for granted, but I will not have time to act on the committee.

President Walker: I will appoint as a substitute for Brother Wright, Brother Chiles of the Electrical Workers.

Delegate Nestor read that portion of the report under the caption "PRESIDENT'S REPORT." The report of the committee was adopted.

The Secretary of the committee read that portion under the caption "MEMBERSHIP." The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Nestor: The President refers to the stand for the election of officers by referendum vote. The committee did not deal with that question. We feel it belongs to the Committee on Laws and recommend that it be referred to that committee.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee read that portion of the report under the caption, "CONDITIONS OF STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES."

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee read that portion of the report under the caption "LABOR TEMPLE PROPOSITION." The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee read that portion of the committee's report under the caption "LABOR'S EDUCATION." The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee read that portion of the report under the caption "UNEMPLOYMENT." The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee read that portion of the committee's report under the caption "CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT." The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Nestor read that portion of the report under the caption "COMPENSATION LAW."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Wright, Typographical Union: While it is not in the report of the president, and possibly should come up a little later on, there is one phase of the Compensation Law I should like to speak on. I do not think it will bring about any discussion. If I am in order I would like to call attention to a phase of the Compensation Law which I think will be of interest to this convention.

A few days ago this was brought home to me. I was asked to serve as one of three arbitrators to take up an injury case. It happened to a man working in a printing office. He was not a member of the organization, but was a common laborer. This man was working in the press room. He had a truck load of paper to take from the stock room over to the presses to be piled up so that the pressmen could go ahead with their work. This man was pulling on the truck of paper, and the paper was piled up about as high or possibly a little higher than his head. Two men were shoving the truck from behind. The two men behind shoved the truck and the man who was pulling saw the load of papers was going to run into the print-

ing press and thereby injure the machinery. He jerked it to one side so that his employer's machinery might not be injured and in stepping backwards ran against an obstruction a pile of paper. When paper is piled closely together in several ton lots it is about as unyielding as a stone wall. He was caught between the truck load of paper weighing about two tons and this pile of paper and crushed. His arm was injured, his right side was injured and presently hernia developed.

The printing office—and it is a union printing office—objected to paying under the Compensation Law and then the matter went to the industrial board. It came up before three men, one member appointed by the Board, one member representing the employer and the third member representing the workman. The attorney asked me if I would serve and I consented. A man by the name of McCaughan represented the employer, who carried insurance. The gentleman representing the Board was Joseph Lechlitter. We sat in judgment and heard the testimony, and every one agreed absolutely as to the facts in the case, there was no question that the man was injured and suffered from hernia, that he was injured in such a way he could not work at any heavy labor except by wearing a truss, and then always subject to injury after that. These are merely the facts in the case. All of this was admitted, there was no question at all.

Then the question came up as to whether the man was entitled to compensation. Of course, representing the workman, I thought he was. I was not much surprised when the employer's representatives said he was not entitled to anything. I rather expected that, but I was surprised when the representative of the Industrial Board, not a member of the Board, but an employee, agreed he was not entitled to anything. Mr. Lechlitter said hernia is not mentioned in the law, consequently the man could receive no compensation.

I am referring to this because I was one of the members who drafted the law, I was one of the members of this organization who employed an attor-

ney to go carefully over the law. When this question came up it was not necessary to put it into the law. The law does not say if you break a bone you are going to get compensation; the law does not say if you break a bone in your face you are going to get compensation; the law does not say you must have a great, jagged wound in your body to entitle you to compensation. If a man caught between two tons of paper and another pile of paper weighing several tons is not suffering from an accident, I would like to know what it is. I am calling attention to this because I want to go one step further in the matter; I want the organization to take the Compensation Law back either to the same attorney, Seymour Stedman, who is a good attorney, or to any attorney you like, and if we have to specify these different things in the law then let us do it at the next session of the legislature.

When Mr. Lechleiter, representing the Board, reached a decision in the matter he said: "Why, we have had 170 cases of hernia, and we have not given anything to any of them." Now, if 170 men, whom I am satisfied should have compensation and whom the committee that drafted the law intended should have compensation, and whom I know the legislature intended to have compensation, and the members of this organization intended to have compensation, have not received it, if we have to write a new dictionary, write a new book and specify every accident that may happen, it is going to be a very serious thing to do. The law says the Board can make rules, and I believe if we call the attention of the Industrial Board to the injustice they are doing I think something can be done. I would like to have the President authorized to take the necessary steps, first, with the Board, ask them what they mean by it, and if it is an oversight on their part and 170 of our men are entitled to money they have not received—and when I say "our men," they are human beings and probably many of them are trades unionists—if these men have not got the money let us see that the next lot do get it.

I speak of this because of the inter-

est I have in the law, and the fact I fathered the law and tried to make a success of it. It may be we overlooked something. I think not. Certainly we did not do it intentionally, because we had that subject under consideration. The attorney said: "Don't write a book on the subject; give the commission power to make rules." Let us first go to the Board and say: "Gentlemen, it was our intention, we thought we covered it, our attorneys thought we covered it, the same question was asked the legislature, they thought they covered it, now, gentlemen, haven't you made a mistake?" and see that this imposition does not go any further.

President Walker: The Compensation Law is, you might say, in an embryo stage in Illinois. I think it is just in the last year or so the labor movement itself in this state has taken action in accord with the desire to have industrial accidents and occupational diseases provided for by the compensation law method of settling those cases. We have learned about a great many weaknesses in the law. The first law, or a portion of it, was declared unconstitutional. Even today the labor movement in the state has not organized in such a way as to protect their interests legally at all times, under all circumstances, by men who have developed an understanding of them through constant treatment of cases of this character in their employ.

I might state that there was another weakness in the law—it may not be in the law, but in the same as the one mentioned. We provided there could not be a minimum of less than 200 days to take as a basis in computing the amount injured persons under the law would be entitled to. A committee such as Brother Wright served on decided some cases to the contrary. We learned of it, and I think for the first time in their history the mine workers of Illinois have employed a competent attorney to handle their cases where the members are willing, and he has been giving special attention to this matter. This attorney was under the impression that 200 days was the minimum upon which

computation could be made, and he desired to have the law interpreted by the committee. He was informed by a traveling representative of the Board that all cases in the past had been decided on the basis of whatever the actual number of days was in computing amounts to be given the injured person. He said "That may be true of past decisions, but I don't believe that is a correct interpretation of the law, nor do I believe it was the original intention of the Board to what had been done, and a ruling was made by the Board that 200 days would be the minimum. They have taken steps to get information on every other case that was settled on the other basis, reopen it, and give the injured person what he is entitled to under the law.

The attorney says he is certain the insurance men have been trying to get rulings on that law; the more favorable the rulings are to them the less they will have to pay out from the premium paid by the employers. He said: "God knows in how many cases men seated on these boards have accepted settlements that did not give them justice under the law." We should see in these cases that we have legal protection that will guarantee us what we are entitled to while the law is in its present shape.

The question of having committees or boards of arbitration of that kind to settle those cases has been given serious consideration. The Compensation laws in other portions of our countries and in other countries make unnecessary that sort of expense, that sort of delay, uncertainty and trouble to the injured persons. Along with the United Mine Workers of Illinois I have requested, while acting as your President, that this attorney try to frame amendments that will eliminate the uncertainties, try to make sure of the payment without delay, expense or uncertainty on the part of the injured men or their families. Seymour Stedman, of Chicago,—I believe a good lawyer, and I know a good friend of the union men as there is in America—and Samuel Harper, I believe, did their best to have the law provide for what we have asked. It was a new law and they may have

left out something. Experience is developing the weakness of it.

I know of a judge in this state who has a large financial interest in an insurance corporation. I suppose that judge may handle cases of this kind, and if he makes a ruling favorable to the injured person he is going to have to pay for it himself in less dividends on his investment in the insurance company. The only way we can be sure to get what we are entitled to is to have a compulsory compensation act and a state insurance fund out of which to pay the injured. I believe that any occupational disease that incapacitates men and women from working and taking care of their dependents should be compensated. If you have a wife and children to keep and you are out of work, put in the hospital and doctors' fees pile up it will hurt you just as much as though somebody has been liable for the accident that caused it. Let it provide for taking care of all accidents.

We are working out a plan; we will get the attorney employed by the United Mine Workers cheaper than a man who is not hired by the year. He is making a specialty of this; every day he has cases come up he gets to understand its weaknesses and what should be done to strengthen it. I am sure by the time the next session of the legislature rolls around there will be amendments, unless the convention directs otherwise, introduced under the authority of the Mine Workers' organization and the Illinois State Federation of Labor, which will strengthen some of the weaknesses and remove some of the uncertainties, possibly provide for larger compensation and also for making sure, as far as we can, that there will be absolute certainty of the compensation being paid. Then we expect to strengthen the act so as to drive the unfair firms under the compensation law. If the convention instructs the officers to fight for and see that at the earliest possible moment constitutional amendments are offered to make the compensation law what it really was intended to be, a protection for the injured, a protection for the widows and orphans after the injured man's death, we will proceed to do

our best to have it so amended.

Delegate Nestor, Secretary of the Committee: We did not feel we could go into any of the phases of the law or that we were in a position to, so this provision for the Federation strengthening the existing law will cover the matter.

Delegate Wright (E. R.): I would like to have the President take up the matter I mentioned. I am satisfied to leave it in his hands.

President Walker: The question has been taken up. If hernia does not entitle a man to damages when it is caused by an accident we are not entitled to it for other accidents.

Delegate Wright: According to the ruling of the Board there are 170 people who have not received their compensation. I would like to have this question taken up specifically so that relief may be had in these 170 cases, or at least between this time and a year from this time when new laws will go into effect that this special phase of it be taken up.

President Walker: The matter of hernia, the same as anything else, will be provided for and be considered an accident. If there is weakness in the law and it is not included we will try to include it. I think Brother Wright will recognize the danger of naming specific accidents.

Delegate Wright: This may be covered, if necessary, in the two amendments going in; but I am not speaking of matters coming up next January, but of matters that happened since last year.

President Walker: The chair will be glad, upon being furnished the information by any one having the facts in his possession, to take up any case before the Board and have the matter straightened out.

Delegate Wright: I will furnish the information in this case.

Delegate Bloom, Garment Workers: I had an accident happen to me for which I received compensation, although I did not get the application of the law, I got a little application of justice. I don't believe all the

lawyers in Chicago or in the state can specify all cases that may happen. An open drawer caught me in the side and injured me. I don't see how you can make a specific case out of that. I was incapacitated for seven days. Under the compensation law I was not entitled to anything outside of medical attention and what little expenses that would occur. I complained to the firm I worked for. They said under the compensation act I was not entitled to compensation, but they gave me a check for five dollars and for the time I was idle, also for the expense of going to the company doctor. It would not be wise to try to name specifically what accidents it is to cover. If we say "accidents" it will cover everything.

Delegate Wilson (D.): Miners: I have come in contact with several features of this law. I have been mixed up with the arbitration board of O'Fallon. We had the same gentleman there that was mentioned by the brother from Chicago. We had Joseph Lechleiter as the arbitrator and in no case was he fair to the injured man. Some steps should be taken to remove him. We have told the Board in Chicago we do not want him any more. We had him on three occasions. In one case a man was off seventeen weeks. By the decision of Mr. Lechleiter he received three weeks' compensation. Lechleiter went to the office of the coal operator and had a conference with him and with the lawyers for the company. We don't know what took place afterwards—Lechleiter said that was the best they could do, that the man was lucky to get anything. The man was off seventeen weeks and was off at that time. He got four weeks' compensation, one-fourth of what he was entitled to.

Delegate Wolchinovsky: We had a case in Hart, Shaffner, & Marx. A man who had been employed for fifteen or sixteen years got sick and could not work. We took the matter up in our local union. The firm said the man had not been hurt. We said he might have become sick from some condition in the factory. We insisted that they send him to a doctor.

The firm finally sent him to a doctor and paid him \$100 for the time he lost and put him to work. They made him sign a release of the firm from any further cases that would occur. Our business agent insisted that they notify him. Finally they admitted the disease was occasioned by dust in the cutting room, the dust that comes off the circular knife machine.

Upon motion debate was closed.

Upon motion of Delegate Keefe, the report of the committee was adopted as read.

Delegate Nestor read that portion of the report of the committee under the caption "INJUNCTION PROCEEDINGS." The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Nestor read that portion of the report under the caption "UNION LABEL."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Wright, Typographical Union: It is proposed to form a label department of the Illinois State Federation of Labor?

Delegate Nestor: That is the recommendation. The President in his report recommends the formation of such a department.

Delegate Wright: I am opposed to forming a label department because if it is going to be effective it will entail a large expense on the organization, and if it is not effective it will be a purely useless piece of machinery. I believe we would be taking something away from our officers and Executive Board that should be delegated to them if we form such a department. I do not believe in duplicating work, because duplication is very expensive. I think this matter should be left to the Executive Board and the executive officers to formulate and carry out a label campaign. Of course if that is the intention of the President's recommendation I will have no objection to it; but I do know we have carefully selected an executive board and executive officers in this organization, and I can see no reason why we should take men out of our official ranks, no matter who

they may be, take the duties away from the officers we elect in this convention, and put them on a salary—and it will be necessary to put them on a salary if we are going to have effective work done. If we select a cigar maker or a printer to an office in this organization I believe he is put there to do the work; and the president, the secretary and the members of the executive board and vice-presidents will be able to do the work better because they have a view of the entire situation and not merely a part of the work. Now, Mr. Chairman, I have made a speech, I cannot make a motion, but I think the label department should be composed of members elected on the floor of this convention, that is, the labor men on the executive board.

Delegate Allton (W. A.): I am surprised at the attitude of Brother Wright on this question, representing, as he does, a label organization. I feel he knows as well as any other representative of a label organization the conditions that confront those organizations in the state of Illinois. The American Federation of Labor in its wisdom has established a Union Label Department, and any one who says it has not secured results for the label organizations of this country is entirely wrong. We have for years done all we possibly could under the old plan to get sufficient agitation for the union label, but it has not secured the desired results; our label organizations have not kept pace with the building trades, they have not kept pace with organizations such as the miners, the teamsters, etc. Why it is I cannot understand, but it is true.

When I was a kid I remember of the cigar makers traveling over the country in box cars, paying their own expenses, to help build up and perfect the splendid organization we now enjoy. But as the years rolled on the cigar makers, the garment workers and other label organizations I might mention have been left, have been passed by, and they are fast becoming mere traditions in the history of the trade union movement. In the State of Illinois, where we are assisted by this great federation of labor,

the greatest in this country, I venture to say less than twenty-five per cent of the cigars that are sold in the state are manufactured by union cigar makers, members of the organization that was the pioneer of the trade union movement of this state and in this country. Low as that percentage is we can boast there are more cigar labels called for than any other label on the market.

The President of the State Federation of Labor has suggested to you the advisability of carrying out a policy that was established by the American Federation of Labor some years ago. Are we not big enough to handle that situation? I think we are. It does not mean we are going to come into the state federation and deplete its treasury. All we want is their moral and financial assistance, to the extent that if this department can be built up and maintained for twelve months or two years I believe the impetus that will be given the label organizations will enable them to take the place they at one time occupied, not only able to sustain themselves and the label agitation that is so badly needed in Illinois, but put them in other organizations, the builders, the miners and others.

Delegate Harding, Typographical Union: When this proposition was presented it appeared to the members of the Committee to be rather radical. The proposition was that one-half the per capita tax paid by the label organizations into the State Federation should be diverted to take care of the expense incurred in conducting the proposed label department. The committee did not think it wise to recommend such a radical proposition. The recommendation of the committee is a conservative one. It is that the matter be left in the hands of the Executive Board, and that they call a meeting of the representatives of the different label trades to take up this question. I don't believe any harm can result from the adoption of the recommendation of the committee, but I believe a great deal of good will result. We all know the label organizations are not as effective in their work as they should be, and that is largely owing to the indiffer-

ence of the members of union labor generally in asking for union label goods.

I believe the time is ripe for the organization of a separate department of this kind. It may be that the department as recommended by President Walker cannot be put into operation at once; but if it results in this convention one year from now being in a position to organize, or take proper steps toward organizing, a label department of this body I believe it will be a great work. I think the recommendation of the committee is a very reasonable one and should be adopted under the circumstances.

President Walker: The President, in making his recommendation, had no intention of relieving the executive officers, no matter who they may be, from any responsibility or taking any duty off their shoulders whatever in connection with the pushing of the label and doing the work of education along label propaganda lines. But the matter suggested itself to me during the course of the year as the result of a little effort made on my own part to have some special work done in the interests of label propaganda. The work of the State Federation is such that the officers in the field can find almost all the work they can possibly perform in attending meetings and doing the general work of the organization, holding conferences, trying to adjust disputes, keeping up the work of legislative education, and so on. I am rather inclined to think they can find more work along those lines than they can do.

I talked the matter over with Vice-President Allton, who is a cigar maker and vitally interested in label propaganda, and as a result of talking it over with him, without any additional cost to the State Federation, he corresponded with a number of the active workers in the cigar makers' organizations throughout the state. It stirred up a little interest. They got together and agreed on a circular. It provided for asking different central bodies and local unions to do some specific work in the interest of pushing the label. I have had a number

of cigar makers tell me it did result in good to them in their community. I do not expect to be able to get money where there is none, nor hire people to work where we cannot pay them; but I figured if this was agreed to and we could not do better we would have the authority of the State Federation to organize into a body that would have for its special purpose the continual propaganda work of pushing the label of every label trade, and in the trades where they have no labels.

I do not expect anybody will be put in the field steadily doing that work, but here will be a special department formed which will take little of the money coming into the organization or entail great expense; but I thought we could, to the advantage of the label trades and to the advantage of all the organizations, afford to spend a little money for the added influence we would have in getting individuals throughout the state who are willing to work in this line to organize. We could get out literature in regard to the matter and distribute it and use it among the workers of the state as it may seem best. I anticipate if the committee's report is adopted there will not be any great revolution accomplished in that direction in the coming year; but I do expect there will be a little more work in the way of educating our members to the advantage of patronizing the label and hiring union men and women to do their work than there would be if it was not considered.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers: I am very glad the President has called attention to this subject matter through his report. I am pleased with the report made by the Committee on Officers' Reports. I don't think there is a man or woman in this convention that feels there ought not to be a special agency in the organization for the purpose of carrying on label propaganda, and that is the extent to which I understand the recommendation goes. If the recommendation went further and provided for a form of organization outside the Illinois State Federation of Labor, then I would also raise my voice in

protest of such proposal, because I realize only too well that to organize a dual organization to take up label work would be detrimental to the trade union movement generally. But I do not understand the proposal to be of that character; I understand it is simply dividing the work of this organization into a special agency absolutely under the control of the officers of the organization. With that understanding of the purport of the report of the committee I heartily concur. Being a member of the Executive Council of the Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, we have had this question before us and we have decided not to issue a separate charter to any separate state organization, realizing the danger there is in forming such a dual organization. But by designating a special agency and empowering the officers to designate a special officer to look after the matter will benefit both label and non-label organizations.

Delegate Bogaske: The cigar makers are peculiarly interested in this. When the cigar makers came here they came for one purpose; that is, they wish to help an organization that is gradually losing ground. We admit it with a specific purpose, to ask for some specific real, live individual personal work for the cigar makers. However, our President, being a live wire, beat us to it and asked for that very thing.

You see here on the rostrum and on the table some signs that pertain to two factories in this city we are fighting. They are situated right over here, one within a block of the other. I am told that one of them is putting up a new building, and he is so generous to his employees, those deluded creatures who have been working for him all these years, that he has assessed them two dollars a month to help pay for the building. Some of us have been through the state plugging for the label of the cigar makers and other labels. We went into some of the places where all the money was spent for non-union cigars—some call them Single Binder cigars but we call them "Highbinders." Go to your

homes and find out who is smoking that cigar and help us stop it. That is the object of the recommendation. We need some personal help. I don't doubt if we were going down our streets and saw four or five big bullies jump on one of our delegates and proceed to knock the stuffing out of him we would go to his rescue. We are the fellows who are being jumped on and having the stuffing knocked out of us and we are crying for help right now. Are you going to help us?

Delegate Billot: I have served for five years in the central body I represent on a local label committee. I waited upon our merchants and tried to persuade them to buy union-made goods and was told by a majority of them: "It is no use for us to handle union label goods, because the men of your organizations do not demand them." If that is true it is absolutely necessary to devote a great deal of our time trying to educate those in the labor movement to the benefit of the label.

The organization I belong to, the United Mine Workers, is not a label organization. I am sorry to say that many of the miners as well as members of other crafts do not always respect the labels. I think they patronize the cigar makers' label and the brewery workers' label better than any others. I have served for years on our local label committee, and it is hard for me to recognize every label at a glance. I have known of women going into the stores and asking for union label goods, and the merchants would say, "Yes, this is the labels" and they would purchase the goods and take them home. We should educate the women to realize the value of the label and the difference in the labels. Many people are being fooled. I heartily endorse the recommendation of the President and the committee and I wish it were possible to set aside a stipulated sum to carry on the educational propaganda from one end of the state to the other.

Vice-President Whalen in the chair.

Vice-President Allton: It might be inferred from some of the remarks

made that the cigar makers have come to the convention prepared to establish some revolutionary proposition or do something not within the jurisdiction of the State Federation of Labor. When this was recommended to the convention by the President I made an effort to appear before the committee on officers' reports. The most important part of the recommendation, that which relates to the cigar makers and other label trades, is the expenditure of some of the money given the State Federation for labor agitation. Most of the organizations in the State Federation are affiliated for some particular purpose. The cigar makers are interested in the label, and they are particularly interested in getting something adopted that will provide for the expenditure of some of their money and some of the money of the other label trades for label agitation.

Delegate Keefe: I move the previous question. (Seconded and carried.)

The motion to adopt the report of the committee as read was carried.

Delegate Nestor, Secretary of the Committee, read that portion of the report under the caption "VOCATIONAL EDUCATION," and a motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Secretary Nestor: There were a great many matters brought up in the committee when this subject was under consideration, but the committee felt the only question before it was vocational education, and of course there are all sorts of school questions one can take up. We did not deal anything but the report and the matters that had to do with vocational education.

Delegate Anderson: I want to say a few words in regard to the subject of vocational education, although my early enthusiasm in the matter, I have to admit, has rather petered out. I am connected with the Lane Technical School, a unique institution. As a matter of fact we are the only public school in the city of Chicago, you might say, that is strictly union. We have union carpenters, plumbers, gas

fitters and printers in various departments, and this week we establish a department for the bakers. The bakers' union requested that we have a Saturday session to instruct their apprentices, and we will in a week or two start the bakers on a seven-hour session Saturday.

We are, in a way, pioneers in the field. Perhaps our school will become a center where apprentices and journeymen may come to improve themselves in their special crafts. We have had a difficult row to hoe, but at the present time No. 16, No. 3 and No. 4, in addition to other unions, are affiliated with us. I think, considering the lack of time, that is all I care to say in regard to it, but remember Lane Technical High. Its principal is William Bowen, without any labor agitations or tendencies in his history but he has a sort of vision which sees in the labor movement and other organizations the right line for vocational education. We have to deal with the employers. We already have the sympathies of the union, and whenever this question comes up, please remember Lane Technical High and the opportunities it is offering. See how much you can interest yourselves in its progress.

Delegate Wright, Typographical Union: Inasmuch as fourteen of the sixteen pages of the report here deals with the schools and does not deal primarily with vocational education, and the committee has confined its report entirely, apparently, to two pages, are the other fourteen pages merely considered incidental to this work? I am interested more in the first fourteen pages of the report than I am in the last two, except on one proposition. If we are going to consider the vocational schools, so called in the city of Chicago, as vocational schools I will have no objection to the committee's report. There the carpenters apprentice goes to school and he studies higher mathematics, he studies the branch of the carpenter's trade that is not taught in the shop or on the job. I favor that kind of a vocational school.

We have a so called vocational school, of which Mr. Anderson who has just spoken has charge. In what

school the pupils are exclusively the registered apprentices of the Typographical Union and such of the journeymen who wish to take a post-graduate course in certain branches of the printing business. That is all right and that is what I am heartily in favor of, either in Chicago or any other city or community in our state, and I take it for granted that was the intention of the committee, although it may not be couched in just that language.

When the matter comes up again under the resolutions dealing with the first fourteen pages of the report, I would like to have, not only the committee's report on the school system of the state of Illinois, but if we take action a little later on to adopt one or two of the resolutions that have been introduced I would like to see them incorporated in the report so there will be no doubt as to where we stand on the public school question. I am going to make a request of the convention, that it be permissible, if action is taken upon the public school later, and if the convention in its wisdom says it is just to adopt the plan outlined in past years and reaffirms it and the action of the American Federation of Labor upon this question, that it be incorporated in this report. I refer to the report of the Committee on Vocational Education I hold in my hand. Fourteen pages of it deal with primary schools and not with vocational schools. We do not wish to misunderstand each other and we do not wish the public to misunderstand us.

Delegate Keefe, Engineers: The committee that had this report under consideration had about three or four hours' work on the report. We have, in our opinion, left the way open for suggestions that will in any way improve the report of the committee before the recommendations are adopted. We have not closed up the chance of anybody adding anything they wish to add at any future time. We said we would welcome any recommendation any delegate had to submit to the convention. We could not in two or three hours go over a report that some people are serving on that committee, who had

experience in that line, to bring about any improvement in the report submitted to us. We felt it was wisdom on our part to leave one section open so that any one who wished to do so could add anything they thought desirable.

Delegate Olander: I think this matter is of too vital importance, to the working people particularly, to try to confuse it. Any one who has studied the subject of the schools and of vocational education knows something of the argument being used by the manufacturers on that question. And if he does and then gets up and tries to create the impression that fourteen of the fifteen pages of that report do not touch upon the subject, or touch very lightly upon the subject of vocational education, I rather feel he has laid himself open to a charge of trying to create confusion in the matter.

I don't know whether Delegate Wright, who spoke a moment ago, agrees with the report or whether he objects to it, and I find it rather difficult to understand just what his position is in the matter. The committee spent considerable time on this question. The report is the work of the entire committee. On several occasions we had full day sessions. One of the matters we studied most carefully was the position of the American Federation of Labor. They had a special committee a few years ago that went into the subject thoroughly. We also obtained a great deal of literature on the subject. And then we tried to draft a report that would lay a foundation for this question that would be safe from the trade union point of view as applied to this state.

We found it necessary to deal with the schools to some extent, because this is a school question. We went no further into that than was necessary to deal with this particular subject. As we considered the point of view of the manufacturers we found he had been spreading tons of literature around this country criticising the public schools, trying to make you and me and all the rest of us believe the school system is entirely wrong, that there is something so

wrong with it it cannot be remedied. And then after having tried to inject that into our minds they have tried to convince us there is also something radically wrong with the child, that there is a large group, three-fourths of our children, I believe their pamphlet states, what is known as the motor type, that cannot learn quickly from books. If you read that literature from books alone, as they can from a combination of books and action. If you read that literature and do not inform yourselves on the subject you will come to the conclusion that three-fourths of our children are deficient, that they are really fit only for the meaner employments in life, and that our entire public school system should be changed for the benefit of those three-fourths of the children and turned into factories to turn out working people. Our report is drafted to meet that issue.

Another issue raised is that the children who, having first been pronounced defective by some of our friends among the manufacturers, are suddenly transformed by being pictured as so intelligent that they know better than anyone else what is best for them, and so many children leave school at such an early age because they are not satisfied with the way the schools are being run, and the way to change that is to establish vocational schools.

And running through all this is a proposal—and it is one we will have to be on our guard against, because if it is successfully carried out it spells the death of our democracy here—the proposal to divide the school system into two sections, one in which the thinker is to be educated and the other in which the worker is to be educated. That question is thoroughly discussed in one of the fourteen pages Brother Wright does not seem to have read very closely.

A great deal of literature has been spread through this country, and particularly through Illinois, advocating the system in vogue in European countries. I think our report is one of the first, or will be if it is adopted here, to be distributed among the trade unions, that points out something of the real truth of the European system and

of the division of classes that exist in the public schools there. I do not want anything like that here if we can help it, and I think we can help it.

One other thing I would like to call your attention to is that the report is very largely predicated upon the period between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years. To go into this question in detail would take a very long time and I will not attempt it. There are those who will speak of the apprenticeship schools. We have not dealt with that subject very much in the report, because we offered this as a foundation for our proposition and not as its finality, by any means, because the subject is a much greater one than can be entered into fully in a sixteen page pamphlet.

I have read a great deal on this subject for a number of years; it has been something of a hobby to me, for the reason that after knocking around the world a good many years alone, without any responsibility, I got married and now have a couple of little children who are going to school. I have never had much schooling myself and I got interested in the way they were getting on. That was the beginning, and then I began to find out how important it was to our entire movement. I found that in practically every state in the Union an effort is being made by the employing class to get control so that they can operate it in their interests. And, in view of the fact that, handled in the right way, there is so much good in it for us. I feel the thing for us to do is to follow the example of the American Federation of Labor, go into this question from our point of view and seek to keep control with us and with the people.

I think that can be easily done, because in their fight for vocational education the manufacturing interests have found it necessary to attack the educators of the country very severely, and on that account, fortunately for us, put the educators on the lookout and on the defensive, and as a result a force is arising among them that is standing on our side of the case. Bills on this subject were introduced in the last session of the legislature. A commission appointed

by the governor of the state some years ago investigated, and as a result bills were introduced. One of those bills that attained the greatest notoriety, I might say, in this state was the one known as the Bankers Conference Bill, which provided for a separate commission on that particular subject. And the bill, by the way, interfered with our educational system a great deal, although not openly. In that bill there is one particular clause I might call your attention to. It apparently did not have much to do with the question of vocational education, but this state commission was to be authorized by that bill to investigate industrial matters at will in this state. I do not think we ought to consent to the establishment of a commission that would have authority to go into any trade union, any organization, or get any labor organization in the state on the carpet at any time.

A delegate arose to a point of order and stated that the speaker's time had expired.

Vice-President Whalen: Brother Olander is the chairman of that committee and I believe it is well to grant him a little time on this so it will be thoroughly understood.

Delegate Olander: This bill had in it a provision that allowed a state commission to investigate any of our organizations at any time it might see fit to do so. That is one of the things this kind of bill is being used as a cover for. That bill made some little headway among the people of this state without our taking any particular action in the matter. I think the time has come for us to guard against such measures.

Our report is also predicated upon raising the compulsory school age to sixteen years. The limit now in this state is fourteen, with a proviso that between fourteen and sixteen a child must either attend school or go to work. We ask that the time be extended to sixteen years. In view of the fact that a number of states are taking action on this question we ought to begin with it and not let the other fellow run away with it entirely.

Delegate Wright: A question of personal privilege.

A demonstration was made by a number of delegates at this point that interrupted the speaker.

Delegate Olander: I think this is entirely unfair. I think Brother Wright should be heard.

A Delegate: I am surprised that some delegates are so discourteous, when a man gets on the floor to speak, to try to keep him from being heard. That has happened three times today and it never has before.

Delegate Wright (E. R.): If Delegate Olander had read to you the resolution I asked to have incorporated—if in the judgment of this organization it should be incorporated—I do not believe Mr. Olander would have made the attack he has. If he had taken the patience to read it, as I called it to the attention of the Committee on Officers' Reports, and certainly to the gentlemen a few minutes ago who were trying to drown me out, they would not have done so.

Delegate Olander: You speak of an attack I made. I did not mean to make any attack on Delegate Wright, but I did challenge some of his ideas. I may have been a little vigorous in the discussion, but I did not intend it as an attack.

Delegate Wright: Very well, sir, I will accept your personal apology, but I did consider it an attack. I will stand by the record. Here is what I was referring to, the official minutes of the American Federation of Labor, the report presented by John H. Walker, the President of this organization, concurred in unanimously by the American Federation of Labor convention. And that is what you didn't want!

Delegate Walker, Secretary of the Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor reported: "To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor: We, your Committee on Education, to whom was referred the resolution and that portion of the Executive Council's Report bearing on the sub-

ject, beg leave to report as follows:

"Resolution No. 84, by Delegates James T. Patterson of the Illinois State Federation of Labor."

And that resolution was adopted by the unaniomus vote of the last convention of this organization. We will read it and then we will see if I am representing trades unionism or if I am representing some employers' association.

"RESOLUTION NO. 84. Whereas, The American Federation of Labor one year ago adopted a resolution calling for state uniformity of text books in our public schools, and further endorsed the proposed plan of state ownership of the copyrights of such books, and

"WHEREAS, The prices charged for the text books now in use many of our public schools can only be designated as a legalized form of robbery of the people, and

"WHEREAS, Some confusion has arisen as to the best method of carrying into effect the intention of the resolution adopted one year ago"

That was the resolution adopted by the American Federation of Labor, and Brother Walker, if my recollection is correct, was also on the committee that adopted the resolution in the Rochester convention. Brother Morris was there, I was there, and twenty others of you, I believe Delegate Woll was a member of the committee that adopted the resolution. But there had been some confusion over it and you were trying to straighten it out. The resolution goes on:

"THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to prepare a model bill for a law on this subject, embodying the plan of state uniformity of text books and education, and state ownership of copyrights, and that the same be printed and circulated in such manner as will, in the judgment of our officers, be the most effective means of accomplishing the reform we seek."

The committee amended by inserting after "uniformity" the words "of textbooks and education." And then

it went on and the report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote of the American Federation of Labor, and that is what you object to!

Now I want to go just a little further and we will see if I am representing an employer or not. I went before the legislature in the last session and asked them to adopt into law in the State of Illinois a plan unanimously adopted by the State Federation of Labor, that the state should own the copyright of the school books, just the state or a division of the state, owns the buildings, just as the teachers are paid, so should the copyright of the school books be public property. At that time I called your attention to the prices of books that were used and I said the printing offices of the United States—my employers, mind you, and I said they were robbers, and today I again say the same thing—makers of school books in the state of Illinois and the United States, whether they are union or nonunion, these publishers are robbing you. That is what I said and I repeat it again—and if that is currying favor with the boss, take it for what is its worth!

Delegate Keefe, Engineers: I rise to a point of order.

President Walker in the chair.

Delegate Wright (E. R.): I am raising to a question of personal privilege and I want the floor.

Delegate Keefe: The report of the Committee on Officers' Reports is on a report dealing with vocational and not text books.

Delegate Wright: May I speak on this, Mr. Chairman, and explain?

President Walker: The chair would call upon you as soon as upon anybody if he needed assistance. I would like to make my ruling, and if you are not satisfied you can appeal to the convention, and I am sure they will give you a square deal. The secretary of the committee in making the report made clear the matter covered by their report had to do with vocational education. If Brother Olander went outside of that in making his statement he was out of order and

he should have been called to order. If, in the discussion of outside matters, things were said that reflected on you I believe it is only fair you should have an opportunity to set yourself straight; but I do not, believe we should go any further than is necessary to do that if it is a matter outside of vocational education or industrial training.

Delegate Wright: I will touch on the question of industrial training in just a minute. Insofar as the attack was made on me—I was criticised for saying that fourteen of the fifteen pages dealt with the public school question, and then he went on and spoke of the tons of literature that were being used to confuse the people. I want to reply to that, and reply in this way. A bill was introduced in the last session of the legislature—

President Walker: Delegate Wright, let me ask you this question: If, when Delegate Olander made the statement that the employers flooded this country with tons of this literature, it reflected on you, you would be perfectly in order in trying to clear yourself of any reflection; but if he stated a truth and did not reflect on you in making that statement, you are not in order in getting the floor on the question of personal privilege and discussing that. You had the floor at the beginning, and outside of clearing up any reflections that have been made on you, you should not have the floor until every other delegate that desires it has spoken.

Delegate Wright: Delegate Olander is the only man in the room, I presume, who knows whether that attack was directed at me or not. The rest of the delegates do not know, but they heard his words. If you will give me a few minutes I will get through and we will take up the other question, when it arrives, as to whether the report of the American Federation of Labor should be concurred in by this body or not. I will not touch upon the law we tried to have passed, because I realize, another question will arise, but I want to say we took the instructions from the Illinois State Federation of Labor and in one city—I want to give credit to

it—the city of Chicago, through a few friends of ours, John Harding for one, we succeeded in having one book with state ownership of copyright.

The book I hold in my hand carries the union label; every bit of type was set by a union man, every bit of paper handled by union pressmen and it was bound by a union bookbinder. This book displaced a book I have characterized as robbery. The former book was printed in two section. One section alone cost 25 cents. This book is printed by union men, it comes from union labor, it was sent to the parent through the pupils in the city of Chicago carrying the union label, and it costs eight cents. There is seventeen cents on one primer that sold in Chacago that was diverted from the union man's pocket back somewhere I am not going to mention. They took 17 cents out of your pocket. Here is a union-made book; it carries the union label, and that is what I am advocating—a union-made book sold to you at an honest price. Here is the book used in the city of Peoria, a nonunion book, it does not carry the same ideas the other does.

Delegate Bloom: Is this a discussion on vocational training or the selling of school books?

Delegate Wright: It has to do with the fourteen pages.

Delegate Keefe: Does this report detract in any way from, the resolution passed by the American Federation of Labor?

Delegate Wright: Yes, it does, and that is why I bring it up. You will find all of the fourteen pages predicated on something entirely different from the action of this convention and the American Federation of Labor; and to prevent any misunderstanding I ask that when this report that you have heard here has been printed and circulated the action of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, passed by unanimous vote in the last convention, offered by Delegate Walker of the Committee on Education and Delegate Patterson representing this organization in the American Federation of Labor, that when the sixteen

pages go out to the people of the state the action of the last convention of the American Federation of Labor be incorporated in that report, merely printed down at the tail end so that there will be no confusion in the minds of the people of the state of Illinois. That is all I ask. Is that anything wrong? Is there any reason why men should try to drown out the utterances of a man who is trying to do his plain duty? I think not.

Delegate Nestor, Secretary of the Committee: As a member of the committee I desire to say something in regard to the suggestion made by Delegate Wright, and in reply to some of the statements he has just made. Mr. Wright came before the Committee when this matter was under discussion. We were glad to hear any one who came before us. We asked him to give to us all the objections he had, if he had any, to the report. He began picking out certain percentages and saying they were not correct.

Then he reached the part concerning free text books. We did not take that up but merely referred to it when discussing the economic question, or at least connecting up the question of children being forced out of the schools at an early age; and we said whenever free text books were used reports showed a longer attendance in school, to prove that whatever was done in any way to lessen that economic pressure tended to keep the child in school. And on that part of the report he brought forward his objection and offered there his suggestion to have the action taken at the last convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and the last convention of the American Federation of Labor incorporated in this report. And the reason he gave, or the way I understood it, he openly opposed the free text book. He wanted uniformity and wanted us to put it in there.

He said wherever free text books were used it meant an indirect tax. We ask if that could not also apply to public schools, that, no matter what we have that is supported by the public, we have to pay for it in some

way. Then he came back with the suggestion of uniformity of text books. We had considerable discussion on the question. Some of the members said: "If we have free text books will not that help to bring about uniformity? We want uniformity of text because we have the expense to bear when children go from one school to another." If we have free text books we will in some way meet that particular problem.

When the question came up about the free text books the committee felt quite strongly we should not inject into the report anything that might confuse. I felt quite strongly that by putting that in we would be confusing people to a certain extent, and I do not see how we can confuse them by leaving it out. We are not even making a recommendation in regard to free text books; we merely referred to it. We cannot lead up to this whole subject without in some way talking about the schools, the children in the schools and the need of keeping them there longer, and about a number of other things that are mentioned in the first four pages of the report. It is no reflection on any action the State Federation has taken or the American Federation of Labor has taken that we do not incorporate it in our report.

I know it sounds rather plausible that we ought to incorporate in here some action the American Federation of Labor has taken. If we should go through their records we might get other action they have taken on school questions, but it is a question whether they are germane to the report they are suggested to be incorporated in. The committee felt it would be much better to give this report and keep away from it as many subjects as we could in order not to confuse the public. There is already confusion in some minds on the subject. We did not want to make it too expensive. Why, we could have got out a volume on the subject, but would it ever be ready? We wanted to make the report in as clear, brief and simple fashion as we could, so that the men and women in our various organizations would read it and grasp it and know what we are presenting to them today.

We tried to incorporate some of the things that will be incorporated in a bill if one is presented to the next legislature. I do not believe we ought to put into this anything about the uniformity of text books unless we are going to go into a number of other things that are really outside the subject we were considering in this report.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers: Delegate Wright, in opening his remarks with reference to the report of the committee and the criticisms offered on the fourteen pages preceding the recommendations, stated that, in his opinion, by reason of remarks made by the previous speaker confusion was created. Stress was laid upon the question of uniformity of text books. And why? What does uniformity of text books mean, so far as vocational education is concerned? Brother Olander has told you, and told rightly, that the employers are circulating literature that states that three-fourths of the children are such as cannot obtain knowledge from books and they want vocational education, not to supplant books, but to give exercise to the hand as well as the mind. And now the solution of it is that if children cannot educate themselves by books, let us give them uniform books and then we will have a better vocational education! What has uniformity of books to do with vocational education? Have we today better schools because of the label on that book? What has that to do with the teaching of a trade?

Yes, this convention has gone on record in the matter of text books. It is a proposition distinct and separate of itself from the question of vocational education. Book knowledge from vocational education is apart and distinct. The American Federation of Labor has taken action with reference to this question of uniformity of text books, as Brother Wright tells you, but he has not told you that their action was distinct and separate from the action of the American Federation of Labor on the question of vocational education. He asks that we incorporate the report of the

American Federation of Labor on the subject of vocational education, and it is a document of 116 pages, the report of the committee in the American Federation of Labor.

I have no objections to see that report incorporated in the report of this committee; I would be glad to see it attached to their report if this convention wishes to go to the expense of doing so; but in analyzing this report, and I am not going to go into it fully, I want to call your attention to a few recommendations approved by the American Federation of Labor, and to say that in this report I have been unable to find any expression on the uniformity of text books as related to this subject matter. The report states:

"Should they (the schools) be free, supported by the city, country, or state in which they are located? The committee reaffirms its advocacy of free schools, free text books, the raising of the compulsory school age and a close scrutiny of courses and methods of instruction."

Free text books! Yes, but not uniformity of text books is mentioned. And we turn to another page of the report of the committee on industrial education of the American Federation of Labor, which says:

"1. Supplemental technical education: Supplemental technical education for those already in the trades. The demand for such instruction is measured by the necessity for training in particular trades and industries, and the chief aim of such instruction should be to present those principles of arts and sciences which bear upon the trades either directly or indirectly. Such schools are commonly known as continuation schools, whether their session are held in the day, evening, or on the part-time plan.

"2. Industrial education: The establishment of schools in connection with the public-school system, at which pupils between the ages of 14 and 16 may be taught the principles of trades, not necessarily in separate building but in schools adapted to this particular education by competent trade-trained teachers.

"3. Trade-union schools: The committee recommends the continuance

of progressive development in supplemental trade education as inaugurated by trade-unions, such as the supplemental trade courses established by the International Typographical Union; technical courses of the Proto-Engravers' Union; School for Carpenters and Bricklayers, Chicago, Ill.; Technical School, at Rogersville, the International Printing Pressmen's Tenn.; and the School for Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers, of New York City. The committee further recommends that all trade-unions which have not adopted a scheme of technical education give the matter the consideration it so richly deserves; and they further believe that the undertakings of the above unions call for the most enthusiastic admiration and are entitled to the most cordial and loyal support."

Delegate Harding: I believe if Delegate Woll, is allowed to discuss this matter—he is not speaking to the question, he is opening up the whole subject and is as much out of order as Delegate Wright was—if he is to be permitted to speak for any length of time, taking up this entire question of free text books, uniformity of text books, and all these other matters, other people will have the right to speak also, and for that reason I am going to vote against extending his time.

President Walker: The chair will agree that in discussing free text books Brother Woll is not confining himself to the question. I only allow him to do it because I allowed Brother Wright to make a statement that was equally out of order. From now on we will confine ourselves to the report and particularly as it applies to industrial training and vocational education.

A motion to extend Delegate Woll's time was lost.

Delegate Golden, Teamsters: I move that we now close debate. (Seconded and carried.)

The motion to adopt the report of committee on Vocational Education was carried.

Delegate Nestor: That practically concludes the report of the Committee on the President's Report. We have before us the report from the Illinois

State Committee of the National Woman's Trade Union League.

Secretary Nestor read that portion of the report under the caption "NATIONAL WOMAN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE." The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Nestor read that portion of the report under the caption "APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES." Upon motion of Delegate Keefe, the report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Nestor: I move the adoption of the report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Delegate McAuly: I want to make an announcement to the delegates. We did not get an opportunity to express ourselves on the free text book question before debate was closed, but the miners have a resolution in to that effect and we are going to present it to the legislature.

President Walker: That resolution will come up under the report of the Committee on Resolutions and you will have an opportunity to be heard on the subject.

At 5 o'clock a motion was made to adjourn under the rules and reconvene again at 7 o'clock p. m.

President Walker: I have been informed we cannot get the hall for this evening. We have a great deal of work to perform, and if the convention can see its way clear to stay in session as long as we can get the hall we may be able to dispose of some other work.

Delegate Harding: I move that the rules be suspended and we stay in session tonight until we get tired.

President Walker: Make it 6 o'clock.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Walker: I don't like to work overtime, I don't like to ask any one else to work over time, but in view of the amount of work we have to do and the desire on the

part of the delegates to get home at least tomorrow, and if possible early in the day, it is only a duty we owe to ourselves as well as to our constituency to keep order and stay in session and transact this work. There is no more vitally important work done by the workers in this movement than can be done by a serious consideration of these matters that affect all the workers in our state, and I hope the delegates will have patience, that they will get through our business as quickly as possible after giving it the kind of consideration it is entitled to.

The tellers are ready to make their report. If there are no objections on the part of the convention we will hear that report now.

Delegate Neer, Teamsters, in the chair.

Report of Tellers.

Delegate McDonald, for the Tellers, reported as follows:

The committee, in order to reach here before the meeting adjourned, have refrained from eating any dinner. We have made no typewritten report, but will announce the result of the vote as taken.

The total number of votes cast was 541.

President, John H. Walker, having receiving no opposition, was given credit for the full amount rather than to waste time counting the votes.

First Vice-President, L. A. Allton, Peoria, 361; Edward J. Evans, Chicago, 175.

Second Vice-President, John M. Irish, Peoria, 426; B. M. Newton, Rock Island, 100.

Third Vice-President, James Patterson, Chicago, 161; Michael J. Whalen, East St. Louis, 371.

Secretary-Treasurer, Victor A. Olander, 388; Lyle T. MacArthur, 148;

Executive Board Members: J. W. Morton, Chicago, 421; Alois Towers, Belleville, 402; Thomas Kelly, Streator, 433; James Daughton, Springfield, 380; George B. Jenkins, Champaign, 347; James C. Kinsley, Rock Island, 325; James Shannahan, Pawnee, 221; James Pittman, Carrier Mills, 215.

Auditors: Tilden Bozarth, 352; J.

A. Kain, 406; William Jampel, 305; Charles Kelly, 204; William R. Harmon, 192.

Delegates to A. F. of L.: James F. Morris, having no opposition, was given the full vote, 541.

Those receiving the highest vote for the respective positions are:

President, J. H. Walker.

First Vice-President, L. A. Allton.

Second Vice-President, John M. Irish.

Third Vice-President, Michael J. Whalen.

Secretary-Treasurer, Victor A. Olander.

Executive Board Members: J. W. Morton, Alois Towers, Thomas Kelly, James Daughton, G. B. Jenkins, and James C. Kinsley.

Auditors: Tilden Bozarth, J. A. Kain, William Jampel.

Delegate to the A. F. of L.: James F. Morris.

The committee that counted the vote for the cities requested me to announce the result when I made the other report, which I will now do.

Alton, 291;

Ottawa, 130;

Quincy, 107.

Chairman Neer: By the action of the convention, as reported by your tells, J. H. Walker stands elected as President of this Federation for the coming year; Victor A. Olander, Secretary-Treasurer and the other officers named by the chairman of the Committee of Tellers stand elected. If there are no objections they will stand as the names of those men who are duly elected as officers of the Federation for the coming year, with the next meeting in Alton, Illinois. Are there objections? If there are none, the report stands as read and they are the officers for the coming year.

Delegate Ryan: It was announced before the election that Brother Newton declined to run. It seems unfair to report that he received 100 votes. For that reason I move to strike his name from printed report.

Chairman Neer: There were no instructions to the election committee to not count the vote of any delegate whose name appeared on the printed

ballot. This brother's name was on the ballot. The proceedings of the convention will show that he was not a candidate. We had nothing to do but count the ballots. A motion by Brother Newton to make the election unanimous will be in order if he desires to make it. This concludes the work of the election committee.

Delegate Woll: I have a subject matter I want to bring to the convention at this time, having acted upon the reports of the officers and having accepted the report of the tellers as to the officers for the ensuing year. Yesterday afternoon while nominations for officers were going on I was impressed with two remarks of our retiring secretary-treasurer. One of those remarks related to the cause of his not being a candidate to succeed himself in the office he has filled so ably all these years, and which indicated it was the ill health of his wife which determined him not to be again a candidate for office. Under those circumstances I appreciate that is a time a man needs help, that is the time we as workers and members of trade unions, as members of the Illinois State Federation of Labor should express gratitude by a proper appreciation of the good work done.

I was impressed with the thought that when Secretary Morris first took the wage he received was \$25 a month, later increased to \$35 a month, and still in later years a more fair compensation was given him as our servant. Last year when the presiding officer retired the convention deemed it wise to remunerate him in some slight degree, to express in some small fashion our deep feeling of appreciation for the good work he has done, and at that convention there was given Brother Wright a donation, I understand, of \$500. I say the action of that convention was absolutely right I believe this convention is more fully justified than ever to repeat that precedent established last year, and to give to Brother Morris a slight token of our appreciation in a manner that will aid him to carry out the work he has laid out for himself.

I therefore move that we likewise give at this particular time to Brother Morris a donation of \$500 as an ex-

pression of our gratitude and feeling of appreciation for the work he has done. (Seconded.)

A Delegate: Is it not out of order to make a motion at the end of a speech?

President Walker: At one time in the mine workers' organization some one made a ruling, but it cannot be found in any rules of order. I take it the motion is to repay what in their judgment, the members of our movement in the state owe Brother Morris, who served in that capacity at a time when the salary was entirely out of reason and absolutely inadequate for the amount of labor required to serve in that office; and for the additional reason that Brother Morris is going out because of the failing health of his partner, having spent every penny he had in trying to restore her health in the past, and having in mind to do what he has been requested by the physicians, devote himself to an effort to bring back her health.

Delegate Wilson (D.), Mine Workers: Last year the same motion prevailed in this convention. I was opposed to it this year. If Brother Morris in his capacity of secretary severed his connection with this organization and is in a position whereby \$500 is required, let the delegates to this convention do down in their jeans and dig out a dollar each, and they will be assessing themselves and not the members at home. The members of our organization do not make in a year what is asked in this donation. I don't make in twelve months of the year \$500 in wages. I have worked this year every day I have had the opportunity, and have only worked 64 days, and I refuse at this time to vote for \$500 to Brother Morris, Brother Walker or any other man in this organization. When the time comes that our membership requires that kind of assistance let us give it in some other manner, but don't assess the membership at home that is not receiving that much a year. If Delegate Woll feels justified in that motion, I think a motion should be made to amend that each delegate

donate \$1.00 towards this and make it \$700 instead of \$500.

President Walker: The chair cannot entertain the motion, because if that motion is adopted and there is any one delegate that did not care to give that dollar he could not be required to do it and his membership could not be affected in any shape or form. We haven't the authority to do that.

Delegate Davis, Mine Workers: I desire to raise a point of order on the original motion. The delegate made quite an extended speech before offering it.

President Walker: The chair has already ruled on that point of order. At one time in a mine workers' convention a special rule was adopted that if a delegate made a speech he could not make a motion at the close of that speech. That is a special rule that is not contained in the rules of procedure that govern this convention. At the same time it was continued so long in our meetings that the mine workers practically got to believe that was a rule. However it is not a rule, and the motion was in order.

Delegate Tuttle, Mine Workers: I have been a personal admirer of our retiring secretary. If I were an enemy of his I would favor this donation. I am a friend of his and I am going to oppose it. The thing that cheapened Ed Wright most, in my opinion, was to accept the donation of \$500, after receiving \$2400 a year for his services. I served as state board member in the United Mine Workers and did not receive any \$175 a month, either, and my wife was an invalid, she became a nervous wreck and I resigned my position about two months before my term expired. I had too much respect for myself and my wife to even tell John H. Walker that was the reason I resigned.

Gentlemen, this donation business doesn't go with me. I admire Secretary Morris. He has been receiving for the last two years, I believe, about \$175 a month from the State Federation of Labor and \$1000 a year from the State of Illinois. His position has not caused him to travel over the state of Illinois, as my position caused

me when I was a member of the Executive Board of the United Mine Workers. I am opposed to the donation and if Secretary Morris wants to retain my admiration of his character he will absolutely refuse to accept the \$500.

Delegate Jones, Streator: I tell you fellows if I was Morris' that would hurt me worse than to get the \$500—to have a man get up and make a fight against me. I am surprised at any labor man who has the principle he claims opposing this donation. It is the history of the labor movement that we do not treat our servants right. And for a man to stand up and pretend to be a friend of Morris's and oppose it is a disgrace, and especially a man from the same craft. That should have been voted for with a dissenting voice, it should have been unanimous, considering the work he has done and what the State Federation of Labor has done for the working people of Illinois. I consider that since Morris has been Secretary-Treasurer of this association he has been the brains, the man behind the gun, regardless of who has been president before this time. I think the proper thing to do is to vote without any more hollering.

Delegate Kasten: I move that we close debate. (Seconded.)

Delegate Tuttle: A point of order.

President Walker: After the matter is disposed of if you care to say anything you will have a right to do it on a question of personal privilege. But at this time the motion has been made by a delegate who has a right to a seat, seconded by a dozen others, and it is in order. It is not debatable.

The motion to close debate was carried.

President Walker: The motion is to appropriate to Brother Morris, to help repay him for past services, and to help bring back the health of his wife, \$500.

The motion was lost, 153 votes being cast in the affirmative and 178 in the negative.

Delegate Tuttle: A question of personal privilege. I want to reply to the delegate who said that my statement was a disgrace.

Delegate Harding, Typographical Union: If he is allowed to talk, I want to talk, too.

Delegate MacArthur, Teamsters: Not having been in the hall at the time the report of the Tellers was made, and there having been the most friendly feeling between the successful candidate for secretary-treasurer and myself, I arise at this time to make a motion that his election be made unanimous, and at the same time shake hands with him and wish him the greatest success. (Seconded and carried.)

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Kasten, Chairman of the Committee: The Committee on Resolutions has one resolution on which they would get unanimous consent to introduce. We had a short meeting with Mr. Judson King, representing the Popular Government League. The committee would like unanimous consent to introduce the result of the meeting we had with Mr. King.

No objection being offered, the committee submitted the following:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, by resolution unanimously passed at the Seattle Convention, affiliated with the National Popular Government League, and recommended that its affiliated organizations take like action, and

WHEREAS, This organization is non-partisan and devoted to the extension of the initiative, referendum and recall, and other popular government measures; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor affiliated with the National Popular Government League, and that the incoming officers and executive board are requested to carry this resolution into effect.

Delegate Golden, Teamsters: I move that we concur in the recommendation of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Jilson: Has that any bearing on the local union?

President Walker: I take it that it has not.

Delegate Anderson: It could not possibly have any bearing on local unions, because they make their own laws and are governed by them.

The motion to adopt the resolution was carried.

Resolution No. 1.

WHEREAS, The commercial spirit which largely governs humanity in this age of gold is responsible for the general belief that money can and does not constitute a fair exchange for any and every form of service in the entire field of human endeavor, and

WHEREAS, The history of human evolution, particularly that portion dealing with the advancement of the world's toilers, is replete with instances that clearly demonstrate that the zealous and unremitting labors of many who have immolated themselves on the altar of self sacrifice, is a type of service that cannot be adequately compensated by the payment of more dollars and cents, and

WHEREAS, The brilliant, skillful and successful defense of Carl E. Person, the Machinist Editor of the System Federation Strike Bulletin by Attorney Frank Comerford of Chicago, from the charge of having murdered the thug, Tony Musser, who sought to take Editor Person's life at Clinton, Ill., on December 30th, 1913, involved work of body, mind and soul, that can never be paid for by the usual commercial standard regarded as an equitable squaring of labor accounts, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates of the Person Defense League of Chicago in regular session assembled, that the League's conception of ORGANIZED LABOR'S obligation to Attorney Frank Comerford, for his masterful presentation of the fairness of Organized Labor's position in its life and death struggle with the predatory forces of corporate wealth that sought the life of Person at Lincoln, Logan County, Illinois, as a warning to other

courageous leaders, be prepared in resolution form; that though crudely expressing Labor's appreciation of Attorney Comerford's herculean efforts to serve both Person and the cause of Organized Labor would indicate in some measure the trades unions' recognition of the value of such labors, for which the wage paid, seems but small remuneration when compared with the value of the services rendered, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be presented to the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Illinois State Federation of Labor so that the endorsement of these resolutions by those two Central Labor Bodies, representing the organized labor forces of the whole State of Illinois, will constitute a declaration, by the trades unionists of Illinois, of their grateful appreciation of the task performed by Frank Comerford, both as man and attorney in saving the life of Carl E. Person and forcing a respect for the cause he represented, that will prompt humanity to see and understand the aims and objects of Organized Labor with a clearer vision and mind than ever before, and be it further

RESOLVED, That upon concurrence of these resolutions by the Illinois State Federation of Labor and the Chicago Federation of Labor, that the Person Defense League of Chicago have same suitably engrossed and after being signed by the proper officials of the above named organizations together with the League Committee, same be tendered to Frank N. Comerford, as an enduring testimonial from Organized Labor acknowledging the value of the service rendered by him to suffering humanity.

MARY ANDERSON,
L. P. STRAUBE,
ANNA FITZGERALD.

Delegates Chicago Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended concurrence.

Delegate Freeman, Teamsters: I move that the convention concur in the recommendation. (Seconded.)

Delegate Straube: In a meeting of

the Chicago Federation of Labor the resolution was unanimously concurred in, and I believe when the delegates realize the service rendered to organized labor by this man their appreciation will take the same form as that of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 2.

To the Officers and Delegates of the

Illinois State Federation of Labor,
GREETINGS:

WHEREAS, During the past year considerable effort was put forth to organize the employees of the State Institutions, controlled by the State Board of Administration of the State of Illinois, and

WHEREAS, This effort has met with great success inasmuch as organizations have been established at Dunning, Elgin, Kankakee and Jacksonville and we now have organizations under way at Peoria, Anna and Watertown; these organizations are known under the title of "Hospital Nurses' and Attendants' Unions," and are chartered as Local Unions by the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Since this agitation to organize State Employees much progress has been made in the way of improved conditions, shorter hours of labor, and redress of grievances. The eight hour day has been conceded by the State Board of Administration to the institutions at Peoria, Elgin, Dunning and Kankakee, and we intend to continue this agitation until every employee of State Institutions is enjoying the eight hour day, and

WHEREAS, These State employees are entitled to further consideration in the way of increased wages, one day off in seven, an annual vacation and better housing facilities for State employees and redress of grievances which can only be secured by action of the Illinois Legislature in granting a sufficient appropriation and the co-operation of the State Board of Administration and the Governor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State

Federation of Labor in convention assembled congratulate the Hospital Nurses, and Attendants' Unions upon their splendid progress through their organized efforts and we bespeak the co-operation and assistance of the Organized Labor Movement of Illinois to encourage and assist the State employees in all State institutions to organize and stand together to secure and maintain the proper standards of employment and living conditions which should exist among the workers in every occupation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor instruct its officers and Legislative Committee to render every possible assistance to the end that proper Legislative action shall be taken by the Illinois Legislature to secure for the employees of the State institutions one day rest in seven, reasonable compensation for labor performed, an annual vacation of at least two weeks, adequate housing facilities for employees and a practical tribunal for the redress of grievances and the protection of the employees.

MARY ANDERSON,
L. P. STRAUBE,
ANNA FITZGERALD,

Delegates Chicago Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution, and that the delegates to the American Federation of Labor use his best efforts to have the A. F. of L. take up similar work in other states.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Kearney: To facilitate the work of the convention, I move that where there is no objection the report of the committee be declared carried. (Seconded and carried.)

Resolution No. 3.

To the President and Delegates of the Illinois State Federation of Labor Convention. Convening Tuesday October 20th, 1914, at Peoria, Illinois.

A resolution pertaining to free text books, for the Public Schools, of the State of Illinois.

WHEREAS, The present system is

causing a hardship on the working class of people, on account of Text Books, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the I. S. F. of L. and the American Federation of Labor do all in their power to try and have a Bill introduced in the next legislature, for the purpose of having a free Text Book system in the public schools of the State of Illinois.

Indorsed by Local Union No. 1802, U. M. W. of A. of Maryville, Illinois, on October 7th, 1914.

(Signed) GUS KESSLER,

President,
BEN. KETTLE,

Vice-President,
JAMES FORNERO,

Recording Secretary,

BEN J. JONES,

MOSE JOHNSON

JOHN McCULLOUGH.
Resolution Committee.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution, and that it be referred to the Legislative Committee for further action.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Wright: Mr. Chairman, this is a continuation of the matter that was before the convention this afternoon. As a representative of this organization I appeared in Springfield on a number of different occasions on the school book question. I saw a bill such as is advocated in the committee's report come before a committee, and I wish to tell you the result of the action in the legislature. The bill went before the committee in the house and it received two votes, one was the vote of the mover of the passage of the bill and the other was his colleague. His colleague arose and stated that he voted in favor of passing out the bill from the committee with favorable recommendation simply because it was introduced by his colleague.

I am in favor of free text books, yes, and I do not wish to be misunderstood; but I know you are butting your head up against a stone wall when you go before the legislature

and ask for free text books. And I want to tell you what I found there when the bill was defeated and when we came to the conclusion that another course would be more satisfactory. It would be unfair to this organization not to give the reasons as expressed by the members of the legislature.

We have two large classes of people in the state of Illinois who do not send their children to the public schools, and who claimed before the legislature that they should not be taxed for an article they do not use, in addition to the tax they are already paying; and that has been a sufficient reason so that the legislature has turned down upon every occasion a bill for the so called free school books. That has been the effect. Another reason that might be advanced is this—and it is one that appeals to me because I am one of those people who believe in paying direct, I believe in a direct tax and not an indirect tax. Where they have the so called free school book system, as in New York, for instance, there is no uniformity, each school district using different sets of books, and, what is more important to the parent and more important to the pupil, where they change from place to place, it isn't so much the cost of the school book—although that is important—as it is to the child in securing an education, and unless you have what we have adopted as a substitute there is no complete continuity at all in the child's education.

We found less objection to a bill for state uniformity of school books than to the other; it will be easier to secure state uniformity and state owned copyright than to get free school books. Where they have a so called free text book proposition, as in Pennsylvania, I find they are paying twice as much for the school books as they would pay under the plan proposed in Illinois. With the so called free text books—and there is no such thing, you pay for them anyhow—the book companies continue to charge the same old price. For a dollar's worth of books in a so called free school book district you are paying at least two dollars to enjoy the

so called free text books. They take it out of your hide, and they will continue to do so unless the graft is cut out of the school book business, and I believe in cutting the graft out.

I made something of a study of the school book system and I believe we should take the line where we can accomplish something. The book I showed you a while ago with the label on is better than the book used prior to that time that cost 25 cents. This one cost eight cents. If you had free school books in Chicago, you fellows would pay 17 cents more for the book than for the one I have here. This book saved the people of Chicago more than \$10,000 this year. We had a bill in Springfield that would have saved the people of Illinois a proportionate amount. The bill was killed, and killed by a member of organized labor coming down and insisting it was free text books we wanted; and as a result in the past two years you fellows have been mulcted out of a couple of hundred thousand dollars, which would not have occurred if you had not opposed the action of the State Federation of Labor.

The American Federation of Labor said several years ago they believed in free school books, and they believe in it now undoubtedly, but after the question was taken up with them their action for the last two years was to say: "We will cut out the graft first and we will have uniformity we will take up the proposition of free school books."

A delegate stated that under the rules the speaker's time had expired.

President Walker: Unless the convention extends your time, Brother Wright, Delegate Bloom will be given the floor.

Delegate Bloom: I am surprised to see a trades unionist get on the floor of a convention of this kind and try to argue against a system of free text books, and tell you how the taxation will come out of your own pocket. I would think I was listening to a bankers' convention. I presume from the remarks of the delegates he is

not the father of a family, or he does not come from a large family. He refers to free text books in New York. I come from New York and I went to school in New York, and very little schooling at that, although I had the benefit of free text books. I am the oldest of ten children, and I wonder what my father would have got off at and how much schooling I would have had if he had been obliged to pay for books for ten of us.

My father was getting about \$13 a week when he was working, and I remember he was not doing much when five of us were in school, and I went on the street and peddled papers to help him support us. If there is a movement of any kind that is going to be beneficial to the laboring classes, organized and unorganized, it is free text books; and when any delegate gets on the floor and tries to insult our intelligence by telling us it is an indirect taxation on the working man to give his children free text books, it is time we made another division between the trades unionists, those that are for the working man and those that are selling books.

Delegate Keenan: I am the father of a family, and I know what it costs to support and send them to school. My two oldest children have been one and two years in college. I figured up just before I came to this convention what the cost has been to maintain the general unkeep of a boy of eight years. I figured very closely. I sent him respectfully to school, and figured it cost me \$254 to support and maintain this boy clothe him, board him and send him to school. Upon further research I found out you have between sixty and seventy thousand men today in Illinois that for years do not average one dollar per day. Our laws compel us to send our children to school. If it costs \$254 to support a boy of eight years old as he should be supported, what would it cost to support a family that averages five?

Any legislation that can secure free text books I am sure would lift a burden off the working people of the state, inasmuch as there are fathers of families in this state who cannot

clothe and support their children and maintain them properly. This brother said he came from New York. So do I. I came from Syracuse and I had the privilege of free text books. Later I lived in Indiana. I was in the State Federation there and talked on these very lines. I recommend this to you from the experience I have had. Reach the hand of fellowship to those sixty or seventy thousand men who do not average one dollar a day per year and help them by furnishing free text books.

Delegate Newsted: As a delegate to this convention as a tax payer and the father of three children going to school, I haven't very much to say and do not want to take up very much of your time speaking on this question; but it occurs to me that my American citizenship will not allow me to remain silent on a question of such vital importance as free text books. I am surprised to think there are any objections to it. It is the big property owner and the people we objected to from our platform yesterday that are opposed to free text books, because a majority of the working men are not property owners and therefore are not taxed for the upkeep of the schools in that way. Go to Chicago and on the corner of Dearborn and VanBuren you will see the Tribune Building, built on school ground, and they are robbing the children of Chicago of thousands of dollars every year. Go through the country today and you will find the people of the United States are condemning Carnegie libraries all the way through. Get free text books and you will be giving us what the constitution of our country guarantees us, free and equal opportunities to all. I was surprised to hear any argument against free text books. When we go out on the job tomorrow morning and take hold of hands and work side by side, let us do it in a way that will allow those who haven't an education a better chance than we have had.

Delegate Preston: I understand the report of the committee is to refer to the Legislative Committee. I think they are big enough to draft a law providing for uniform text books, but you will never get uniform text books until you get free text books.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Straube: There are a number of delegates here who wish to express their appreciation of the services of our retiring secretary, and Delegate Wilson, of the O'Fallon miners, and myself will pass among you, to enable those of you who are desirous of expression of his services to put down your names and give what you wish.

Secretary Morris: Mr. Chairman and Delegates of this Convention—When Delegate Woll got up here a short time ago and made a proposition in regard to a donation to me it was without my knowledge. I knew nothing of what was going on until he got on the floor. I feel grateful to the delegates of this convention and to the entire membership. I want to say, however, that under no circumstances will accept a donation that will be taken up in this convention at this time.

Delegate Sallay: Some of our delegates are reading papers that are not fair. Perhaps some of them don't know that Hearst's papers, the Chicago-American and the Chicago Examiner, have been put on the unfair list of the Chicago Federation of Labor. I think no delegate in this convention has a right to buy such papers.

President Walker: And they are on the unfair list of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

At 6 o'clock the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9 o'clock a. m., Saturday, October 24th.

FIFTH DAY—MORNING SESSION.

Peoria, Illinois, October 24, 1914.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Saturday, October 24th, President Walker in the chair.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 4.

WHEREAS, The progress and welfare of the United States or any other nation dependent upon the mental, physical and pecuniary status of the toiling masses, whose knowledge, skill and ingenuity serve as invaluable assets that will further to the best advantage our natural resources, and

WHEREAS, Since the beginning of the European war the number of unemployed has increased at an alarming rate and the direct result of this deplorable condition is want and misery for thousands of worthy and deserving members of human society, and

WHEREAS, This unnatural and depressing state of affairs should induce the Government to set a wholesome and note-worthy precedent in behalf of the unemployed, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, appeal to the Post Office Department and all other branches of the Government to use all available funds for the employment of competent applicants, and that particularly in the Postal Service, where all substitutes and applicants could be employed to good advantage telling efforts should be made to place a number of the unemployed, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in view of the genuine economy a reduction of the number of unemployed signifies and its consequent lesser burden to nation, state and municipality, we urge the indorsement of the last Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor's proposal to promote the humanitarian and progressive principles advocating the employment of a greater number of applicants to the classified civil service.

PIERCE E. BUTLER,

Delegate,

Chicago Local No. 1,

N. F. of P. O. C.

The committee recommended concurrence. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 5.

WHEREAS, A bill introduced in the United States House of Representatives by Congressman David Lewis of Maryland provides for the reclassification of salaries of postal clerks and letter carriers, increasing the maximum to \$1400 per annum in first-class postoffices and to \$1300 in second-class postoffices; and

WHEREAS, The salaries of postal employees have not been increased proportionately with the higher cost of living, nor do they receive a wage commensurate with the important and exacting duties they are required to perform; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled endorse the Lewis Bill and instruct our officers and ask affiliated bodies to use what efforts they can to secure this wage increase for the postal employees.

Submitted and Endorsed by Chicago Post Office Clerks' Union, Local No. 1, National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

(Signed) PIERCE E. BUTLER,
Delegate.

The committee recommended concurrence. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 6.

Urging of Postal Employees to affiliate with Labor.

WHEREAS, There are two organizations of postoffice clerks, one being an independent organization known as the "United National Association of Post Office Clerks," and

WHEREAS, We, the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are striving to bring about the unity through affiliation and absorption of the postoffice clerks belonging to this isolated organization, and

WHEREAS, There is no question that we at all times should assist one

another in organization work, to the end that by an increase in number we gain added strength; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do hereby pledge ourselves to use all honorable means to get the post-office clerks in our respective towns to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, through membership in the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all central labor bodies of Illinois be requested to appoint committees to wait on the post-office clerks in their respective cities and urge them to join the National Federation of Post Office Clerks and thereby become a part of the labor movement as represented by the A. F. of L.

PIERCE S. BUTLER,
Delegate.

Chicago Post Office Clerks' Union,
Local No. 1, National Federation
of Post Office Clerks.

The committee recommended concurrence. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 7.

Endorsement of Bills for Less Night Work in Post Offices.

WHEREAS, There has been introduced in the U. S. Senate, by Senator J. Hamilton Lewis, and the National House of Representatives by Congressman A. Mitchell Palmer, a bill which provides that 45 minutes of night work performed by Postal employees be considered the equivalent to one hour of day service, and

WHEREAS, Postoffice Clerks are at present compelled to labor during the unnatural hours of night, oftentimes when such work could be performed during the day, and the enactment of the New-Palmer Bill would have the effect of discouraging unnecessary night work, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Illinois State Federation of Labor, do hereby endorse and urge the passage of House Bill H. R. 15287 and Senate Bill ———, and instruct our officers to assist and co-operate with the offi-

cers of National Federation of Post Office Clerks to secure the enactment of such legislation.

Respectfully submitted and endorsed by

PIERCE E. BUTLER,
Delegate.

Chicago Post Office Clerks Union,
Local No. 1, National Federation
of Post Office Clerks.

The committee recommended concurrence. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 8.

To the Officers and members of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled:

WHEREAS, By experience and observation we have learned that the different State Militias are not organized for the purpose of service in time of war,

WHEREAS, We have learned that the militia is an organization that can be and is used by the opponents of the Trade Union Movement, to defeat the workers in their struggles for an existence and the securing of justice, and

WHEREAS, The militia is composed of the workers and the sons of those who toil, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, does hereby protest against and condemn the acts of brutality, intimidation and discrimination entirely void of human principles perpetrated by the militia in the name of law and order, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor stand instructed by this convention to have printed in a letter explaining the mission, object and intent of the militia, that the secretary is hereby instructed to send to each affiliated local in the State a copy of said letter, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the secretary stand instructed to advise each affiliated local that the recommendation of the Illinois State Federation of Labor is that they use and utilize all their power to have their national and international bodies through their constitutional process of making laws

enact a law under the penalty of suspension forbidding any of its members becoming a member of or retaining affiliation in any manner with any body or organization known as a state militia.

WM. CHRISTOPHER,
Iron Molders Union No. 182.
Delegate from Local Belleville, Ill.

The committee recommended concurrence. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 9.

To the Officers and delegates of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled:

WHEREAS, The Factory Inspection Department of the State is and has been a great boon to the mass of toilers in the protection of life and limb, and

WHEREAS, There is yet vast room for improvement in this department in the laws and in the mode of their application, and

WHEREAS, The political party that happens to be in power in a large measure controls the different factory inspectors in their acts as said inspectors, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the Illinois State Federation of Labor stand instructed by this convention to work to the end in view of having the present Constitution of the State of Illinois so amended as to prescribe that the Factory Inspection Department of the State of Illinois shall come under civil Service Rule.

WM. CHRISTOPHER,
Iron Molders' Union, Local 182.
Delegate from Local Belleville, Ill.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the Executive Board for action. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 10.

WHEREAS, The State of Illinois is engaged in the manufacture of brooms at the Joliet Prison, The City of Peoria also employing prison labor in the manufacture of brooms, The Central Broom Co. of Jefferson City,

Mo., prison and the Louisville Broom Co., manufacturing brooms in the Frankfort, Ky., prison are all flooding the State of Illinois with these unfair products of prison labor, and

WHEREAS, Many of the wholesale dealers of the State of Illinois purchase these unfair brooms, labeled with the name of the said dealer, thereby misleading the retail dealer as well as the consumer, and

WHEREAS, The union label of the International Broom and Whisk Makers Union is the only mark by which the products of free labor may be distinguished from that of prison labor, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor endorse the blue label of the International Broom and Whisk Makers Union and urge all union men and women and their friends to demand and insist on getting brooms bearing the blue label of the I. B. & W. M. U.

WILL R. BOYER,
Local Union No. 29,
I. B. & W. M. U.

The committee recommended concurrence. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 11.

WHEREAS, The State of Illinois, now being engaged in the manufacture of brooms, shoes, shirts and other products for sale on the open market, in the State Prison at Joliet, and representatives of the State of Illinois are soliciting trade and quoting prices which the manufacturers employing free labor must meet or lose the trade, thereby causing the product of this convict labor to have a depressing effect upon market prices and,

WHEREAS, All goods sold by commercialism, the lowest price making the price for all as long as the cheapest article is on sale, and inasmuch as the prison labor product fixes the price, a depressing effect is being felt in these industries in the State of Illinois and manufacturers employing free labor are thereby deprived of a profit and labor is forced to work at the very lowest wage, under this competition, and

WHEREAS, Fred J. Kern, President of the State Board of Adminis-

tration, whose official position places him in a position to know the facts, stated at a conference of the State Economy and Efficiency Committee, held in Springfield, August 12th., as follows:

"The penitentiaries cannot turn out goods fast enough to supply the inmates of the other State Institutions, men and women have to go to their meals in some cases in their night clothes because of lack of clothing," and

WHEREAS, The laws of Illinois covering the employment of convicts provide that goods shall be made for the various state institutions, after all state institutions shall have been supplied, surplus convict labor may be employed as follows: 40 per cent of the prison population may be employed on state account in the manufacture of articles to be sold on the open market by the State, and

WHEREAS, The statement of the President of the Board of Administration indicates a violation of the present laws governing this subject, therefore, be it,

RESOLVED, That the system of employment of convicts in the manufacture of goods for sale on the open market in competition with free labor as indulged in by the State of Illinois is unfair, and with a view to overcome these abuses and for the protection of free labor, it is urged that this system be abolished, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the executive Board of the Illinois State Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to have drafted and prepared for introduction in the Illinois Legislature, a bill which shall provide for the prisons of Illinois and the entire abolishment of the 40 per cent clause, and be it, further,

RESOLVED, That, inasmuch as the prisons of other states are selling the product of their convict labor in the state of Illinois, that the said bill shall provide that all prison or convict made goods, either made or sold in the State of Illinois shall be stamped or labeled, "Convict Made," and that a penalty shall be provided in the said bill, for the sale, by any manufacturer, wholesale or retail deal-

er, of any convict-made goods not so stamped, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the Illinois State Federation of Labor stand instructed to put forth every effort to have such bills passed by the next session of the Legislature.

MARY ANDERSON,
Boot and Shoes Workers,
WILL R. BOYER,
Broom & Whisk Makers.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution. A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Boyer: I think it is time the State of Illinois takes some steps to abolish the sale of brooms and other articles made in prisons on the public market. I find in Joliet prison this administration has established a plant for the manufacture of brooms, which is in violation of the law. They have the very latest and most improved machinery for sorting corn, sewing brooms, and in fact everything necessary to manufacture 150 dozen brooms per day, and they are sold on the market below what free labor can manufacture them. Two hundred dozens were shipped into Chicago recently and sold for two dollars a dozen, although they cannot be made by free labor for less than three dollars a dozen.

Some years ago the Illinois State Federation of Labor recommended a law that was adopted whereby goods manufactured by convict labor in the various state institutions could not come in competition with free labor. For some reason that law was changed; the officials of the state of Illinois made no attempt to live up to it. This system has been recommended by all those who have investigated the matter over the country. Collis Lovely, of the Boot and Shoe Workers, recognized that as the very best system of employing convict labor. Broom makers, shoe workers and other trades that meet with competition are entitled to some relief. I hope the Executive Board and the Legislative Committee will do all in their power to give us some relief.

Delegate Jones: I cannot see why the state of Illinois should allow prison-made goods to be shipped into the state from outside. Such goods can now be shipped in from any state in the Union. As long as that is permitted we cannot prevent prison-made goods being sold on the market. Illinois can ship to other states. As soon as the state stops the importation of prison-made goods other states will do likewise. Then we will be forced to stop the manufacture of prison-made goods to be placed in competition with free labor. The resolution provides for putting a stamp on prison-made goods shipped into the state. Why permit them to be shipped in?

Delegate Kearney: The state of Illinois or any other state cannot prohibit bringing in such goods, because it interferes with interstate commerce, I believe some years ago there was a resolution presented in one of the A. F. of L. conventions to make this an act by Congress, and until such time as we get that through I do not think there is a possibility with any state interfering with interstate commerce. When I attended the Sedalia convention of the Missouri State Federation of Labor convention in 1907 I had a resolution pertaining to that. It went from there to the American Federation of Labor, and I believe the delegates from this convention should be instructed to present a resolution along that line to the American Federation of Labor, in order that we may be able at some future time to block the importation of prison-made goods from other states.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 12.

WHEREAS, The United States Broom & Brush Co., Cylbourne Ave. and Cortland St., Chicago are the only broom manufacturers in the United States employing girls and women at tying and sewing brooms, and,

WHEREAS, The girl employees of this factory have been compelled to submit to the most terrible conditions, conditions such as all fair minded

men and women will resent; flesh brushed from the hands of a licentious man in whose power they were, if they wished to hold their jobs, and jobs they must have if they wished to live; indecent language that cannot be repeated, suggestions that were vile, indecencies repeated; indecent suggestions and foul language so common that they became almost hardened to them, are the things that these poor girls were compelled to submit to and if a protest was made their jobs were threatened, and,

WHEREAS, William Wright, the foreman of this factory, was convicted in the Morals Court of Chicago, of having taken indecent liberties with and using lewd language toward these girls employees, Judge Goodnow in passing sentence declared:

"Some people believe that because girls are foreigners any language may be used in their presence so long as they do not understand it. That is a mistaken idea. They are as keen and quick to understand indecent language and actions as other girls and such an atmosphere is not conducive to morality. It will have an effect on their character that later be harmful.

"The fact that these girls did not make the complaint until they were on strike from this factory has nothing to do with the case. They claim they made no complaint to the President of the company because they were afraid of losing their jobs.

"My experience has been, that is usually what happens if a girl does complain of such things. She must either endure them or quit. And if they had brought the case into court before they were on a strike, they undoubtedly would have been out of a position anyway."

This conviction of this indecent foreman being convincing proof of the statements of these girls, and,

WHEREAS, The United States Broom & Brush Co., having retained this foreman in their employ after his conviction on these charges, thereby giving their approval to these indecent and inhuman actions toward these girls employees, and,

WHEREAS, The firm of Butler Brothers, large dealers in brooms, after having been informed of this mis-

treatment of girl workers and asked to discontinue patronizing the unfair U. S. B. & B. Co. continue to handle the products of this firm who retain in their employ men who would pollute the minds of innocent girls, because they were defenseless and unable to protect themselves, and,

WHEREAS, It is incumbent on us who represent the toilers of the State of Illinois, to protect the girls who are compelled to toil shoulder to shoulder with us from indecent and licentious attack of those who not alone take the fruits of their toil but seek also to take their virtue and self respect, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled declare the United States Broom & Brush Co. to be unfair for retaining in their employ a man of this character, and be it, further,

RESOLVED, That the firm of Butler Brothers, Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Dallas Texas, Milwaukee and New York be placed on the unfair list of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, that the Secretary be and is hereby instructed to send a copy of these resolutions to all affiliated organizations and to all State Federations of Labor and to the American Federation of Labor, and be it, further,

RESOLVED, That all central bodies in the State of Illinois be requested to appoint a committee to wait on all dry goods and notion dealers and inform them of the attitude of Butler Brothers and that if they desire the patronage of organized labor, they refrain from dealing with Butler Brothers until such time as they take a stand for morality and decency in the employment of girl workers.

ROLAND ADAMS,

Local Union No. 377,
Carpenters & Joiners, Alton, Ill.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the incoming Executive Board.

Delegate Boyer: The United States Broom & Brush Company was placed on the unfair list by this Federation two years ago. Since that time we have made every effort to

organize this factory. About two months ago the girls were asked to attend a meeting for the purpose of organizing. They were notified by the firm that any who attended that meeting would be discharged. We had fifteen or twenty of those girls attend, the foreman hiding across the street and taking their names. The next morning he discharged them for attending the meeting. The rest of them came out on strike. We are fighting this firm for having mistreated those girls, not alone by paying them starvation wages, the only factory in the United States employing women and girls in the sewing rooms, the wages about one-third what is paid in other factories, and the girls working for four, five and six dollars a week, doing work for which union broom makers receive eighteen to twenty-four dollars.

The treatment received by those girls was something horrible. The court in passing sentence on this man stated that, for the protection of working women and girls, it became necessary to enforce a penalty upon him. The fact that these girls have been mistreated in the manner they have has led us to prefer to put them out of business rather than make a settlement with them. We believe a firm that would sanction the action of this foreman and others in the factory is unfit to be in business in the state of Illinois.

When the trouble first started we asked committees of various organizations to wait on the customers of this concern. We asked Miss Mary McDowell to wait on Butler Brothers. She called on the manager and explained the conditions under which the girls were employed. He said he would investigate and if he found there was anything to it they would quit handling the brooms. He did investigate. As a result an injunction was issued and we were forbidden to call on their customers, send out circulars, write letters or in any way make an effort to secure decent and fair conditions for those women and girls. After the injunction was issued Butler stated they had investigated these conditions and found our statements were untrue. He said they had

called on the foreman and the foreman denied the statements, that this foreman was a good church man and it was impossible for him to do these things.

The court took a different view of it and he was convicted. Now we are asking that the organized labor of Illinois call on their drygoods stores and notion dealers and urge them not to buy of Butler Brothers until they stand for decent conditions for the working women and girls of Illinois. I am satisfied with the recommendation of the committee; I know the Executive Board will give all the assistance they can to carry on this strike.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

President Walker: Butler Brothers is the only firm in the state, I think, that when they got an order from a co-operative store for a bill of goods, with a check accompanying the order, returned the order and check, with the statement that they would not sell to any co-operative store under any circumstances.

Resolution No. 13.

To the 33rd Annual convention of The State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Murphysboro Egyptian Brick Co. has been placed on the unfair list by the Murphysboro Trades Council, the Herrin Trades Council and by various Local Unions throughout southern Illinois, and

WHEREAS, The said company manufacturing Egyptian brick have tried in various ways to mislead the public and organized labor to the belief that they are fair, by employing unscrupulous and self-interested persons who distort the facts and misrepresent the company's attitude toward organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The said brick company is operating a non-union or scab brick plant and has discharged all employees who jointed the labor organization, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor assembled in regular convention instruct the secretary to send a communication to all

affiliated organizations, to the effect that the Murphysboro Egyptian brick are scab made and on the unfair list.

L. E. Jacobs, Herrin, Ill.,
Hugh Willis, Herrin, Ill.,
A. T. Pace, Herrin, Ill.,
Abe Hicks, Herrin, Ill.,
A. G. Hearn, Murphysboro, Ill.,
Thos. Murphy, Murphysboro, Ill.,
Jake Wilson, Murphysboro, Ill.,
Pete Summers, Murphysboro, Ill.,
Arch Adams, Carterville, Ill.

The committee recommended concurrence. A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Willis: Does the recommendation of the committee provide that this body go on record placing that firm on the unfair list?

President Walker: It instructs the secretary of the State Federation to send a notification to everybody affiliated with us that they are on the unfair list.

Delegate Kasten: The resolution does not ask this Federation to put them on the unfair list, but to notify the affiliated bodies that the company is on the unfair list of central bodies in the southern part of the state.

President Walker: This will mean placing them on the unfair list by the Illinois State Federation by implication.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 14.

The people of the State of Illinois, represented in Senate and Assembly, do wish to enact the following law, for the benefit of those who have to use the Automatic Hammers; inasmuch as it causes a general breakdown of the nerves, as well as deafness, heart failure, paralysis, and death:

"It shall be unlawful for any person, persons, or corporation, foreman, superintendent or manager thereof, to require or permit any employee in their or its service, to use any automatic hammers, whose piston stroke

exceeds three inches in length and one and one-sixteenth in diameter, in the operation of which it is necessary to resist the recoil and vibration of the stroke by the pressure of the hands, arms or body, unless there is another competent hand to assist in operation of said hammer. This assistant shall be an able-bodied man of sufficient experience so that if necessary he may take turns in operating, with the assistance of the other operative, these hammers.

"Any person or persons, corporation, foreman, superintendent, or manager thereof, violating the provisions of this act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be fined in the sum of not less than fifty dollars, nor more than five hundred dollars or imprisonment in the county jail for not less than three months nor more than one year, at the discretion of the court, for each separate offense.

"Every day an employee is allowed or required to violate the provision of this act, by operating without help, one of these aforementioned hammers, shall constitute a separate offense."

JOHN BARRY,

JAS. B. KEENAN,

JOSEPH HATTAY,

Local 22, Boiler Makers Union,
Danville Ill.

The committee recommended non-concurrence, and recommended the proposers of the resolution to draw up a law to present to the legislative committee.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 15.

WHEREAS, The primary and essential need of the promotion and future well being of the great cause of organized labor depends upon the education of the workers to recognize and demand the union label, that infallible guide to intelligent purchasing of the necessities of life, and

WHEREAS, The apathy and indifference of the workers toward the union label is due to the failure to comprehend its true significance, and

WHEREAS, The rank and file of

workers in the state look to our parent body, the Illinois State Federation of Labor, for guidance and the promotion of our mutual interests along this line, and

WHEREAS, We feel that the Illinois State Federation of Labor should create, maintain and support, both morally and financially, a department for the furtherance of the label cause; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, establish, maintain and support a department in its body to be known as the Union Label Department; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board be and is hereby empowered to select a head of the aforementioned department.

Adopted and endorsed by Local Union 1910, U. M. W. of A., Harrisburg, Illinois.

J. W. VARNER,
President,
JOE McINTOSH,
Recording Secretary.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had been dealt with in the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports, and no further action was necessary.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 16.

WHEREAS, The WM. WRIGLEY JR. COMPANY, Manufacturer of Chewing Gum, does an extensive advertising business, and

WHEREAS, Said concern has about ninety per cent (90%) of their printing done in a strike bound house, and

WHEREAS, A representative of said concern stated that the people who used their gum did not care whether said advertising was produced under union conditions, or not therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this body place the Wm. Wrigley Jr., Co., on the unfair list, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated organizations be notified of this action.

Signed,

Chicago Typographical Union No. 16,
 German Typographical Union No. 9,
 Bohemian Typographical Union No. 330,
 Norwegian-Danish Typographical Union No. 272,
 Swedish Typographical Union No. 247,
 Polish Typographical Union No. 546,
 Mailers Union No. 2,
 Printed Bookbinders Union No. 8,
 Blank Bookbinders Union No. 25,
 Bindery Women's Union No. 30,
 James William, Electrotypers Union No. 3,
 Sterotypers Union No. 114,
 Pressmen's Union No. 3,
 Arthur W. Smith, Web Pressmen's Union No. 7,
 Franklin Union No. 4,
 Printer Roller Makers Union No. 1,
 Photo-Engravers Union No. 5,
 Paper Rulers Protection Union No. 26.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the incoming Executive Board for action.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 17.

To the Illinois State Federation of Labor,
 GREETING:

WHEREAS, The present insecurity of employes together with the bread lines in every large city, is a blot upon our civilization, and

WHEREAS, We believe the duty of organized labor is to use every effort in its power to abolish such conditions or at least ameliorate them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Trades and Labor Council of Lincoln, Ill., beg leave to submit to your honorable body as a step in this direction the enactment of an eight hour law by our State Legislature, and urge that this convention instruct its legislative committee to draw up an appropriate

law and urge its adoption with all the vigor at its command.

TOM PARRY,
 Delegate.

The committee recommended concurrence. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 18.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-second Annual Convention.

WHEREAS, Since the operation of the Compensation Law in this State it has become the practice of some corporations operating under said law to discharge all employes beyond a certain age limit, and

WHEREAS, It has become the custom of said corporations, before employment is given to applicants, to have them undergo a strict physical examination, and

WHEREAS, The purpose of the above is to secure a lower insurance rate for all employes against accident, and

WHEREAS, We believe the burden of supporting all such cases should be placed on the industry, inasmuch as such tactics help to swell the unemployed ranks, we firmly believe that the only remedy for such evils is an old age pension fund; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we empower our legislative committee to work for the passage of an old age pension law in this state.

PETER POWALSKI,
 President,

PETER GRUBISH,
 Secretary,

CARL CASTENBEIN,
 PETER DONNELLY,

L. U. 620, U. M. W. of A., LaSalle, Illinois.

The committee recommended that the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the Legislative Committee.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 19.

Peoria, Ill., October 20, 1914.

BE IT RESOLVED, That the con-

vention favor universal text books for the schools of Illinois.

PETER KOWALSKI,
President,
PETER GRUBISH,
Secretary,

CARL CASTENBEIN,
PETER DONNELLY,

Local Union 620, U. M. W. of A.,
LaSalle, Illinois.

The committee reported that the subject matter of the resolution had already been dealt with in the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports and no further action was necessary.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Neer: I move that the Committee on Law now have an opportunity to report. (Seconded and carried.)

Report of Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 59.

To the Officers and Delegates to the twenty-second Annual Convention GREETINGS:

WHEREAS, Many questions of vital importance to the Trade Unionists of Illinois come up before the executive Board of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Such as strikes or the outcome of industrial conflicts, and

WHEREAS, Funds for the protection of the workers are very necessary, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Article 12, Section 6, last sentence be stricken out. The section reads as follows: "This fund shall not be used for other purposes."

Respectfully submitted,
Jock Miller, 1782 U. M. W. of A.,
Hugh Willis, 1248 U. M. W. of A.,
Ed. Carabine, 208 Machinists,
L. E. Jacobs, Herrin Trade's
Council.

The proposers of the resolution requested its withdrawal. The request was granted.

Resolution No. 23.

To the Thirty-second Annual Convention of Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Article 5, Section 2 of

our constitution deprives members or delegates of central bodies from acting as delegates to conventions, when said central bodies pay tax to State Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That any delegate of a central body be eligible as delegate to the State Federation of Labor conventions.

PETER JONES,
Delegate LaSalle Central Body.

The committee recommended non-concurrence. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 41.

To the Illinois Federation of Labor,
GREETING:

We respectfully submit the following for your approval, Article 7, Section 2, Insert after the word Secretary the following words "and finance committee" also insert in the same article, same section in the fifth line after the word "year," "He shall not leave the State without the authority of the executive board."

Article 8, Section 1, Add to paragraph the following: "It shall also be the duty of the Vice-Presidents to act as a finance committee to pass upon and approve of all bills other than contract bills before same shall be paid."

Respectfully submitted,

J. L. QUINN,
Aurora Trades Assembly,
C. A. TOWNSEND,
Aurora I. B. E. W. Local 461,
L. W. HEALY,
Kankakee Central Body,
WM. PRIDDY,
Local No. 34, I. B. E. W.

The committee recommended non-concurrence. The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The Committee on Law reported further:

**Tentative Plan of
Electing Illinois State Federation of
Labor Officials by Refer-
endum Vote.**

**Submitted by Executive Board, in Ac-
cordance with the Action of
Decatur Convention.**

Springfield, Ill., August 12th, 1914.

ARTICLE II.

Section 1. The President, Vice-President, Members of the Executive Board, Secretary-Treasurer, Auditors, Tellers and Delegates to the American Federation of Labor conventions shall be elected by a referendum vote of the members, except as elsewhere herein provided, the candidates for the respective positions receiving a plurality of legal votes cast, shall be declared elected, except as restricted by Sections 1 and 2 of Article 13.

Sec. 2. The term of office of all officers shall begin April 1st following their election.

Sec. 3. The next election of officers shall be held on or before the second Tuesday in December, 1915, and the officers elected shall serve for a period of one year, and future elections shall be held on the second Tuesday in December of each year thereafter.

Sec. 4. All members in good standing in all Local Unions of the organization on December 1st of each election year, shall be entitled to a vote. Central Bodies, District and State Organizations will be entitled to cast as many votes in electing officers as they are entitled to delegates at the annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Sec. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare nomination blanks and send them to the Local Unions not later than twenty weeks before the date of election, and the Local Recording Secretary shall fill in the names of the members nominated by the Local Union for the various offices and forward the same to reach the Secretary-Treasurer's office not later than fifteen weeks before the date of election.

Sec. 6. The Secretary-Treasurer shall within ten days thereafter, notify all members who have been nomin-

ated, and ask if they are candidates, but no person shall be notified or be a candidate who has not been nominated by three or more Local Unions.

Sec. 7. Any nominee, in accordance with Section 6 of this Article, who desires to become a candidate, must have his official notice attested by the officers of his Local Union and return said notice to the Secretary-Treasurer at once.

Sec. 8. The nominee filing his acceptance with the Secretary-Treasurer shall be allowed to withdraw his name.

Sec. 9. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare ballots, giving the names and places of residence of those accepting nominations, the name of the Organizations of which they are a member, also showing the positions for which the various nominees are candidates, and forward them to the Local Unions in sufficient numbers to supply each member not later than four weeks prior to the date of the election. Two "Tally Sheets," one "Return Sheet," and one envelope for "return sheet" must accompany the ballots sent each Local Union.

Sec. 10. Local Recording-Secretaries must notify their members not later than one meeting prior to the dates set for the nomination and election of the officers.

Sec. 11. Each Local Union shall designate at a regular meeting of the Local, where its election shall be held, and the place so designated shall be the official voting place of such Local Union, and under no circumstances, shall the votes of any local be tabulated in any place other than the place designated by the Local Union, and no member shall be allowed to interfere with the official tellers during the tabulation.

Sec. 12. No member shall be allowed more than one vote for any candidate nor shall the Local Tellers record the vote of any member who is not present at the time the election is held except officers, organizers and workers in the field away from home, whose votes shall be recorded if sent to the Secretaries of their respective Local Unions.

Sec. 13. Each Local Union shall elect from among its own members a

committee of not less than three nor more than six, three of whom must be the Local President, Financial and Recording Secretaries, to act as Local tellers, whose duty shall be to supervise the election, and when requested, instruct the members how to vote, and tabulate the votes cast by the members for the different candidates, and enter on the "Return Sheet" furnished by the Secretary-Treasurer for that purpose, the total number of votes cast for each candidate. The correctness of the "Return Sheet" must be attested with the Local Seal and signatures of the President and Recording Secretary of the Local Union.

Sec. 14. Should it be proved that more votes are recorded on the "Return Sheet" than were actually cast by the members, the entire vote of the Local Union shall be thrown out by the Tellers, and those responsible for the fraud shall be punished as hereinafter provided.

Sec. 15. After the votes have been tabulated and the "Return Sheet" attested, it shall be turned over to the Recording-Secretary, whose duty it shall be to see that the "Return Sheet" is properly attested, enclosed in a special envelope furnished by the Secretary-Treasurer's office. "Return Sheets" reaching Headquarters after December 22d, shall not be tabulated by the Tellers.

Sec. 16. The envelope for "Return Sheets" furnished the Local Unions must have the name and address of the Secretary-Treasurer, and the following printed thereon: Election Returns — From L. U. No. _____ of whatever organization it is a part. It shall be the duty of the Local Recording-Secretary to insert the number of the Local Union.

Sec. 17. When the "Return Sheets" reach the Secretary-Treasurer's office, he shall examine the envelopes to see if they are intact make a proper record of their receipt, and deposit them, unopen, in a securely locked receptacle provided for that purpose.

Sec. 18. Before turning the "Return Sheets" over to the Tellers, the Secretary-Treasurer, with the Tellers, must check them with the record made upon their receipt, and the Sec-

retary-Treasurer shall take the Tellers' receipt for all "Return Sheets" turned over to them.

Sec. 19. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be absolute custodian of the "Return Sheets" from the time they reach his office until turned over to the Tellers and during the interims of tabulation.

Sec. 20. The member who is not a regular attendant of the meetings of his Local shall not be allowed to act as a Local Teller of election. Note: The terms "Regular Attendant" shall mean a member who attends at least one-half of the meetings of his Local Union six months just previous to the election.

Sec. 21. The Tellers shall not count the votes of any Local Union that has cast more than the number of members such Local paid per capita tax on to the Illinois State Federation of Labor for the three months preceding the one in which the election is held, unless a satisfactory explanation for so doing accompanies the "Return Sheet" of the Local Union so voting. Neither shall they count the votes of any Local Union that is not in good standing with all branches of the organization or whose "Return Sheet" is not attested as required by Section 14 of this Article.

Sec. 22. All contests in connection with the vote of any Local Union must be filed with the Tellers not later than ten days after the date of election by some responsible and reputable member of a Local Union.

Sec. 23. In case no plurality vote is cast for any of the candidates for some office, another election shall be held for that particular office.

Sec. 24. Local officers of all Local Unions shall be required to carefully preserve all ballots which have been cast for officers by their respective Local Unions for a period of six months after the date of election.

Sec. 25. No member other than the Local Tellers shall be allowed to loiter around the voting place or to interfere in any way with the election of any Local Union.

Sec. 26. Local Tellers shall be held personally responsible for any irregularities that may take place in their Local Unions during the election of

officers.

Sec. 27. Any Local officer or Teller failing to obey the laws regulating election, or any member or members, interfering with Local officers or tellers during the discharge of their duties in connection with elections, or any member or members resorting to dishonest or questionable practices to secure the election or defeat of any candidate for office, shall be tried by the Executive Board and fined, suspended, or expelled, as the magnitude of the transgression may warrant.

Sec. 28. Upon the signed request of ten per cent (10%) of the entire membership, the Secretary-Treasurer shall send out a petition to each Local Union for the recall of any officer guilty of malfeasance. Said petition to accompany charges for which a recall is asked, and defense of those charged. If within thirty days after the petition is sent out, thirty per cent (30%) of the entire membership send a signed request to the Secretary-Treasurer, the Executive Board shall call an election for the recall of any officer charged. Said election to be held in accordance with the election laws of this organization.

Respectfully submitted,

Board Members.

THOMAS KELLY,
JAS. P. TRENCH,
JOS. W. MORTON,
GEO. B. JENKINS,
ALOIS TOWERS,
WM. M. CHILES,
L. A. ALLTON,

First Vice-President.

JOHN M. IRISH,

Second Vice-President.

MICHAEL J. WHALEN,

Third Vice-President.

J. H. WALKER,

President.

J. F. MORRIS,

Secretary-Treasurer.

Delegate Woll, for the Committee, read the following report upon the proposed initiative and referendum law for the election of officers of the State Federation:

Majority Report.

"Your committee has given this proposal careful consideration. We are

of the opinion that in attempting such a fundamental change in the organic laws of the Illinois State Federation of Labor as is contemplated in this proposed plan of nominating and electing officers of this Federation, that extreme care and caution should be exercised.

"We are mindful of the fact that there is a strong and growing demand for the initiative and referendum among trades unionists generally as applied to our state and national government agencies; but we are also mindful of the further fact that there is a great difference of opinion among trades unionists as to the advisability of applying this mode of election to a federated body of trade unions, in itself a voluntary association without power of discipline and whose units likewise are governed by the voluntary acts of their members.

"We hold that all affiliated local unions should first be given a full opportunity of studying and explaining themselves not only on the application of the principles involved in this proposal, but likewise to participate in a final consideration of the procedure outlined and contemplated in the initiative and referendum plan submitted.

"While it is true that the proposed plan has been sent to affiliated unions, it is equally true that many of our affiliated local unions have not had the opportunity of considering this draft.

"Then again, your committee directs your attention to this important fact, that the proposed plan will of necessity require a rearrangement of the rules of election of affiliated local unions, and we hesitate in bringing forth any recommendation for your approval which will end in chaos and confusion. Instead your committee recommends what in its opinion it deems is advisable at this particular time, that the tentative plan of the initiative and referendum proposed be referred to all affiliated unions for consideration; that all affiliated unions be instructed to file the expression of their members on this proposal with the secretary of the Illinois State Federation of Labor no later than March 31, 1915; and that the secretary of the Federation compile these expres-

sions of affiliated unions and present same to the next coming convention of the Federation, on the first day of the convention, so that this coming convention may ultimately and finally dispose of this proposal.

"We further recommend that, pending further action on this proposal and change in the method of election of officers, that Article VI, Section 1, of the constitution, be amended so as to have the entire section read as follows:

"That the election shall take place the next day and be conducted by the Australian ballot system of election, the polls to be opened at eight o'clock a. m. and closed at twelve o'clock noon."

"Two members of the committee dissent from these conclusions and recommendations."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee as read.

Minority Report.

"We, the undersigned portion of the Committee on Law, recommended concurrence in the tentative plan of election as proposed by our Executive Board members.

A. T. PACE,

W. T. CHRISTOPHER."

Delegate Christopher: In consideration of the fact that it is the expressed desire of the labor movement all over the state to have the initiative, referendum and recall in all bodies, and as the Decatur convention referred the matter to this convention, and the Executive Board went them one better and sent it out to all the affiliated locals, we favor the adoption of the tentative plan. If you concur in the report of the majority of the committee you will have the same proposition before you next year. It will come back with all the compiled reports of the locals and this convention will have to decide whether we are to have the initiative, referendum and recall, and the same proposition that was put into effect in Illinois.

A majority of the people of this state wanted the initiative, referendum and recall, but their representatives

voted it away from them. If you adopt the majority report you will leave it to the next convention whether the members of organized labor will have the initiative, referendum and recall in their own affairs. That is why the minority report is submitted. The rank and file of the organized men in Illinois say they want the initiative, referendum and recall, and I don't think any body of men here have a right to take it away from them. I therefore move the adoption of the tentative plan proposed. (Seconded by Delegate Pace.)

President Walker: That is a motion to substitute the minority report for the majority report.

Delegate Pace: The opponents of the referendum in the election of officers of the State Federation of Labor believe in a referendum on the referendum. If we are going to have the referendum in the election of officers we would like to have it during our lifetime; at least if we cannot have it this year delaying the matter, evading the issue. The State Federation of Labor has in all instances either evaded the issue or put it off another year. The principle of the initiative and referendum has been adopted since the Rock Island convention in 1910. We asked the state legislature to give us the initiative and referendum; we asked the American Federation of Labor to give us the initiative and referendum, and we believe in submitting such documents as this back to the dear ones at home for a referendum, but we do not, if we adopt the majority plan, believe in electing men that represent us by referendum. The fight that has been made against the initiative and referendum is always made to prolong discussion, kill it in committee room, or put the issue off another year.

The minority of the committee honestly believe in carrying out the mandates of the last convention which met at Decatur, and that means to adopt this tentative plan that the Executive Board that was elected last year, after careful consideration, drafted and signed and sent out to the local unions of Illinois. While it is true that some locals may not

have received it, it may be said again next year that some of the locals have not received it. If the local unions were to vote 250,000 for the tentative plan and 50,000 against it, and elect 500 delegates to go to Alton next year, they would have the power under the majority report to throttle the will of the people, it would be left to them whether the people at home would have it.

Let us have a real referendum, put it in force and give it a trial. I don't think any officer who runs for office in the Federation should be afraid to risk the men who pay the per capita tax that pays his salary. It may be said all the membership do not know the candidates for office. That may be said of the delegates also. In politics a few men can manipulate a convention. The referendum at least is a step in advance of the old system of politics.

Practically every sentence in the tentative plan, so far as it relates to the referendum, is embodied in our organic law. In the mine workers organization we nominate by referendum and elect by referendum. The same plan will work equally well in this Federation. This plan was drafted and sent out by the officers of the State Federation of Labor and we ask you to accept it. It has no effect upon the officers elected at the present time but it will have an effect next year. Even if the will of the people is suspended under this plan it will be another year before it will go into effect, because the majority plan says we will have another election next year under the same system we had yesterday. It is a principle that has been endorsed by several state Federations of Labor. The plan that has been submitted is safe, and it one at least a majority of us can agree on. We think it should be adopted by this convention.

Delegate Fitchie, Teamsters: As a member of the committee I want to say we went over the matter very carefully. There was conclusive evidence produced before the committee that several local unions had never received a circular or copy of the plan. Now these brothers who are opposing the recommendation of the committee

believe in the referendum; yet they want this delegation to accept a plan at this time without sending it out and giving the people a chance to vote upon it by referendum. I don't believe that is fair. I believe this plan should be submitted to the rank and file. Live up to the principles of the brother who just spoke and give the members a chance to vote on it.

In the last convention Brother Wright made an amendment to the motion that the Executive Board formulate a plan and submit it on the first day of this convention. For some reason a misconstruction was put upon that and the Secretary, Brother Morris, sent it out with the call; but we have positive evidence some of the secretaries never received it. There was nothing embodied in the motion providing it should be taken up between the last convention and this; it was to be submitted on the first day of this convention. I believe the committee in its recommendation is living up fully to the amendment to the motion that was carried in the last convention. I further believe the recommendation of the committee is the only thing that any one who believes in the referendum can vote on at this time.

Delegate Straube: As one of the committee I would not talk on this subject were it not for some of the statements made by those bringing in the minority report. We ought to report at this time. We all recognize that to do anything in haste is to sometimes repent at leisure. While I will agree that under certain conditions delays are sometimes considered dangerous, at the same time there is no one within the sound of my voice who will not concur in the statement that delay is productive of reflection, and I would like to raise this pertinent question at this time. If the experience gained by other organizations who have tried out the referendum must be utterly and entirely ignored? If so, the attitude of a body that refuses to be guided by the experience of others along a line that may mean a great deal to them in the future, is a rather peculiar one, to say the least.

We considered this matter fully. We recognize that if the Laws Committee was desirous of giving an expression of an opinion in line with the referendum idea and the fundamental principles involved, the only course of action left open to it was to say that the executive officers, having complied with the instructions of the previous convention, it is but fair that the rank and file of the organizations affiliated shall have an opportunity in true referendum style to pass upon the proposition as submitted and tender their votes in accordance with the judgment of the respective organizations.

And yet we find a peculiar condition arising, where the claimed champions of a measure of this character stand absolutely opposed to the introduction of a proposition which is a referendum, pure, plain and simple. They talk about delay. I want to bring to your attention this undeniable truth. Assuming the proposition is acted upon along the lines of the minority report and some of the organizations object to any one clause, if they have proved by experience that it is not workable under existing conditions, by their refusal to accept any one clause the proposition as a whole would fall of its own weight. It would not leave it open or subject to amendment unless referred back to the next convention.

The object of the majority report is to forward what every one desires, a free expression of opinion from the rank and file, and after that has been obtained to pave the way for a situation to enable those in the position to tender amendments and offer suggestions that would lead to a betterment of the plan to do so. I believe the officials of this institution in offering this did not expect that it was absolutely perfect because I don't know of a solitary instance where the crude efforts of one or two men would be accepted in that light; and they recognize, in submitting it to this body, that amendments might be offered that would better the plan they had in mind. The only way to achieve that laudible end is to adopt the majority report on this proposition and prove by our actions that we are not

uttering mere idle platitudes when we talk about the beauties of the referendum and the democratic principles involved. I therefore hope and trust the majority report will be adopted and the minority report turned down.

Delegate Carlson: I feel the minority report ought to be accepted and sent out now for a referendum vote of the affiliated local unions and central bodies, and should they in their wisdom adopt the proposition it should be incorporated into the law and stated in the report.

I therefore move to adopt the minority report as the will of the convention, and that the matter be sent out at once for a vote of the affiliated unions, district councils and central bodies. (Seconded.)

Delegate Hall, Mine Workers: The proposition before the house that has been submitted by the minority members of the committee is nothing new. This matter came up in the last state convention and a number of the delegates who are opposing it at this time have had time to consider it. We are asking the legislature for the initiative, referendum and recall. If that is what you stand for, why don't you adopt it in your own organizations and in the State Federation of Labor? I happen to be a member of the miners' committee that has gone to the legislative halls and asked that this all-important thing be granted the people of the state. Now before we can consistently go in their and make such a demand you must adopt it in the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

I am heartily in favor of the minority report. It is along the lines we are working in our organization, and if it's good enough for the United Mine Workers of Illinois it is good enough for any other organization in the state. You are not only putting the miners' legislative committee up against it, but putting Walker up against as the head of the State Federation.

Delegate Jones: Our national organization hasn't the initiative, referendum and recall. This plan was read in our organization but we took no action on it. I am satisfied if you adopt it our people will be satisfied,

they will be willing to give it a trial. The United Mine Workers have the initiative, referendum and recall and from what I learn it works very satisfactorily with them. They constitute a large majority of the laboring men of the state of Illinois, and I think if they can get along with it all right it will not hurt this body. I don't think it will cost us any more than our present system of electing officers. While it will be new to me and to our people, I am pretty well satisfied they will be willing to give it a trial.

Delegate Bloom, Garment Workers: I have been instructed to vote and work for the referendum, and I am going to do it. I believe to put off this question is simply giving another chance to strangle it. I don't believe in that. Grasp the situation when you have it. Now is your chance! Slip it over!

Delegate Nockels, Chicago: The initiative and referendum works out all right wherever you have police power and where you can punish any abuse of it; but I believe it works different in a body that is composed of different organizations of different crafts. The Illinois State Federation of Labor is a voluntary organization. Organizations can affiliate or withdraw their affiliation. It is hard enough to get them to affiliate. Where an organization is voluntary, where you cannot discipline, where you have no power over the election or the conduct of it in the different organizations affiliated with a body of this kind the initiative and referendum is not so easy to put in force.

This matter has been taken up in the American Federation of Labor and there it has been most thoroughly discussed. I can realize that where an international organization of a craft, having full power over its affiliated local unions, in the event of a local going wrong or having fraud in the election can suspend that local, expel it or expel members of the local. But you haven't that power in a body of this kind. The majority of the committee seems to be afraid of the very thing they advocate. I don't know but what it will be better for the advocates of the initiative and refer-

endum to have more discussion and agitation. It is true it has been delayed, it is true it is a vital matter and an important matter to the labor movement, and that is just the reason why there should be no hurry in reference to it, just the reason why you should give it all the publicity possible. If argument is worth anything that is just the reason we should not be in a hurry in this matter.

Delegate Mercer: I am in favor of the minority report. A year ago we met in Decatur and took up the same proposition we are discussing here today. We took it up and referred the proposition to the Executive Board of the State Federation with instructions to draft a policy covering the matter that was therein contained and refer it to this convention. That Board represents the different branches of organized industry over the state, and after they had considered the proposition and had drafted a policy they had it printed and sent out to the local unions. That is the plan that has been submitted here. At least 90 per cent of the members have had an opportunity already to consider this proposition and to instruct their delegates as to the action they wished them to take in that regard. If any local union that has received this proposition has had a chance to act upon it, if the delegates here representing those local unions, knowing this proposition would come up at this time, has not ascertained the position of the locals and the members it is his own fault, because they ought to know it and be ready to act upon it at this time.

In the past we have been demanding from the state legislature that they inaugurate the initiative, referendum and recall; but we ourselves have been taking a position exactly antagonistic, entirely inconsistent with the thing we have been demanding of the legislature of Illinois. We have been demanding that laws be enacted for us embodying the initiative, referendum enough yet, we have not shown confidence in it ourselves to adopt the same proposition in our organization we are demanding be adopted for all the people of Illinois.

There may be, as has been said,

some local unions that have not received this proposition. It has undoubtedly been sent out to the mailing list of the Federation. If you put it off for another year and submit it to a referendum vote the chances are there will still be some locals that will not receive the communication. The fact that a few local unions have not received this proposition we are discussing here is no reason at all why we should not consider it at this time when we know a large majority at least have received it.

Men have been criticised for favoring this policy, they have been told they were opposing this referendum. They are not. This is not a referendum at all. No matter whether it is carried or lost you elect your officers the same next year as you have done this year. Then you bring it back to the convention to consider the thing you vote on. This is the convention to consider the thing you vote on. That is the referendum we are trying to get out; that is the referendum you have in the law bodies of this country, where you refer a thing to the referendum and after you have voted on it you find it is only a recommendation and not a referendum at all.

I am in favor of the minority report. Almost every local that has known this was to come up at this time has favored it. We have demanded it in the Illinois legislature year after year, and I am in favor of taking it up now and adopting this policy. I am in favor of the referendum and always have been, it is not a new thing it does not need any police power to enforce it. I have a better idea of the union spirit that exists in the federated labor bodies of this state. It is not a matter of forcing something on somebody that doesn't want it, it is a matter of a majority rule, pure and simple. Those who are here seeking the sentiment of the respective organizations just as they do it in conventions of their own trades or crafts.

Delegate Shelton, Street Railway Men: I am in favor of the majority report, because the recommendation of the majority of the committee puts into practice the fundamental principle of the initiative and referendum of

which we are talking. The minority report denies that referendum to the rank and file of the members of this State Federation, they will not be given a chance to express their views on the subject. I am here today representing 2,000 carmen in the city of Chicago. They have not had a chance to vote on it. I believe they should have a chance to vote on this question. There is no man in this convention who believes it should be done according to the principle of giving every man affiliated with the Federation an opportunity to express himself. Let us put into practice what we preach. One of the delegates said, "Slip it over!" Yes, and if it is done today it will be a "slip over!" for the rank and file of the labor organizations in Illinois.

Delegate Cook, Teamsters: I have heard so much about the referendum and recall I believe I will say a few words myself. In my opinion the initiative, referendum and recall is a bulky piece of machinery and the agitation is only used for men to get up in the convention and have themselves heard. The idea of men trying to use machinery that can hardly be handled in conventions is nonsense. We should simplified our voting methods when the elective system was introduced, instead of going out and voting individually they introduced the system of ballots. That is what we ought to do today, instead of trying to crowd more work on ourselves and the men elected to come to the convention you ought to condense it. The men who send us here sent us to transact certain business. What is the use of taking that back to the local and having them vote on it when they send men here to do it for them?

Delegate Woll, Secretary of the Committee: If I were not under the impression that most of the delegates misunderstand the motion before the body at this time I should refrain from saying anything in behalf of the majority report. But I understand only too well a motion to substitute the minority report for the majority report, while not parliamentary, will morally bind the delegates in the final voting on this proposition. Hence I

oppose the motion to substitute the minority report for the majority report, to oppose the minority and favor the majority report.

The statement has been made that an effort has been made to block this proposition—"Let us slip it over!" And yet the delegate who made that statement will call himself an advocate of the referendum! Why, it is the pinnacle of exercising delegated power at conventions! He is a much better advocate of taking final action in conventions than he is of referendum means.

Your committee considering this proposition—I want to say frankly there are a number of them opposed to the referendum system of electing the officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and for very good reasons—in justice to the advocates of the referendum, in order to give all men a square shake, gave away our own opinion in the matter and agreed the whole proposition should not be decided by the delegates of diverse views, but let the rank and file at home determine for themselves how hereafter they want to elect the officers of this Federation.

And, as I said, we have very good reason for our views. Mention has been made that we advocate the initiative and referendum in our body politic, in our state and national government. It is true we do, but the state and national body politic is an entirely different institution from the Illinois State Federation of Labor. We are a voluntary association of trade organizations. Note its composition: Local unions of international unions, central labor bodies and federated bodies, and I think some federal local unions. Your referendum system, to start with, will inaugurate a dual system of election, and we will give organizations who are in central bodies the power of voting twice for the same office. In other words, our local unions in Chicago may vote for officers in the local union and then we may go into the Chicago Federation of Labor and vote for the same set of officers. That applies to all your organizations, instituting a dual system of electing officers.

Any one who understands govern-

mental functions, who knows the work of the science of government also knows those functions are entirely different from the function of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Really, what are our functions? Purely to seek legislation and to give the various trades organized support in their organizing work, and to aid in organizing the unorganized workers. The Federation does not deal with strikes, it does not deal with lockouts, it hasn't that power. It does not deal with the employment of the individual man, that power is left to your local and international organizations. The Federation has no power to pull any man out of his position. It has no function but to seek legislation and assist in organizing. Compare that with the functions of the state that deals with every activity of ourselves, our families and our homes—and then to say the same rules must apply seems to me most absurd.

We favor letting the rank and file express an opinion upon that proposal. Are you advocates of referendum willing to do that? Are you willing to let the rank and file determine whether they want a referendum system or not? If you are, then agree with us, even those who are opposing the idea, and let the rank and file determine it. It has been suggested that we refer this proposal to the membership and say their vote will be final and the next convention will take no action on that proposal. If it were possible to obtain a satisfactory opinion and action by so doing, willingly would I acquiesce in that thought.

I hold in my hand this referendum containing twenty-eight distinctive proposals, twenty-eight separate provisions, and I ask you to submit that to six hundred organizations, ask them to determine on all these twenty-eight proposals, and I say the final result will be a matter of confusion unless the next body delegated here will take up the views of the various organizations and endeavor to write them on average lines and bring about a referendum system satisfactory to at least a majority of the organizations. Attach your proposition to make this a final adoption and you will

kill the very thing you want done, because one union will approve of it with this amendment, another with a new section added to it, another by striking out a section, and then when you come to decide what is binding there will be nothing but chaos and confusion.

I hope I will be given a little time on this proposition, because I am endeavoring to represent the committee in their views. There are men of vast experience in the labor movement who have given this subject of electing officers by referendum a great deal of attention, men who have been advocates of referendum, and who by experience have found that while fine in theory, ideal in theory, in practice it is one of the worst elements in the program of labor organizations. The American Federation of Labor itself in Rochester gave this subject matter considerable attention, and by a large vote determined that the referendum system as applied to that organization was not desirable. President Gompers, and I cite his opinion only as one, because I know there is a school that differs with President Gompers in his viewpoint, but I hope those who do will at least have patience while I read his view on the matter, and then I shall read the viewpoint of a man who represents the other school in the labor movement, to see what they think of the referendum system as applied to trade organizations, and then to let you men determine what you want to do upon these matters—Samual Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, says:

"If you should adopt the referendum system of electing general officers, it would be in the power of the capitalist press, with their millions of dollars, and the corporations, with their billions of money to flood the country with their billingsgate and attacks upon officers they would want to defeat. How could an honest trade unionist counteract that? How would it be possible to counteract it?"

And it needs no words of mine to say that if the public press can control the election of officers of this organization they will not hesitate to do so. Elect your officers by ref-

erendum and you will find the daily press throughout the state using its influence to throw support to such candidates as will favor the capitalistic interests.

Now let us read the viewpoint of a representative man of the other school of thought in the labor movement, Carl Legien, Secretary of the German Federation of Trades Unions, know to many of you. Carl Legiene, says:

"The idea of the referendum system in the American labor movement! You can do it if you want to, but in Germany we don't turn the job over to apprentices. In Germany, where we have the most compact movement and unity of the rank and file of the officers and the great membership, they have confidence in election in conventions, not only in the German Federation of Trade Unions, but in every international union."

There you have two representative men of two distinctive schools in the labor movement, both agreeing as to the absurdity, the danger of voting for officers in the labor movement by a referendum system. And to add to the opinion of Carl Legien I want to quote briefly from "The Call," a Socialist paper published in New York City, as to what they have to say in reference to the referendum system of electing officers of labor organizations. It follows a long editorial attacking the "democratic fetich," as it termed the referendum system, and denying it served the purpose it was supposed to serve.

The Call says: "The total number of those actually voting may be, and frequently has been, only a minority of the total party membership, so that the question is really decided by a minority of the minority. This is the democratic fetish in actual practice. It is a perversion of democracy which no true democrat is bound to respect."

All experienced men in the labor movement, at least those we point to as the leaders in these various thoughts in the labor movement, all agree the referendum system of election as applied to the labor movement is not proper and should not be encouraged. But, despite all that,

despite all those opinions of your committee, we felt we wanted to be fair to our report and let you decide this question for yourselves. You may have the votes here, you may "slip it over," but you are doing something contrary to the principles you so strongly advocate. We ask you to carry out your own feeling, abide by the principle you stand for and say: "I am willing to let the rank and file determine this question, even if it takes a year or longer."

Your committee realizes that our present system of election is faulty. We experienced in this, as in prior elections that practically a half day of our time is taken which could be devoted to practical work of the convention. We therefore recommend that until this organization changes its mode of electing we institute the Australian system, which can well be done in an ante-room, with polls established, and the delegates remain in session and carry on the work and expedite business.

I will have nothing further to say on this matter. I have given the opinion of our committee, I have given your their views and my own. Now I leave it to this convention. I ask only this, that if you are truly democratic, if you are true advocates of referendum, give my organization, give the organizations of all those represented here who have not considered this subject matter an opportunity to consider it. Let our union and all other unions see how they must rearrange their election system to comply with this. I know it means a change in our organization and in other organizations. Give the organizations that have spent time and money building up their systems, that have had equal troubles to those we have had here in shaping their election system, if they desire to do so, an opportunity to alter the systems to meet that desire.

Delegate Golden, Teamsters: I move that we close debate. (Seconded but not carried.)

Delegate Feinberg, Garment Workers: We are sent here for the purpose of legislating for our local unions, and in the past three days we have trans-

acted a great many things of vital importance. When a majority have ruled I did not hear this brother get up and say: "How can we accept this or that proposition if there are some locals that oppose it, why not take this proposition and bring it before all the local unions and let them send back their opinion on it?" In every organization a majority rules. If a majority says they want this or that thing, it is accepted. I believe we can work on that theory in this matter.

I venture to say you will find very many members of local unions who will oppose the referendum. We did not receive this communication of the referendum in our local, but still I am positive that was the talk of the day. Everybody was talking about it. I heard remarks—"How can we go to work and have a referendum vote by a great big body like this, composed of different locals and different crafts?" How can we demand the referendum vote for judges and other officials of the government, composed of so many different nationalities and crafts? They will put up the same argument we are putting up here.

There is a stretching and spreading of unionism among the rank and file. At this day the rank and file, the plain, ordinary men working in the shops, are confined to one craft. If I am a garment wroker I know nothing but my own craft, I don't know much about the others. By voting for the president and other officers of the organization we can put the proposition before the people, and every girl and every man will come in closer contact with the members of other crafts. It will leave an opening for every member of every local to come in closer contact, not with its own organization, but with all crafts and all nationalities, and therefore I say we should not get away from this but go to work and vote for the minority.

Delegate McDonald, Mine Workers: I want to agree with the statement made by my friend Delegate Well, of the committee, in one thing, and that is when he said if we advocate of the initiative and referendum we should be willing to submit the matter to the rank and file of the mem-

bership at home but Delegate Woll and the rest of the opponents of the initiative and referendum should be willing to abide by a vote taken at home without having it brought back here to be passed on and take up the time of the next convention.

I believe in absolute democracy in the labor movement, and I want to say as one who has held continuous office in the miners' organization for over twelve years, if a majority of the rank and file don't want me to hold this position I don't want it, because I could not make a success of my work if they could come into a convention, three hundred of them, and elect me when the other 79,700 would oppose me at home. If Delegate Woll and those who oppose this proposition are willing to submit this to the rank and file at home to vote on it, I think I can say for the 80,000 Mine Workers of Illinois there will be less than 500 votes out of that number in opposition to the initiative and referendum. And I am willing to have that done if it is considered advisable. Let the rank and file decide this question, but don't put it off for another year and then come in and ask for further time because there are some extenuating circumstances.

Delegate Woll says this is a voluntary organization. Granted that it is. This voluntary organization of the American Federation of Labor has been on record for years and years as favoring the initiative and referendum in the election of our public servants. They are also on record as being in favor of the recall. If we are true advocates of the initiative and referendum, if we are true advocates of the recall so far as it applies to men holding political office, if we are honest with ourselves, we ought to be willing to let it apply to our officers in our organizations and set the pace.

It is said here that great leaders in the labor movement of this country and elsewhere have decided the initiative and referendum would not work. I happened to be a delegate to the Rochester Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Delegate Woll refers to, and one of the fellows who opposed the referendum gave it away when he asked: "What

would the miners out in the West know of a granite cutter in the East? How could I get elected?" If we are fair about this matter, let us give the rank and file a chance to say who will administer our affairs in the organization. It may be argued that many of the rank and file are not familiar with the men in the labor organizations, but there is only one good way to get them acquainted, let them study the record of those men and cast their ballots in accordance with the dictates of their own conscience.

Reference is made to a statement of Carl Legien, a fellow socialist of mine. He has been trained in a different school from ours; he is not living in a republic; he has not had a chance to vote for the president of Germany, because they still have an emperor, and if he and the other Germans had a chance to vote for a president and had a say so in this disgraceful, mad emperor's action, there would not be a controversy going on over there such as there is now. It is perfectly natural to assume that in countries governed by a king or an emperor the individual has not been trained, as the American citizen has, to study out this proposition and vote his sentiment when it comes to the election. It is true they have been brought up in a different school, and it is natural to think they would assume that position.

I had the privilege of attending an International Mining Congress held a year ago in Austria, and I noticed the attitude of the British and German workers was entirely different on the question of a vote. The chairman would say, "What do you think about it?" They would say "Aye, Aye, Aye," and it was carried. They did not have a motion or anything like that. I said: "Your method of doing business is entirely different from ours." And they said: "Oh, well, that is the way we do it over here." I don't want that incorporated here. If you want those things "made in Germany" I don't, I want the American plan.

Reference has been made to a statement of Mr. Gompers. Mr. Gompers and I do not agree. I have got to admit he has been in this game longer than I have, and has perhaps

more pronounced views than I have, but we have had experience in our organization; we have tried both ways. We tried the method of electing you have here. We pursued the same plan. If I was a candidate for office I would try to get all the delegates from the locals in my district to the convention so I would get elected. That has been done in Federation conventions time and again, and the time that should be used in trying to legislate for the workers has been used in many instances to legislate some fellow into office or out of office. Everybody who has attended conventions knows it to be true, and it does not apply to one side more than it does to the other, because it has been practiced pretty generally. If we are true advocates of the initiative, referendum and recall, if we actually mean it, we ought to be willing to put it into practice.

Another objection was that a man might have a right to vote in his local union and would go into the central body and vote again. As I read the report it says in the central bodies they shall be entitled to the number of votes they are entitled to delegates in the State Federation. That is not a vital factor when we consider the large membership we have. If we want to go into this matter and try it out we ought to be willing to adopt this proposition in this convention, or submit it to the rank and file, let them pass judgment on it and abide by the result of their vote. So far as the miners are concerned, for a number of years we tried the method of electing in conventions. There was a general complaint from delegates who attended the convention, and I know there was ground for it. As soon as I reached the convention I would be met with, "Come and have a drink." I would say I didn't want a drink, and "Well, have a cigar." When I went to the first convention of the State Federation of Labor I happened to be put on a steering committee with Ed Besette and others to manipulate the election machinery. We did a good job, we put our man over. We worked nights at it. I said that was the last time they would get me on a job of

that kind, and ever since I have been advocating the referendum.

We have had the referendum in the miners' organization for years. If it were submitted to the miners tomorrow less than 2 per cent would be willing to go back to the old gang method of election. We have nomination blanks sent out; every local has a right to nominate a man for every position; the nominations are sent in, counted by the tellers, and the man receiving the highest number of nominations is put on the top, and so on down. If there is a contest and two receive the same number, the man receiving nominations from locals with the largest number of members is given the highest place. A letter is sent to each man nominated; if he accepts, his name goes on the ballot if he is in good standing and his local is in good standing. When the election comes every member gets a ballot. The local committee of tellers counts them in each local. They have to keep the ballots a certain time, and when the convention convenes, instead of taking up time listening to electioneering speeches, as we used to do, the tellers simply come in and announce the result of the vote.

We had men who did not have a very good standing in their own home towns and district so far as trade unionism qualifications were concerned, who would come into the convention, make a big, high-sounding speech of what he would do to the employers, get elected, even though he was not fit to serve in any office. I do not say that applies to the State Federation, but it applied to us. As the largest single organization affiliated with the State Federation, we want it put into effect here, and not only here, but in the American Federation of Labor. When that is done I will be satisfied whether my fellow is elected or the other fellow. Give the membership a right to say who will hold office, and do that without sending a delegation to do electioneering. When this federation adopts that policy and comes here and devotes all the time to legislation for the workers we will accomplish better results.

One reason I quit going to the Federation conventions for a while was

because I got tired of that system, got disgusted. When we can take the other method, giving men at home a chance, when the first day of the convention arrives and the tellers read their report we can get down to business and do business. This other method has not been a success and never will be. So far as opposition to the initiative and referendum is concerned, it is like every other method that has been adopted from the beginning of time, men have said: "We are not ready for it." When steam was first spoken of as motive power they said: "It won't work, let us continue the old stage coach method." They had to stand aside. The men who stand in the way of progress are always run over by its wheels, and we see their wrecks all along the way. If trade unionism means anything it means that we keep abreast of the times. The great question being agitated today is the election of our officials by the initiative and referendum. Let us elect them in that way and if they are not true to their principles recall them from those positions.

President Walker: Ordinarily in the past—I don't think there has been any exception—where a majority submitted a report and the minority submitted a report along with it, and a motion has been made to substitute the minority for the majority, when it was carried, the minority report was declared adopted. Brother Woll called my attention to the fact that the motion if adopted simply meant substituting the minority report for the majority report for the consideration of the convention. It seems common sense, that is what the motion states on its face. I believe it would be well to consider that phase of the matter, and if the convention desires to substitute the minority report for the majority it will bring it properly before the convention for discussion and action. I talked with Brother Christopher, who made the motion, and he said the sense of his motion was as I have stated, that if the minority report provided for by his motion was adopted by the convention it would be submitted back to the rank and file for a referendum vote of every organization affiliated with

the State Federation of Labor, except that the tellers or the auditors would canvass that vote. It is intended that it shall be in at a certain time. If a majority of the vote is favorable to the adoption of this plan the next election will be held in conformity with it. I want to make clear that the intention of the minority is really to submit to the membership this plan for a referendum vote and let them say whether or not they want to adopt it. If a majority declares in favor of the plan it will govern the next election of officers in the State Federation of Labor.

Delegate Woll, Secretary of the Committee: There are two men who dissented from the majority report of the committee. It is true the delegate Brother Walker has spoken of has that viewpoint in mind, but the other delegate who dissented from us was opposed to that idea and wanted the question settled by this convention, I think it is only fair, if the other proposition is carried, to let the convention take a vote on that proposition.

Delegate Harding, Typographical Union: If the proposition of the President is accepted it will remove every valid objection that has been raised at this session to the election of the officers of this body by referendum vote. For the life of me I cannot understand the argument of those men who come into this body and oppose the referendum on the ground that it has not been considered and discussed sufficiently. I thought the convention of the American Federation and the labor organizations generally had gone on record time and again in favor of the initiative, referendum and recall. Every argument that has been advanced here this morning against the proposition, and every argument that can be advanced against this body conducting its business under the referendum principle is being advanced and has been advanced in the legislature and by everybody else and by every interest that has been opposed to the adoption of that principle.

I was very much interested in the arguments used by the last speaker with regard to facilitating the business of this body. Everybody who has

attended any of these sessions knows that we put in three or four days log rolling for office. That is plain talk, but we all know it is true. I don't say this convention is different from any other convention. Every convention I have attended has been characterized by the fact that for three or four days we simply log rolled for the election, and then for about five or six hours in the closing hours we did business.

I believe, Mr. President, the minority report should be adopted, and whether you adopt it to go into effect now or whether you adopt it with a provision that it will be adopted after being submitted to the membership is immaterial to me, because I think I know how the rank and file generally will vote on this proposition. I don't see how I can vote against it, or how the organization I represent can vote against it.

Delegate Christopher: Mr. Chairman, believing as I do in the initiative and referendum in all its cardinal principles and realizing that as some of the delegates say their locals did not receive one of those tentative plans, the minority report is to concur in the tentative plan and refer it to the membership. I have been talking to the other minority member. I am willing now to abide by the will of the rank and file at home. I think the amendment to refer to the rank and file should have been considered. If the rank and file say they want it we cannot oppose it in the next convention. I am willing to refer it, provided it is decided that the next convention cannot throttle what the rank and file want.

Delegate Gentry, Machinists: I rise as one opposed to the referendum system of election of officers or anything that will get it back to the rank and file. It seems to me, while the proposition is a good one so far as an individual craft organization is concerned, in an affiliated body of this kind it offers too many possibilities of getting something you are trying to get away from. It seems to me it gives two or three large organizations in this state a power over the small organizations they cannot pos-

sibly overcome. It looks to me like a possibility of electing officers from four or five organizations and getting absolutely nothing for the smaller organizations.

I belong to an organization affiliated with a central body with a little over a hundred men, and if we want to put up a man, if we had the brightest man in the world to put up for an office in this body we would have no chance at all. The great organizations have a craft feeling and they would get together and work against the interests of the man from the smaller organization; he would have no chance, even though he were the best man and the most intelligent in the organization. I am opposed to the referendum in any kind of delegated body; I don't believe the membership at large over the state of Illinois can by any possible means know who is the best man to elect to an office of this Federation unless they meet him personally and know him personally.

So far as the machinists' organization is concerned, I don't believe we would know that John Walker is a better man than somebody else for president, but if the majority of this delegation wants the referendum I don't believe in settling it here, you should be consistent and refer it back to the rank and file. Another thing that was said was that it would facilitate the business of the convention. It seems to me you ought to be consistent and have this wonderful number of resolutions and laws we change every year submitted to referendum, so that we would get a complete opinion of the rank and file instead of a delegated body and do away with this convention in the future.

Upon motion debate was closed.

Delegate Fitchie: Are we to vote on the minority report?

President Walker: The motion is to substitute the minority for the majority report. If that is carried then we will vote on the minority report itself.

Delegate Fitchie: If it is carried will it carry with it that the next convention will have absolutely nothing to say about this?

President Walker: The motion pending now, if adopted, will bring before the convention the minority report. I am not quite sure under parliamentary usages whether the motion to close debate adopted will prevent an amendment of the minority report when it is brought before the convention. The chair will rule, however, that the motion to close debate is only on the motion to substitute the minority for the majority report.

The motion to substitute the minority for the majority report was carried.

Delegate Woll, Secretary of the Committee: I want to make a brief statement, and that is this: The majority committee recommended that the question be referred to the local unions, but that their action should not be final. As I understand, there is a feeling here that it ought to be referred to the local unions, and I am pleased to note that the strong advocates of the referendum favor that viewpoint. I sincerely hope that all those who favor submission of this proposition to the local unions will avail themselves of this opportunity to express their feelings on the referendum proposition, not to adopt the report of the minority here in this convention, but to amend and refer it to the local organization and then their action will be final.

We refrained from making such a recommendation because we felt confident that in the final result there would be confusion. However, if the delegates want to assume that responsibility the committee does not want to be blamed with that responsibility, and we care very little what you do with it. I feel the delegates who advocate the referendum ought to make this amendment.

Delegate McDonald, Mine Workers: I move that this question be submitted to the membership of the various local unions, and that the vote be taken on the basis outlined in the proposition submitted by the minority report, their action to be final. (Seconded.)

President Walker: I believe it will be necessary to put a limit on the time the returns will be in the state

office so that the officers will know how to act in providing for the election of officers next year. I believe there is so much time, if this convention adopts this motion, that it can be submitted immediately to the local unions from the state office, or as soon as we get the printing in shape to do so. Possibly the month of January would be well enough to select. Have the returns in by the end of January and have the auditing committee go over the returns. If a majority favors it the organizations can be notified.

Delegate McDonald: In view of the fact that it is difficult for us to pass now on the time required to get this printed, sent out and get the returns back, I would like to include that that matter be left in the hands of the Executive Board of the State Federation, as they are in a better position to determine when they can be got out. I will add that to my motion if there is no objection.

Delegate Pace: If we vote on the referendum will we vote as a whole?

President Walker: The plan is outlined. The central bodies will have three votes. The individuals in the other organizations will vote.

Delegate Pace: There are twenty-eight sections in the plan. Will it be voted on as a whole or by sections?

Delegate McDonald: The intention of my motion is to have this proposition in the printed pamphlet submitted to the membership as a whole.

Delegate Pace: I am heartily in favor of Delegate McDonald's motion.

Delegate Straube: Merely to clear up something in the minds of the delegates—you say in submitting this to the local unions they would either have to accept the tentative plan as a whole or reject it as a whole.

President Walker: That is the interpretation given by the mover of the motion.

Delegate Harding: Is it the understanding that when this proposition is sent to the local unions a uniform ballot prepared by the Executive Board will be sent out?

Delegate McDonald: That was my intention, because that is the only way we can get the vote of the membership. That is the policy pursued by a number of organizations.

President Walker: There is only one possibility of confusion in that matter. I don't know that there is really any good ground for making the statement, but it has been whispered that some local unions are not really paying per capita tax on all their membership, and there may be some trouble in determining which members of those unions will have the vote.

Delegate McDonald: We have had that experience ourselves, and it is a good way sometimes to find out if they are paying on the whole membership. If they vote more than they are paying on the whole vote will be thrown out.

President Walker: I want to say I have no reference to the Typographical Union in my statement.

Delegate Thomas, Mine Workers: If this carries, will it be in effect in the next election of officers?

President Walker: The chair is not quite clear on a certain matter. I was under the impression if the rank and file adopted this tentative plan by their vote when it was submitted to them the plan would govern the election of the officers for next year for the Federation. There seems to be some difference of opinion as to whether that is correct or not. Some of the delegates seem to think it will simply decide for future elections, but the next convention will elect the officers by the old method. I have no particular interest either way, don't care a continental, but I want the convention to know clearly what it means.

Delegate Woll, Secretary of the Committee: If this proposition is submitted to the referendum vote I don't see how you can legally elect the next coming officers under this plan. To start with, irregularities may occur in the election of this referendum proposition.

President Walker: I believe as there is a difference of opinion on this matter, it should be decided by a vote.

Delegate Harding: I move that it is the sense of this body that the present officers remain in office until their successors are elected in accordance with the provisions of this proposition. That will mean they will remain in office until the first of April a year from next April. (Seconded.)

President Walker: That is, provided this plan is adopted by the local unions by a referendum vote?

Delegate Harding: You have got to make a break somewhere and I think you can make the break safely in that way, because the next election will be after the meeting of this body.

Delegate Neer: I rise on a point of information. If the election of officers and the term they will be in office is a constitutional provision it cannot be changed by vote.

President Walker: A constitutional provision cannot be changed by the ordinary vote, but a matter being considered in this way and being actually determined by a vote of the entire membership would really take precedence over any other authority in the organization.

Delegate Jones: Are we considering the amendment offered by Delegate McDonald or the substitute for the minority report?

President Walker: We are considering the motion made by Delegate Harding as a subsidiary motion, really interpreting the motion offered by Delegate McDonald. If this motion is voted down the next officers will be elected by whatever system you decide here. If the referendum system is adopted the officers will be elected by the referendum the next time.

Delegate Jones: It is my opinion you cannot entertain that motion now; it should be entertained after we act on the motion of Delegate McDonald.

President Walker: It is a distinction without a difference, really. You have heard the motion that, provided the referendum vote is adopted, the present officers stay in office until their successors are elected by referendum vote according to the provisions of the tentative plan.

Delegate Fitchie: It would not change the date of the convention at all?

President Walker: No.

The motion offered by Delegate Harding was carried.

President Walker: The question now falls on the adoption of the substitute offered by Delegate McDonald, that the tentative plan be submitted to the referendum vote of the membership of all affiliated organizations, and that the time of submitting it and the time limit of voting be left in the hands of the Executive officers.

The substitute was adopted.

Delegate Swavnig, Bartenders: As the representative of the bartenders and cooks and waitresses of East St. Louis, I will enter a protest against all but international locals voting on this proposition. We believe that a trade unionist is entitled to only one card. We are not allowed to select our occupation until we are over twenty-one.

President Walker: That matter is not disposed of and the brother is not in order to further discuss it at this time. The only men who will be entitled to vote are the members of the local unions. The vote from the central bodies is minimized until it almost a negligible quantity.

Delegate Swavnig: If there is a referendum in a local of the street car men and some of the members hold cards in another organization they can go there again and vote on the same proposition.

President Walker: If they are paying dues in both places, financially at least, they would be entitled to cast two votes. Morally they would not be, and I think there are so few cases of that kind it would not affect any election. In fact, I am almost sure there would not be any of it.

Delegate Swavnig: Half the musicians hold cards in other organizations.

Secretary Woll, of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

"In addition to considering the several proposals referred to your Committee on Laws by the convention, your committee has given such time as was possible to a consideration of the constitution of the Federation itself, and we recommend the following amendment:

"Amend Article IV, Section 1, by substituting the word 'Monday' in place of 'Tuesday.'"

Upon motion the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

"We also recommend amending Article V, Section 2, by adding to this section the following: 'Nor deprive any affiliated local union in good standing of the right to select a member of another local union in good standing in the Federation of the same international union as its delegate.'"

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Woll: This simply gives recognition to a practice that has been carried on in this Federation. One local union that is not able to send a representative may be represented by a member of a sister local of that international union, provided both are in good standing.

Delegate Wright, Typographical Union: Does that mean a local in Chicago can delegate to a local in Alton the right to have a member act as proxy or substitute for the organization in Chicago?

Delegate Woll: As I understand the amendment, it would permit, if we had a local union in Chicago that was not able to send a delegate to the next convention, the local union in Alton to represent the Chicago union if both organizations were in good standing in the Federation and that they were of the same international union. Yes.

Delegate Wright (E. R.): I cannot see the justice of a proposition of that kind, and I can see where it would work a great detriment to this organization. For instance, one of the big locals in the city of Chicago

represented here by one man, under this change in the constitution could deputize the entire organization in Alton or vicinity to come in and cast the votes of that organization. And what would apply to one organization would apply to another. My organization, for instance, is entitled to 31 delegates. It would be a simple matter for us and would save us a great deal of expense, although not as much as it would some of the other organizations, to merely turn over the credentials from a dozen organizations in the state to all the men we could bring in from Alton and vicinity. You would have more printers in the convention than you have ever had before. We have, I believe, about fifty unions in the State of Illinois, and every one of our organization is entitled to from 1, 2 and 3 up to 30 votes. If you are going to adopt a proposition of that kind you will have all the printers represented. And the teamsters will all be there, because they will delegate to the men in that vicinity all the votes of that organization. The cigar makers and every other trade would do the same thing. I don't believe in the change. I believe the organization that is paying the freight will be the organization to send its delegates there. I am opposed to proxies in the labor movement. I believe the only man who is entitled to cast a vote is the man who is paying for it. I don't believe in any other policy. I hope the report of the committee will not be carried.

Delegate Allton (W. A.): I may understand the recommendation of the committee. Last year at Decatur we turned down, or the convention turned down, by a very decisive vote a representation of a local organization that might not be in position to attend the convention. It meant that the organization, notwithstanding its financial condition, might have a full voting strength in the convention. It did not mean that power would be delegated to some other organization of a like craft in a different part of the state to carry its votes. I am afraid the enactment of this clause into the law would mean the establishment of a lot of rotten boroughs over the state that might in the future

wreck the State Federation. If there is good in the plan you ought to take it up for consideration at some future time when there is a larger representation than there is this morning. It is entitled to full consideration on the part of every one. I am afraid it would have the effect of allowing the community where the convention is held to dominate the convention.

Delegate Pace: The intention of the committee was not to have any political maneuvering in any convention; it simply meant that if there was an organization that had paid its per capita tax and was entitled to a delegate, but was not financially able to send a representative, that organization could transfer credentials to some officer of the same organization. The proposition of the delegate who spoke is absolutely absurd. The typographical union of Chicago, No. 16, is entitled to 31 delegates. It would be absolutely impossible for them to have 31 men in Alton for 1915 without paying them. It would be impossible to get sixteen laboring men to attend the deliberations of a convention for one week when they were working without pay. If an officer in the miners, the typographical union, or any other union wants to take credentials from a local union not able to send a delegate this would not debar them. The same qualifications for delegates is embodied in the law that has been in the past.

Delegate Fitchie: The committee had no idea of doing anything that is not right. To my knowledge, heretofore delegates have come in representing other organizations. We found the law did not draw a distinct line with reference to that matter, and we brought it before the convention so that in the future when the point is raised as to whether a delegate should be seated or not we will have a definite law to cover it. A delegate stated that if an international officer or organizer could represent some local that could not send a delegate he believed that should be allowed. That was the idea of the committee. We do not believe the practice will be abused in any way whatsoever.

Delegate Freeman, Teamsters: I am opposed to any union or anybody else voting by proxy if they are paying per capita tax into the organization they should be represented. If a resolution of that kind goes through this will not be a convention of the state federation, it will be a meeting of the locals in the towns where the conventions are held. Locals in Chicago and other cities will be able to deputize members of the locals in that vicinity to represent them, and save money by doing it. I believe this convention should be made up of delegates from the different cities as it has been in the past. Let them send their representatives there, because the delegates from the North, the South, the eastern and the western parts of the state tell each other conditions in their localities. I am opposed to any such action as recommended by the committee.

President Walker: The chair wants to make a statement on this matter. I don't think the delegate that introduced the amendment really intended it to mean what it actually does mean as read by the committee. I don't think this convention will take the position that any local union that is paid up and in good standing hasn't the right to select whatever member of that organization, whether a member of that particular local or not, if they know him and he is a member of their union and they would like to have him represent them. I think that was all the gentlemen who introduced the resolution really wanted to have defined in the law so there could be no question about it. The amendment goes farther, it means that if adopted every local in the state can transfer its right to send a delegate to some other local union. That local union would not only be sending its own quota of delegates, but would be entitled to send enough delegates to represent every other local in the state. I believe that would be a dangerous proposition.

Delegate Neer: I move that the words "coming from the same city" be added.

President Walker: If you would

offer the motion, "Provided that no local union can have credentials coming from it for a larger delegation than it pays per capita tax upon."

Delegate Neer: You have got to define, in order to prohibit having the convention flooded with delegates from the city in which it is held, something to show that the delegates must come from a city in which they are employed. Take a typographical organization in Chicago, and if they want to delegate some man outside of No. 16 to represent them in the convention they should have that right, but they should not be allowed to send a man from Alton, Illinois, to represent a Chicago local union. I am opposed to that, but I believe the organization of which a man is a member, coming from the city of which he is a member has a right to represent the craft he is a member of. I don't know why the resolution should have been put in. I don't believe there has been any objection to the practice that has prevailed in the past. I am a teamster and I have been seated in this convention as a delegate from a teamsters' organization other than the milk wagon drivers, and there has never been any objection to it when the credential was read off.

Delegate Woll: I can see a certain amount of danger in the proposal we have. I think, inasmuch as the practice heretofore has carried out the idea of those who proposed the amendment, it would be as well to leave the law as it is and table this amendment.

Delegate Hunt: I move that the proposed amendment be laid upon the table. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Woll, Secretary of the Committee, proceeded with the report, as follows:

"Having carefully considered all proposals submitted to your committee for attention, and having hastily perused the constitution of the Federation, your committee has become impressed with the advisability and necessity of a careful and studious revision of the entire constitution.

"Realizing that this is an important work, necessitating much research and painstaking study if we are to perfect the organic laws of our organization, and being mindful of the limited time at our disposal, we recommend the appointment of a committee by the President of the Federation to prepare a revised draft of our constitutional provisions during the coming year; that affiliated local unions submit whatever amendments they believe essential in a complete revision of our organic laws so as to fully and accurately express and protect the rights of all affiliated unions and carry out the purposes of the Federation in the most efficient manner possible, and reduce suspicion, friction and confusion to a minimum; that this committee submit its final draft of the revised constitution to the next convention of the Federation."

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Woll: That is the final report of the committee, which is signed:

ROBERT FITCHIE,
Chairman,
MATTHEW WOLL,
Secretary,
JOHN McGRATH,
N. BREVE,
L. P. STRAUBE,
W. T. CHRISTOPHER,
A. T. PACE,
Committee on Law.

Delegate Woll: I move the adoption of the report as a whole as amended. (Seconded.)

Delegate Kearney: The constitution says the selection of the next convention shall take place on Friday. I think that ought to be stricken out and leave it to the Committee on Rules of Order to provide for that. I move that Section 13 be stricken out. (Seconded.)

Delegate Pace: It is the intention of the Committee on Law to include all the changes that were reported on? There are things that will have to be done because of the action of the convention.

President Walker: Whatever constitutional matters were decided on by the convention, even under the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports and other committees that were not referred to the Law Committee, will be included in this constitution unless otherwise ordered.

Delegate Wright: Will that allow nominations for the convention city to be made at such time so that when the Australian ballot is taken at the next election it can be voted on at that time? Will striking this out allow the date of nominations to be set sufficiently ahead?

President Walker: It will leave out of the constitution any reference to the convention city and allow the next convention to determine in what manner it will dispose of that. I take it for granted the committee provided for by the adoption of the last motion will have that matter in mind and they will take care of it in future conventions, and because they have it in mind will be prepared to act upon it in such time and way as will dispose of it to the best advantage in the next convention.

The motion offered by Delegate Kearney was carried.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee as a whole as amended was carried by unanimous vote.

The committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Delegate Neer: Inasmuch as we have read only thirty resolutions out of nearly seventy, I move you that the unfinished business of the convention be referred to the Executive Board with instructions to dispose of it and have it printed in the proceedings, and when the convention stands adjourned it be adjourned sine die.

President Walker: Several committees have short reports that will be acted upon.

Delegate Blythe: I want to amend that the convention stand adjourned to 2 p. m. and that we consider the business before the convention.

President Walker: The amendment

is not in order, because it is a negative motion as applied to the motion made by Delegate Neer.

Delegate Blythe: Heretofore the principal business of the convention has been the introduction of resolutions that pertained to the advancement of organized labor and the labor movement throughout the state of Illinois. I feel these things should be settled by the delegates present. These resolutions were presented by delegates elected by the rank and file of the organizations they represent. They have come here with certain instructions in regard to certain proposi-

tions. We have as delegates from those bodies presented our resolutions, and heretofore we have had an opportunity to discuss them.

Delegate Morton: I arise to a point of order. The time for adjournment has arrived and I ask that the rule be carried out.

President Walker: The point is well taken unless the convention rules otherwise.

At 12 o'clock the convention adjourned under the rules to reconvene at 2 p. m. of the same day.

FIFTH DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2 p. m., Saturday, October 24th, President Walker in the chair.

Report of Special Committee.

Delegate Straube, for the Special Committee, reported as follows:

WHEREAS, The pioneers in the industrial field that have blazed the pathway which organized labor has followed to its present exalted and enviable position seldom are accorded that measure of recognition which the value of the service they rendered has earned for them from those benefitted by their labors and sacrifices, and

WHEREAS, Among the many names inscribed upon the roll of honor of those the organized labor forces of the State of Illinois are indebted for labor's progress in the state, none is better known than that of James F. Morris, who has served the Illinois State Federation of Labor as its secretary for the past thirteen years, and

WHEREAS, During the long period of James F. Morris's official activities the Illinois State Federation of Labor has grown from a small and insignificant aggregation of workers to an organization possessing a power and force that have materially influenced the shaping of state destiny through the establishment of a more progressive policy of humanitarian legislation and every form of industrial and civic improvement; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, regularly assembled in the Thirty-second Annual Convention, for and on behalf of the organized workers of Illinois, express to James F. Morris the sincere and heartfelt appreciation of Illinois trades unionists for the unselfish devotion he has shown in the discharge of his official duties and the advancement of organized labor's interests; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, copies be forwarded to the daily and labor papers for publication, and the same be illuminated, engrossed and presented in framed form to James F. Morris as an enduring testimonial of the esteem and regard entertained for him by the trades unionists of Illinois for services rendered.

MATTHEW WOLL,
L. P. STRAUBE,
WILLIAM CHILES.

Delegate Straube: I move the adoption of the report as read.

The motion was seconded, and carried by unanimous rising vote.

Report of Committee on Fraternal Relations.

Delegate Stevens, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee believes that the continuation and further development

of fraternal relations between our organization and the federation of organized workers of surrounding states, the Railroad Brotherhoods, and the organizations of farmers, is of very great importance to the welfare of the trade Union movement.

It is scarcely necessary for the committee to say that we appreciate the presence of the fraternal delegates from the Railroad Brotherhoods and from the Farmers' Grange and their participation in our deliberations.

We believe that the present relationship should be given every encouragement, to the end that there may be closer co-operation and a better understanding between the workers of the State, the industrial workers, including those on the railroads, and the agricultural workers, so that all may receive the benefit of progress that comes from united effort.

While everywhere our movement seeks the same end, the methods used vary to some extent in each State and we believe that some definite steps should be taken to secure greater uniformity in the legislative programs of the workers in Illinois and surrounding States, and we therefore recommend that the President be empowered and instructed to attend, either in person or by representative, any conference that may be held between representatives of State Federations of Labor, and, with the approval of the Executive Board, to arrange for such conference whenever necessary to further the interests of the organized workers of the various states.

We further recommend that the exchange of fraternal delegates be continued, and that the President be empowered to appoint members of the executive board to represent the Federation at State conventions of Labor in any of the surrounding States, and also to select representatives to act as fraternal delegates to the conventions of the Railroad Brotherhoods, the Farmers Grange, and to make every effort to bring these workers

into a closer relationship beneficial to all.

Respectfully submitted,
EVAN EVANS,
Chairman,
H. P. STEVENS,
MARGARET MELLON.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Report of Committee on Organization.

Delegate Gaude, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

We note with a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction that there has been a substantial increase in the membership of the Federation during the past year and we express the hope that this progress may be continued during the ensuing year. There are yet a number of local organizations in the state which are not affiliated with this Federation, and we recommend the continuation of the efforts already inaugurated by correspondence, and, when possible, by personal visits to secure the affiliation of such organizations.

In view of the fact that no resolutions were referred to the committee for action, we refrain from offering any specific recommendation, other than that already made, it being the general policy of the Federation, as we understand it, for the officials to promote organization on trade union lines wherever possible; and this, we feel assured, will be done during the ensuing year, as it has been done in the past year, to the fullest extent permitted by the means at the disposal of the Federation.

Respectfully submitted,
CHARLES GAUDE, Chairman,
EDWIN R. WRIGHT,
VICTOR A. OLANDER,
LYLE T. MacARTHUR,
HARRY WALDORF,
J. C. MONTGOMERY,
MARTIN F. NEWSTED,
Committee on Organization.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Report of Committee on Finance.

Delegate Allton, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 36.

WHEREAS, Carl E. Person, Strike Secretary of the Striking shopmen on the Illinois Central and Harriman Lines, was waylaid, slugged and beaten by an Illinois Central Scab, and

WHEREAS, Carl E. Person had to shoot and kill the Illinois Central scab in defense of his life, for which he was arrested, charged with murder in the first degree, and kept in jail for six months, and

WHEREAS, Carl E. Person had a trial at Lincoln, Ill., and was found not guilty, and

WHEREAS, The Illinois Central had Carl E. Person arrested on three other different charges, on which he will have to stand trial in the near future, and

WHEREAS, It is necessary to hire lawyers, and meet the large expense of taking the cases through the courts, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Danville Central Trades Council and Lodge No. 473 of the International Association of Machinists, that this convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor make a financial appropriation for the defense fund of Carl E. Person in order that he will be guaranteed a fair trial in the courts.

Resolution Committee, Danville

Trade and Labor Council,

EDWARD M. METHE

JOHN F. DEMLOW,

JAS. B. KEENAN,

H. A. WISE,

Lodge No. 473 I. A. of M,

C. B. ADAMS,

Local Lodge 22, Boilermakers, Danville, Illinois.

J. BARRY.

J. FLATTERY.

L. P. STRAUBE,

Chicago Fed. of Labor.

Delegate Allton: Your Committee on Finance recommends that an appropriation of \$100 be made for the Carl E. Person defense fund, referred to in Resolution No. 36.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Your Committee further recommends that \$200 be appropriated to the Women's Trade Union League

for organization work among the employees of state institutions, and that further requests be acted upon by the incoming Executive Board, which is hereby authorized to act upon such requests.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee further recommends that an appropriation of \$250.00 be made for the defense of the striking metal miners on trial at Calumet Michigan.

President Walker: The three men referred to are being tried for murder. The mine workers have a confession of one of the gunmen who was hired, that gunmen murdered those men so as to fasten the crime on the striking miners and discredit them. Their organization, because of that strike, is in exceedingly bad shape, and unless money is furnished from some source to defend them the chances are that three of them will be judicially murdered.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Allton: That completes the report of the committee, which is signed:

L. A. ALLTON, Chairman,
GEORGE B. JENKINS,
ALOIS TOWERS,
JOHN M. IRISH,
J. W. MORTON,
M. J. WHALEN,
THOMAS KELLY,

Committee on Finance.

Report of Label Committee.

Delegate Anna Fitzgerald, Chairman of the Committee, read the following report:

There being nothing referred to your committee on labels by this convention, your committee has attempted the task of making suggestions that will advance a movement that for years has existed in association with the general trade union movement of the North American continent. Perhaps no field of trade union endeavor has been more consistently and industriously tilled in the hope that

a new idea or a new method may be given life than has the field of union label propaganda. Every union that advertises its label has been anxious to make that label so well known and so persistently sought after that the results to the particular trades the label represents will more than justify the label's existence.

To suggest anything that is distinctly new is almost without human probability or reasonable expectation. It has been asserted so often it has become a platitude, but nevertheless a platitude worth reasserting, that if each individual member of the trade unions would expend his purchasing power in support of the union label, this instrument for the advancement of fair conditions, this sign of fair dealing and a decent wage, would be in such universal favor that it would be the most potent instrument for the advancement of the trade union cause. If this proposition is founded on the basis of truth, then it seems to your committee that the problem is to find the method that will interest the individual organized toiler, and to impress upon him that in order to be consistent in his trade union appeal and membership he must not only demand decent conditions of employment for himself, but he must insist on decent conditions of employment for his fellow worker.

In the opinion of your committee the appeal must be made to his trade-union consciousness. He must be reached with argument with example and with precept, and at every opportunity the lesson must be impressed on his consciousness and the idea inculcated into his trade union understanding that one of the best methods of asserting his trade-unionism and of exemplifying his consistency, a method always at hand, lies in the purchase of union-labeled products.

Your committee fully concurs in the views of the President in his report touching upon the necessity of a greater demand for the Union Label by the workers of our state and now that a special department of the Illinois State Federation of Labor is about to be installed and the duty of this department shall be to make a vigorous campaign to keep before the work-

ers the value of the Union label.

Your committee recommends that the Secretary of the Federation make an effort to keep such information on hand regarding the Union Labels as well so as to enable him to communicate direct information to any one in the state desiring the same on short notice.

Your committee would recommend that at intervals of possibly once a month the Secretary communicate with all affiliated organizations any such information on the Union Labels as he may be in possession of.

Your committee also recommends that local unions be urged to devote a few minutes each meeting discussing the value of the various labels.

Your committee recommends that all mis-use of union labels that comes to the attention of the members of the Federation be forwarded to the Secretary of the body who will in turn take this matter up with the organization whose label is being mis-used.

Recognizing that the Women's International Union Label League is performing a splendid mission of education and dissemination of the label creed therefore your committee would recommend that the officers and members of the Illinois State Federation render every possible assistance in the work of organizing the women of this state into label leagues.

Your committee urges that all delegates when they return to their homes demand the union label on all goods upon which the union label can be had of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and appoint committees to visit merchants in their respective localities to request them to carry none but union labeled goods.

Respectfully submitted,
ANNA FITZGERALD,
EMMA STEGHAGEN,
ROBT. A. PELL,
SAM BLOOM,
STEVE C. SUMNER.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Neer, Chairman of the

Committee, reported as follows:

We have here about sixty resolutions. It will be absolutely impossible to finish reading them, let alone discuss them. A great many of the delegates have already left. There are a great many who want to get away as soon as they can. There are none of these resolutions that pertain to any part of the constitution. If I am in order I move you that they be referred to the incoming Executive Board and the action printed in the proceedings of the convention before being sent out to the delegates. (Seconded by Delegate Bloom.)

Delegate Blythe: I realize that the delegates are tired of sitting here and want to get home, but this is the property of the convention, it is the property of the delegation sent here and it should be disposed of. We want not only to say that there have been 541 votes cast in the election, which did not include all the delegates, but that we did other business. While a majority of the delegates wish to get home we feel that the resolutions we have introduced should be acted upon by the convention. I don't feel like going back to my local union and reporting that the property of the convention has been referred to eleven men. These resolutions should be disposed of before the delegates leave; they are the most important matters that have been submitted to the convention. They contain suggestions from the local unions for the good of the organization. They contain requests for things that are of benefit to the locals. It is not only my resolution I am speaking of, but the resolutions of other organizations. The concern of one is the concern of all. If we go back and make this report the members will say the Executive Board can settle this to suit themselves. I have always been willing to abide by the majority, and if a majority of the delegates here says this shall go to the Executive Board, all right, but I think the resolutions should be read for the consideration of the convention.

Delegate Nockels: Probably the brother has some resolutions he

wishes to have read to this convention. I believe if there are such resolutions they ought to be called for, read and acted upon. I don't believe in holding the convention to hear all these resolutions read, because if they are referred to the Executive Board they will have the same publicity and will be acted upon as this convention would act. I think the locals sent the resolutions here in order to have them endorsed by the State Federation. If there are any resolutions the delegates feel ought to have more publicity than that, or some further action taken upon them, well and good, I think taking action in order to get the endorsement of the State Federation, I think referring to the Executive Board will have the same effect.

Delegate Pace: The Committee on Resolutions concurred in practically every resolution that has been read. Now if these resolutions are handed to the Executive Board eleven men will be acting as the last court. These resolutions have been gone over carefully for several nights and days by a resolutions committee appointed from the different crafts. If there are resolutions that are of vital importance to delegates they can be called up and considered. Outside of that I think the Board can act upon them, have them printed in the minutes that go to the rank and file and we can get our business completed and go home.

Delegate Roche: I believe every delegate here should hear those resolutions read. Some of them are on subjects other delegates have never heard of.

Delegate Chirstopher: I don't believe I understand the motion. I infer it is that the resolutions be referred to the Executive Board to be acted upon, their action printed in the minutes of the convention and each delegate will receive a copy of the proceedings sent out by the State Federation.

President Walker: The motion is that all resolutions that have not been acted upon be referred to the Executive Board for action, that they be included in the proceedings of the

convention and sent out, after having been acted upon by the Executive Board as a substitute for the convention itself.

Delegate Hunt: Is it not customary for the committee to call a delegate before them who has introduced a resolution, if there is any objection or opposition to it?

Deiegate Neer: Whenever there was any opposition they were called before us.

Delegate Hunt: Then I don't see the necessity of reading them all.

Delegate Hall: How many resolutions has the committee?

Delegate Neer: About fifty.

Delegate Hall: Do you want to keep us here until Monday? We don't want to stay until Monday. If those resolutions are read every delegate who presented one of them will have a right to discuss it, and so will everybody else. I think our constitution should be so revised that these resolutions will have to be in the hands of the state secretary at least a week prior to the convention and have the the committees called in three days before the convention. In that way we will have a partial report on the first day of the meeting. I am not in favor of staying until Monday. Now that we are up against it I favor referring to the Executive Board.

Delegate Jones: The call for the convention stated we would be in session until the business of the convention was finished. If we refer these resolutions to the Executive Board the business will not be finished

This last minute legislation is not what it is cracked up to be. I have been in conventions where they stalled around for three or four days and in the last few hours pushed a bunch of stuff through to get away. You have heard from it. We don't do business that way any more, we stay in session until we are thorough. The members of our organization have been called so often they will not dare adjourn until they have finished their business. I represent that kind of an organization.

I insist on the Call of the convention being carried out. If I were a member of the Executive Board I would not want to do that business. It is our place to do that business, we were elected to do it.

Delegate Neal, Mine Workers: I want to amend the motion. I move that the delegates who have resolutions in they desire to have read have a right to call for them, and after that is done the balance of the resolutions be referred to the Executive Board. (Seconded.)

Delegate Quinlan, Street Railway Employees: It seems to me we have a good resolutions committee. They have gone over these resolutions. The important business of the convention has been cleaned up; the constitution has been adopted, the officers elected and there are a great number of resolutions here that the committee has handled, and I suppose handled with care. If they are referred to the Executive Board the intent of the resolutions will be carried out properly. There are times in our lives when we must trust our executive officers and Executive Board with a great deal more important business than the action on these resolutions, even if they are not elected by the referendum. I believe this should be put to vote of the convention. If the majority decides they will be read I will stay to hear them.

Delegate Cook: Are there any of the resolutions the committee has not concurred in?

Delegate Neer: A few, but there are none that will bring up any great amount of discussion; they would take the same course that was taken this morning, when there was practically no opposition to the report of the Committee on Resolutions. Those that pertain to the constitution were referred and have been acted upon. These resolutions as a rule asked for the support and co-operation of the affiliated organizations and the Executive Board.

Delegfate Cook: I move that the resolutions the committee has not concurred in be taken up and acted up-

on, and that we agree upon the rest of them.

Delegate Carlson: If the committee merely mentions the subject matter of each resolution and the action of the committee we will get through in an hour. I offer that as a substitute. (Seconded.)

President Walker: The chairman of the committee is of opinion that is a solution of the proposition. Is the convention ready to accept it?

Delegate Quinlan: I would prefer to have it go to the Executive Board.

Delegate Grampp: I move the previous question. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Bloom: I rise to a point of order. We are asked to vote on resolutions after hearing only the title.

President Walker: That is not a point of order, that is an argument.

The substitute offered by Delegate Carlson was lost.

The amendment providing that any delegate might call up his resolution and that the remainder be referred to the Executive Board was carried, by a vote of 106 in the affirmative to 102 in the negative.

Delegate Leonard: I would like to have the resolution in regard to the cigar makers read.

Delegate Neer stated that he would read the numbers of the resolutions and the introducers, and if any delegate desired to have a resolution read he could signify his desire in the matter.

Delegate Carlson asked for a reading of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 22.

To the Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, Peoria, Illinois:

WHEREAS, Two lines are being closely drawn between capital and labor; the capitalists of the country

have organized the National Manufacturers' Association and other large employers' organizations, very compact cohesive bodies, having for their purpose the destruction of the trades union movement, and, realizing that in unity there is strength, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in order to combat these compact and powerful organizations of employers of labor, this convention endorses and adopts the plan of organization by industries instead of by crafts, which often divides the forces of labor, and that the officers of the State Federation be instructed to use every effort to influence and mould sentiment along these lines; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates from the Illinois Federation of Labor to the A. F. of L. be instructed to use his vote and influence for the industrial form of organization.

Presented by the delegates from the Tri-City Federation of Labor, Moline, Rock Island and Davenport.

B. W. NEWTON,
B. J. CARLSON,
JAS. C. KINSLEY.

Delegate Neer: The committee recommends nonconcurrence.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Carlson: The reason this resolution is put in here is because we have in the Tri-City district a number of large shops that employ from five to ten thousand men, and it is impossible for us to organize them under the different card system. There is only one way to organize them, and that is into an industrial organization with the assistance of the American Federation of Labor. We want the co-operation of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in doing so.

Delegate Nockels: Why instruct the delegate to the American Federation of Labor? Our delegate will have but one vote. Why not leave it with the international organizations to take up with our central bodies representing all kinds of organizations.

Delegate Willis: I move as a sub-

stitute that the resolution be referred to the delegate of the American Federation of Labor. (Seconded and carried.)

The committee was requested to read the following resolution:

Resolution No. 43.

To the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The wives, mothers and sisters of trades unionists constitute an irresistible army, expending an enormous sum of union made wages, which if judiciously, properly and rightfully spent for union made and union labeled products would be a tremendous force for good, and would go a long way towards completing the work of organizing and yet unorganized forces, and

WHEREAS, No stronger contrasts of right and wrong can be found in any field of work than among the wage earners, and the American employers today and there is no available force of greater power for bringing about a speedy and rightful adjustment then by a united, persistent demand for the Union label by all men and women, and

WHEREAS, The Woman's International Union Label League is doing splendid work in educating and organizing women into Union Label Leagues, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor in its 32nd Convention assembled, prepare itself to render every possible assistance to the Woman's International Union Label League in organizing Woman's, Union Label Leagues throughout the State.

Respectfully submitted,

MRS. J. F. O'NEIL,

Woman's Union Label League No. 9,

MRS. DELLA SMITH,

Woman's Union Label League No. 290,

MRS. ANNA DEMLOW,

Woman's Union Label League No. 288,

MRS. JESSIE G. PEEBLES,

Woman's Union Label League No. 264.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Newsted requested the committee to read the following resolution:

Resolution No. 46.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in Convention Assembled:

'RESOLVED, That we, the members of the Bridge and Structural Ironworkers' International union request that the United Mine Workers and all other affiliated unions of this body aid to assist in securing all work in the erection and repairing of tipples, hoppers and conveyors.

MARTIN F. NEWSTED,
Delegate.

The committee recommended that the following be adopted as a substitute for the matter referred to in the resolution:

"It is agreed that the representatives of the United Mine Workers notify the representatives of the Bridge and Structural Ironworkers in whatever vicinity work of this character is to be done, and the two organizations co-operate in an effort to unionize each job of the character referred to."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Newsted: I took that matter up in Peoria. I have had the proposition up with the officials of the miners' organization and we have got results from these meetings. That is why the resolution was introduced in this convention. We feel as an affiliated organization of the Bridge and Structural Ironworkers that all construction work in connection with iron tipples, hoppers and repairs naturally belong the Bridge and Structural Ironworkers.

Delegate Woll: I arise to a point of order. If I understand the law of this organization aright it is not to adjust jurisdiction questions.

President Walker: The brother made as strong an argument as a man could make for your becoming part of the Mining Department and taking this matter up with the International

organizations that have jurisdiction, and settle these questions in a businesslike way.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Leonard, Danville: A letter was sent out in regard to the cigar makers, and not one communication has been sent to Secretary Morris or First Vice-President Allton as to the action taken by affiliated unions. The letter asked for moral support. It was stated yesterday that Illinois hasn't 25 per cent of the cigars sold bearing the label. We want the resolution we have sent here read so the delegates can take it back to their organizations. Our honorable First Vice-President drafted the letter, it was sent to every organization affiliated with this Federation, but we received no answer in any form.

I have been in conventions now for seven years and every year there has been a resolution from the cigar makers' organization, and it has never been acted upon except in the convention. You forget it after you go home. You forget about the label proposition all the way through. While here in the city of Peoria I received a telegram stating that the shop I work in has gone out of existence. That puts 10 men out of work. Why? Lack of demand. All over the state you can find millions and billions of non-union cigars while you find only a few union cigars in the cases. We have the greatest trust in existence to fight, the American Tobacco Company.

Delegate Jones: The brother is not stating the truth when he says no attention was paid to the communication we received from the State Federation. We did not notify the secretary of the action we took in all cases, but simply carried out the orders of the secretary and treasurer. Every communication that has the stamp of any organization on it is read and action is taken by us. Unless a request is made that we notify them of the action taken we use our own judgment. If the cigar makers sent us a communication requesting us to

do certain things, and the seal of the organization is on the communication, we took action upon it. And if they requested us to notify them of the action we took, we did so.

Delegate Leonard requested the reading of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 58.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-Second Annual Convention: Greeting:

The delegates representing their locals of the Cigarmakers' International Union affiliated with the A. F. of L., and as representatives in the Thirty-second Annual Convention, do herewith present the following resolutions for the various reasons as set forth in its petition to you:

Any delegate not familiar with the early struggles of the Cigarmakers' International Union of America, can not estimate what a great factor it has been in its persistent efforts to organize other crafts and trades and central bodies so that those unorganized may come under the protection of the banner of trade unionism. In calling your attention to the above facts, Permit us at this time to say frankly to you that we now are placed in the position to appeal to you as delegates not to let this grand organization deteriorate. Never in its history has the cigarmaker been placed in a more precarious position than at present and the following reasons are the direct cause:

First, from reports and investigations we find that organized labor does not give us the true support in so far as the blue label is concerned, and we can cite you facts to prove our contention. As an illustration, take the city of Chicago with organized workmen living in every district of its wide area, we are receiving very little encouragement, if any. We are expected and do give the greatest assistance possible to all appeals received by us, not alone in Chicago, but to all of those affiliated with the A. F. of L. when they are in their struggle for their rights.

Calling your attention to the Calumet (Mich.) and Colorado coal mine strike, brickmakers and many other smaller crafts. We also donate to de-

serving charity. No one has ever been turned from our doors who is deserving of assistance, not mentioning our own members when in distress. This is also true of the locals scattered throughout the state and they locally are always alert to the fact of organizing those in their localities, so as to further advance the cause of trade unionism and its noble purposes.

Owing to the many localities in our state having voted dry, it has brought a depressing condition to our trade in those places, closing many small factories and throwing many out of work. To offset this condition we can only look for organized labor to again exert itself in our behalf, so that when they purchase a cigar that they refuse any that does not bear the union label upon the box. In that manner we believe that organized labor can be of great and valuable assistance to us. We have done all in our power to try and increase the handling of union made cigars in drug stores, barber shops, restaurants, cigar stores and saloons and all other places where cigars are handlel, but we find that without the persistent demand from the union men we have not accomplished the desired results.

In conclusion, we feel very sorry to know that the United Cigar stores and their interests are largely patronized by union men and have many times witnessed unthinking members of other unions entering these stores wearing a union button and purchasing non-union goods. Put yourself in our place and you could very appropriately say, Why am I wearing union-made clothes and shoes and hats and using every effort to assist others for which we do not receive a fair consideration?

For the above stated reasons, we, the delegates representing the various Cigarmakers' Unions at the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor most respectfully submit the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, We feel that the trade is being jeopardized by the general disregard and inconsistent attitude in regard to a demand for our label. Be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of

the I. S. F. of L. be instructed to issue and have printed a required number of these resolutions and be it further

RESOLVED, That he send to the corresponding secretaries or financial secretaries of each local union affiliated with the A. F. of L. in the State of Illinois for their respective membership and request and cause these petitions to be circulated through shop stewards, shop committeemen or other respective officers of local unions to their entire membership and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates attending this convention in submitting reports to their organization be and are hereby instructed to urge their members of the necessity of a more persistent demand for the blue union label of the Cigarmakers' International Union of America.

Respectfully submitted,
permit us at this time to say frankly

J. A. KAIN,
A. E. ADELOFF,
H. GOEBEL,
J. H. ROBERTS,
ROBT. FREZELL,
O. S. KELLY,

No. 14, Chicago.

20—CHAS. WRIGHT.

38—HENRY BOGASKE.

73—JOHN GEAREY,

A. A. PUTZE.

118—TOM McWHINEY,

W. A. ALLTON,

L. A. ALLTON.

20—FRANK BURG.

J. F. W. ALTHEIDE.

Fraternal Delegate 44, St. Louis.

The committee recommended concurrence in the spirit of the resolution and that the secretary provide and send copies to secretaries of all affiliated local unions, the secretaries to distribute them to the members.

Delegate Freeman: The teamsters of East St. Louis fine any of their members if they catch them with scab tobacco or anything else non-union. The cigarmakers visit us about every other week so our members cannot forget.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Finlayson requested the reading of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 64.

LAND FOR THE PEOPLE.

Introduced by Owen Miller and unanimously adopted by the Missouri State Federation of Labor in Hannibal, Mo., Sept. 16, 1914:

WHEREAS, When the President of the United States of America, by virtue of being commander-in-chief of the military and naval forces of the United States, ordered the seizure and occupation of the port of Vera Cruz, Mexico, by the United States military and naval forces, he justified this seizure and occupation of the part of the territory of a neighboring republic by stating it was to "serve humanity" and in an authorized interview, published by a weekly magazine, declared that his "purpose in Mexico was to restore the land to the 85 per cent of the people, who had nothing," and

WHEREAS, If the President of the United States is desirous of "serving humanity," and restoring the land to those who have nothing, he might direct his attention to the inhuman conditions that only recently prevailed in the coal regions of West Virginia and the copper regions of Michigan, and that are at present prevailing in Colorado, under the shadow of the Stars and Stripes, where men, women and children were shot down like wild beasts, the torch of the incendiary applied to their habitations while under fire of machine guns, and in one instance at Ludlow, Colo., resulting in nineteen women and children being burned to death, and in these and many other localities of this great country he would find many more than 85 per cent of the people who have nothing, more particularly land, because of the fact that in those vast areas of coal and copper land not a foot is owned by any one but the company, even the highways, everywhere else declared public property, are in these feudal manors declared private property of the company, and

WHEREAS, Less than four per cent of the inhabitants of cities of 50,000 or more own their own homes, and

WHEREAS, The returns from the collection of the income tax show that less than half one per cent of the unmarried receive \$3,000.00 per year, and less than half of 1 per cent of the married have joint incomes in excess of \$4,000.00 a year. Only a little more than four hundred thousand persons in a nation of one hundred million receive enough to make them liable to taxation under the income tax law. The average income of those that work out of the balance of ninety-nine million six hundred thousand is less than \$500 a year. In view of these deplorable facts, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the Nineteenth Annual Convention of the Missouri State Federation of Labor, that we respectfully suggest to the President that if he wishes to "serve humanity" and "restore the land to the people unjustly deprived of the use of it" he might use the great talents he is endowed with and the great powers bestowed upon him as President, to exercise them for the benefit of his fellow citizens of the United States of America, many of whom are suffering from brutal oppression and cruelty, which has no parallel recorded since history began to be written, and deprived of the use of land just the same as the landless people of Mexico; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution, with signature of the President and Secretary of this Federation, and seal attached, be forwarded to His Excellency, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, Washington, D. C."

JAS. W. FINLAYSON,
L. U. 131, Streator, Ill.

Delegate Neer: The committee does not know what disposition the delegate wishes made of this. It is not exactly in the form of a resolution. It adopted by the Missouri State Federation of Labor.

Delegate Straube: Presumably the underlying idea was to have the sense of the resolution adopted by this convention and have the wording altered to conform to the action of this body and forward it to the President with the names of our officers attached thereto.

Delegate Fries: I move that the resolution be referred to the President and Executive Board to word as they see fit and send it to the President of the United States. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Freeman, East St. Louis, asked that the following resolution be read:

Resolution No. 65.

To the Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

The Butchers and Meat Cutters of the city of East St. Louis, Ill., are particularly desirous, for the protection and benefit of the health of the community in general to have a preamble or bill introduced before your honorable body which will enable us or the Federation of Labor to have the incoming Legislature enact a law whereby it will be unlawful for any butcher, meat cutter or dealer in fresh meats of any kind to cut or prepare, or expose for sale, fresh meats of any character other than that cut to order in the presence of the customer or of the person or persons ordering. The object of this is more particularly for the health of the meat eating public at large, who are certainly very much imposed upon by many butchers, meat cutters and dealers in fresh meats of every character. It is a well known fact that many butchers, meat cutters and dealers in fresh meats, cut and prepare ahead steaks, chops and different classes of fresh meats, using condiments to keep the meats looking fresh and nice, while the meats have a nice appearance from the effect of these powders and condiments, they certainly are unfit to eat or put into the human system; they are poisonous and injurious to health.

Believing firmly and being honest in our convictions from experience, we are confident such preamble or bill taken up by the honorable body of the Federation of Labor in session would not only be a great benefit and protection to the health of the public in general, but would be applauded, not only with the thanks of every person using fresh meats, but also would receive the prayers of hundreds of thousands of householders who are

compelled to patronize the butchers, meat cutters or dealers whom they must depend upon for their daily supply of fresh meats.

With the view and purpose of dealing fairly and honestly and giving our customers good clean fresh cut meats, cut to order before their own eyes, we most respectfully and earnestly request you to prepare such preamble bill and present the same to the honorable body, the State Federation of Labor, for such action as in their wise judgment they may believe or think best for the protection of health and the alleviation of a suffering, confiding public who are dependent upon the butchers for their daily supplies of fresh meats, but are powerless to help themselves under conditions now existing and practiced daily in every community.

M. J. WHALEN,

Pres. C. F. L. U.

HUNTER B. KIELT,

V.-Pres. C. F. L. U. of East St. Louis, Ill.

The committee concurred in the resolution and recommended that it be referred to the Legislative Committee. The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Coch requested the reading of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 53.

To the Officers of the Illinois State Federation and the Delegates Assembled:

WHEREAS, In the 48th General Assembly of the State of Illinois a bill was presented by the carmen of the state asking that a law be enacted providing for a ten-hour day to be completed in twelve consecutive hours, and

WHEREAS, This bill was defeated through the treachery of the Speaker of the House and other enemies of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of this Federation and its Legislative Committee be instructed at the next General Assembly to endeavor to get a law enacted that will remedy this

evil of which the carmen complain.

WILLIAM QUINLAN,
Div. 241.

ROWLAND SHELTON,
Div. 260.

GEORGE KOCH,
Div. 308.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

Delegate Koch: I would like to impress upon the delegates who live in Benny Mitchell's district that he defeated our measures in the last Legislature.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Neer: That completes the resolutions with the exception of Nos. 23, No. 41 and No. 59, that were referred to the Committee on Law, and No. 36, referred to the Finance Committee.

Following are the numbers of the resolutions referred to the Executive Board under the motion adopted, to be acted upon by the board, the resolutions and the action thereon to be made part of the minutes of the convention:

Resolutions Nos. 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68, 69.

Delegate Neer: The following is submitted by the Committee on Resolutions:

To the Officers and Delegates to the Thirty-Second Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in Convention Assembled:

WHEREAS, The trades unionists and the friends of organized labor and the citizens generally have been untiring in their efforts to make our stay here during the past week both pleasant and profitable, showing us every courtesy and extending us every assistance possible, and;

WHEREAS, The progress of our conventions as well as the success attained can only be achieved by having the support and co-operation of those

with whom we come in contact; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we extend to the mayor of the city, the trades unionists and citizens generally our sincere appreciation of the splendid spirit demonstrated, as well as the many courtesies shown during our stay in Peoria, and trust that the friendship and good fellowship exhibited by all will be continued as the years go by.

Respectfully submitted by Committee on Resolutions.

W. A. NEER, Chairman;
FRANK KASTEN,
MARY ANDERSON,
ALBERT PETERSON,
JOHN J. KEARNEY,
WILLIAM LUENZ,
JOHN FITZPATRICK,
DUNCAN McDONALD,
JAMES RYAN,
C. C. RAKOW,
AL. GREENER,
AGNES BURNS.

The resolution offered by the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Demlow asked unanimous consent to submit a resolution to the Executive Board, to be acted upon by the board, inserted in the record and referred to the delegate to the American Federation of Labor. The request was granted.

The Committee on Resolutions was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Delegate Freeman: The Loose-Wiles Company is unfair to organized labor. They killed our walking delegate and three of our members. The courts discharged these strike-breakers and declared they were justified in killing our members. We want to put in a resolution to be sent to locals asking that they do not buy any of the product of that company, their "Sunshine Crackers" and other things. We understand they have branches in Chicago, St. Louis and Boston. Now we find they have a branch in Peoria. They say they can do better without the label than with it.

The request was granted.

Delegate Grampp: As the resolutions were handled in a slipshod manner this afternoon, owing to the fact that we did not have sufficient time to consider them carefully, I think it is up to this convention to devise ways and means to prevent this occurring again. We spent about three days listening to speech making. Some of those speeches were entirely unnecessary, while some of them were good. Why cannot we get the printed resolution as we did last year on the second or third day?

President Walker: Do you want the chair to answer?

Delegate Grampp: If you please.

President Walker: Steps have been taken by the convention to deal with all the business of the convention from now on. It has been arranged that the Committees on Constitution, Officers' Reports and one other committee take up matters referred to them two days prior to the opening of the convention. In that way the work will be expedited. We could not do it this year because no such arrangements have been made. This time it is the same as in other conventions, except possibly that double the amount of work has come to this convention that has come to any other convention.

I wanted, and suggested to begin with, and Secretary Morris agreed with me, that we would simply have minutes of the convention prepared every day, stating the resolutions introduced, the reports adopted, the motions carried and the names of those who spoke for and against. The printer, Brother Bush, said he could get out the verbatim report cheaper than though that were done. We have extended our sessions to a late hour and we have had night session, which has made it impossible to get out the verbatim report every day. The stenographic copy could not be submitted to the printers in time to have it done. My judgment is that this experience will make it clear that minutes rather than a verbatim report

will be best for conventions in the future.

Delegate Grampp: These resolutions were either concurred in or non-concurred in by the committee. The delegates do not know what they are about. If they had been printed, as they were last year in Decatur we could have followed the printed resolutions.

Delegate Olander: I think the delegates will be satisfied in the next convention to have minutes prepared daily and have the resolutions printed as they are submitted. I would like an expression of opinion from the delegates on that right now.

Delegate Demlow: Has any constitutional provision been made for resolutions to be in the secretary's hands before the convention?

President Walker: The Committee on Law and the Committee on Constitution are to meet two days before the convening of the convention, but no provision has been made to submit resolutions before the convention or have the Committee on Resolutions meet prior to the convention. They figured that the Committee on Officers' Reports, the Committee on Law and the Credentials Committee would be ready to report early in the session. I think we should have the Resolutions Committee meet in the same way, and the Committee on Constitution that has been provided for in this convention may make provision for that to be submitted to the next convention.

Delegate Jones: I would like to move that all resolutions be sent into the general office at least ten days prior to the meeting of this convention. If there should be contingencies arise within the ten days they can be provided for. (Seconded.)

President Walker: With the understanding that the committee be called in a couple of days before the convention to consider them.

Delegate Jones: I will also include that the President appoint the committee.

Delegate Woll: I move as an amendment that the suggestion and motion be referred to the constitutional committee provided for by this convention. (Seconded.)

My object in making the motion is this: I think it is a serious problem and needs considerable consideration, and not to be decided in haste. You have provided for a constitutional committee; there are other things to be considered, and I think the proper way to do is to give that committee time and opportunity to study the proposition and then refer it to the next convention with due deliberation upon it.

President Walker: In that case it will not apply to the next convention? Or does it mean it will apply to the next convention, and at the same time be brought to the attention of the Committee on Constitution?

Delegate Woll: It would mean that the next convention would be guided under our present rules.

President Walker: The motion is not in order, as it is a negative motion.

Delegate Woll: My motion is one to refer.

President Walker: Which, while technically parliamentary, means the same thing. However, it is in order.

Delegate Kearney: I think it is one of the most vital questions confronting this convention. I have attended this convention from year to year and this is the first time I ever knew of having to railroad resolutions. I don't believe in that method of doing business. I believe the delegates sent here from the various organizations at the expense of the toiling masses should have their resolutions read on the floor. While Delegate Woll thinks the Committee on Constitution is more vital than the Committee on Resolutions, I differ with him on that point. I trust the convention will provide ways and means to eliminate other work and give the resolutions presented by the different delegates the attention they should have. Not one delegate out of ten knows what

the resolutions contain. They cannot go back to their home towns and report intelligently on them. I hope and trust the delegates will provide ways and means for having resolutions presented prior to the convention and have the committee meet a day or two before the convention.

President Walker: I have not made any statement that would leave any room for the belief that I did not think the Committee on Resolutions important. I think it is even more important to have the Committee on Resolutions at the headquarters before the convention to consider the resolutions; not that I think the work of the committee is more important, but it is important to have them deal with resolutions before the convention.

Delegate Nockels: I hope you will provide that resolutions be submitted as late as possible. I don't believe in making any hard or fast rule for the governing of the delegates in this convention. If you do you will regret it. The resolutions should be introduced as late as in other conventions.

Delegates Jones: The system this convention is pursuing in regard to resolutions we did away with a number of years ago. Our present system is that any amendments to the constitution will be sent to the national office sixty days prior to the week of the convention. They are printed and sent out to the unions and acted upon. The delegates are instructed on those matters, or left uninstructed as the organizations choose. The resolutions are sent out in the same manner, but the convention reserves the right to have amendments to the constitution introduced and acted upon, and if they stay in force and are not repealed, or the action of the past convention is unconfirmed by the next convention, they stand as law until repealed.

I want to try to get a better method than we have here. If these resolutions are sent in ten days prior to the convention it shows the members have taken some thought of what they are going to do. Members come

here and happen to think of something, write it up, have some other delegates sign it and send it in. It takes up time and space and perhaps does not amount to anything. Delegate Woll's proposition would delay my motion for a year. It would not have any effect on this coming convention. Sending the resolutions to the office ten days prior to the convention would not prevent any resolutions being introduced here on the floor if a contingency arose that made it necessary. But if it is something that happened previous to the ten days the convention will have to decide whether it will accept it or not. The convention has full power while it is in session, but if you have rules laid down it will be governed accordingly.

Delegate Olander: I see some difficulty ahead for the next convention, so much so, I feel this matter ought not to be acted upon. In the last hours there is no time to give it thorough consideration. If you want to adopt something such as suggested by the previous speaker it will cause difficulty. Instead of having the Resolutions Committee meet beforehand, I suggest that there be no resolutions committee, as there is now, but the resolutions be submitted to the President and referred by him to the various committees. No one committee will then get such a number to act upon. I think there is nothing in the law to prevent the president and secretary making such a rule. I think the thing can be handled without tying ourselves down to any hard and fast rule. Arrangements can easily be made by the president and secretary to make the business go ahead a little faster. I hope no hard and fast rule will be laid down. I believe it will only create confusion for the next convention. I think, too, we might very well have the policy adopted of printing resolutions as they are introduced and let them be referred by the president direct to the various committees, and increase the number of committees.

Delegate Newsted: I move that the entire matter be referred to the in-

coming Executive Board. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Stevens: I move that a summary of the proceedings of the convention be compiled by the secretary and mailed to the delegates so as to have available a report that covers the principal actions of this convention for reading in the different local unions. The proceedings cannot be read, they are too voluminous.

President Walker: In other words, as a relief measure to the delegates in making reports you would like to have the secretary do it.

Delegate Stevens: I think he can compile a better report than the delegates.

Delegate Woll: I move that we proceed with the installation of officers. (Seconded and carried.)

Installation of Officers.

Delegate John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, presided and installed all of the newly elected and re-elected officers.

President Walker: During the proceedings of the convention strong feelings at times have actuated different delegates in the discussion of different questions. At times the chair has had difficulty in deciding what was the best thing to do, but I believe you have been actuated by motives that worked for the best interests of the organization and I want to assure you that, in so far as I am concerned my only purpose during the proceedings of the convention was to have the thing done that was best for our organization. If there has been any other impression created in the mind of any delegate here I would like to disabuse his mind of that impression. I hope each of you will go back into the state and do the best you can to build up this movement of ours, get every other organization in the state affiliated with it, and I pledge you, so far as I am concerned, everything in my power will be done to make it a better, a more powerful organization to do things for those who work and for their families in the coming year.

Secretary Morris will continue in official position until the end of the month so that the books may be rounded up and he will have time to complete his work in a satisfactory manner and turn everything over to his successor.

President Walker: The convention

will stand adjourned.

At 4:30 p. m., Saturday, October 24, 1914, the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

J. F. MORRIS.
Secretary-Treasurer.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING

Peoria, Ill., Oct. 25, 1914.

The meeting of the Executive Board of the Illinois State Federation of Labor was called to order at 9:30 A. M., October 25th, 1914, Fey Hotel, by President John H. Walker, to consider and act upon resolutions referred to the Board by the 32nd annual convention, and to consider such other matter as required immediate attention. All members of the Board present.

D. J. Farley, of the Carpenters' Union, referring to Resolution No. 62, requested assistance to secure the affiliation of locals of the United Box Makers with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

A proposal submitted by one Thomas W. Day, "International Publisher, of Detroit, Mich., to publish a so-called "Year Book" in the name of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, was discussed.

Upon motion it was decided by unanimous vote that it is the position of the Board that the name of the Illinois State Federation of Labor should not be used in connection with any such scheme, and that the proposition presented by Mr. Day be refused.

W. R. Boyer, of the Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, appeared before the Board with reference to the strike against the United States Broom Co., of Chicago. Upon motion the request of the Broom and Whisk Makers' Union to place the firm of the United States Broom & Brush Co. and Butler Brothers on the unfair list was granted, an attempt by the officers of the Federation to secure a settlement having failed.

The matter of a donation to the striking broom makers was referred to a sub-committee consisting of Board Members Morton, Whalen and Towers.

Consideration of resolutions referred to the Board by the convention was taken up.

The resolutions were read by Secretary Morris, together with recommendations of the convention committee on resolutions.

Resolution No. 20.

U. M. W. of A. L. U. 1421.

We, citizens of the State of Illinois, demand of the legislature:

1st.—An act to furnish all of the books, maps, tablets, pens and pencils necessary for the use of pupils attending school for the purpose of acquiring an education in all of the branches that are taught in the public schools in the State of Illinois.

2nd.—That said books, maps, tablets, pens and pencils and all other articles necessary shall be furnished by the State of Illinois to any and all pupils under the age of twenty-one years going to school free of charge.

3rd.—That there shall be free instruction in the public schools for not less than nine months in any one year; terms of school period to be so arranged that there will not be more than two months' vacation in the summer and one month vacation in the winter.

P. F. McAULEY,
O. G. DIXON.

The Committee on Resolutions of the convention recommended that the

resolution be referred to the Legislative Committee. The recommendation was concurred in by the Board.

Resolution No. 21.

WHEREAS, The State of Illinois allows every other State in the United States to ship sick and diseased cattle to the Chicago Stock Yards, and supervision over such animals is maintained by State Veterinarians, whose duty it is to discover such sickness and disease and prevent such animals from being shipped out of the State again, and

WHEREAS, It is supposed that a rigid examination and inspection of all live stock is made upon arrival and the sick and diseased cattle are tagged and retained for slaughter and post mortem examination by officials of the State of Illinois. These officials decide which carcass goes to the fertilizer tank and which carcass is permitted to be sold to the public as an edible product, and

WHEREAS, A contract is made by the State of Illinois with a certain slaughter house or abattoir where all diseased animals are killed and the owners of these abattoirs employ only non-Union and scab labor, because such labor is servile and easily controlled and makes it impossible for information to reach the public as to the condition and disposition of the animals slaughtered in these abattoirs, and

WHEREAS, There is only one real tangible, reliable way of preventing the meat of animals consigned to the fertilizer tanks being placed upon the market for public consumption and that is that these contracts be awarded to union abattoirs where the men are free to insist upon the enforcement of the laws and who have the backing of their Union and the Federation of Labor to prevent the cunning, shrewd, conniving manipulators of diseased meats from endangering the public health, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor bring this matter to the attention of the Governor of the State and urge that the contract for the slaughter of these diseased animals be let to abattoirs where Union Butcher workmen only are em-

ployed and thereby protect the public interest and safeguard public health.

Respectfully submitted,
DENNIS LANE,
Cattle Butchers L. U. No. 87.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended that the resolution be concurred in and referred to the incoming Executive Board for action.

Moved by Board Member Whalen and seconded by Board Member Irish that the resolution be concurred in.

Moard Member Morton: This resolution was presented to the Chicago Federation of Labor and action taken, but they thought it would be more effective if the State Federation handled it, because the state has certain supervision over this kind of work.

The motion to concur was carried.

Resolution No. 52.

To the 32nd Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

INASMUCH as our country is at peace with all the world, while half the world is at war with itself, and

BELIEVING that warlike preparations and demonstrations are not compatible with the sacred interests of peace, and further

BELIEVING that a large standing army and a great navy can in no way promote a friendliness among the nations, therefore be it

RESOLVED, In the name of humanity, that we, the delegates to the 32nd annual convention of the State Federation of Labor, protest against the present agitation for a greater navy and a greater standing army with compulsory military service, which is being made by sundry newspapers and many prominent leaders of our country, and be it further

RESOLVED, That our representatives in the Congress of the United States be made aware of our protest at the earliest possible time against this threatened infliction of that cursed institution—militarism.

W. A. ALLTON,
JAMES LORD.

The Committee recommended concurrence. The Executive Board con-

curred in the recommendation of the Committee.

Resolution No. 24.

WHEREAS, The agitation for good roads has become very extensive and the State of Illinois is to let, and has let, contracts for thousands of dollars of good roads work, and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers has established a wage scale in Chicago and Cook county of six dollars (\$6.00) per day straight time for eight hours or less, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming officers be instructed to do all in their power to establish this same wage all through the State for Engineers and also try to get Union men employed and Union wages for all other crafts employed on road work.

Faternally submitted,

MATT KEEFE.

Street Paving Engineers Local 464.
International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

Committee on Resolutions recommended that the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted by the Executive Board.

Resolution No. 25.

AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN OF NORTH AMERICA.

Local Union No. 320.

WHEREAS, The Meat Cutters working for wages in the State of Illinois are compelled to work long hours and in a great many places on Sunday also, and

WHEREAS, These conditions are brought about by the employers enforcing competition upon his neighbor, who would like to close on Sunday and not perform any manual labor, and

WHEREAS, The Meat Cutters of the State of Illinois could enjoy one day rest in seven if the laws of the State were enforced, and

WHEREAS, We bring this matter before the Illinois State Federation of Labor for their approval of the enforcement of the Sunday Clos-

ing Law, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, in Peoria, Illinois, 1914, instruct its officers and Legislative Committee to bring this matter to the attention of the Governor of the State of Illinois.

Respectfully submitted,

G. METZ, Local No. 320.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended concurrence. The recommendation was adopted by the Executive Board.

Resolution No. 26.

WHEREAS, Union made articles always bear the Union Label of the crafts producing them, and

WHEREAS, One of labor's most potent powers for good depends upon the close co-operation for the demand for products bearing the Union Label, and

WHEREAS, It is the undisputed duty of all men of labor to demand the union label on all purchases they make, and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' blue label may be found on all classes of tobacco products of the most superior quality in all parts of this country and Canada, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in view of this fact it is our undivided duty to give our full purchasing power, when buying tobacco, snuff and cigarettes, to such brands of goods that bear the blue label, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we as delegates to this convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, assembled in the city of Peoria, Ill., pledge our best efforts in the cause of making the Tobacco Workers' Union Label a stronger factor for the future good of our fellow workers in that trade, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all members of trades represented in this convention are hereby pledged to the faithful performance of their duty, to demand the union label on tobacco, cigarettes and snuff that they may buy, and to remember that there is none genuine unless the blue label is attached to the plug, cigarette package, or twist,

and be it further

RESOLVED, That none other is worthy of our patronage in exchange for our good hard-earned union money, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we acknowledge that when we purchase non-union goods of any description we are employing non-union labor which is in direct opposition to the principles for which we stand.

JOS. W. MORTON,

THOMAS KELLY.

Board Members I. S. F. of L.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended concurrence. The Executive Board adopted the recommendation.

Resolution No. 27.

WHEREAS, By an act of Congress approved May 11, 1908, enlisted musicians in the army and navy of the United States of America are prohibited from entering into competition with civilian musicians, and

WHEREAS, The then attorney-general, Charles Bonaparte, decided that this act of Congress did not apply to the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., because the Marine Corps, so he alleged, was not a part of the navy, and

WHEREAS, Since this decision, the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., the best paid and provided for enlisted band in the world, has continued to monopolize the music business of the District of Columbia to the detriment of the civilian musicians of the District, and is continually interfering in the business of the musicians of the whole country by offering its services for expositions, state fairs, and other prominent functions, with a view of excluding the civilian musicians of the various States from such employment, and

WHEREAS, Owing to the fact that the Marine Band or sections thereof is frequently furnished free for social functions given by men prominent in the affairs of the nation, high political and social influence is always brought to bear to defeat any effort to confine this band to its legitimate duties as every other enlisted band is, and

WHEREAS, It is within the pre-

rogatives of the president of the United States of America, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to issue an order restraining the Marine Band from entering the competitive field against civilian musicians in or out of the District of Columbia; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, respectfully request His Excellency, Woodrow Wilson, president of the United States of America, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to issue the necessary order, prohibiting the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., from interfering with the professional engagements of the civilian musicians, either in or out of the District of Columbia, as intended by the law approved May 11, 1908, which was arbitrarily set aside by a questionable decision of the then attorney-general of the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution signed by the President and Secretary of this Federation, with its seal attached, be forwarded to the president of the United States.

MUSICIANS' UNION,

Galesburg, Ill.

Concurred in by Committee on Resolutions, Adopted.

Resolution No. 28.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, Peoria, Ill.

WHEREAS, Paragraph 1601 of the statutes of Illinois requires a petition signed by fifty-five per centum of the votes cast for the office of mayor at the last preceding municipal election to secure an election for the recall of dishonest or inefficient officials in cities which have adopted the commission form of government, and

WHEREAS, Only a majority of the votes cast is required for the election of officials in municipalities operating under the commission form of government, and

WHEREAS, We believe that the law which requires the signatures to a petition of a larger number of voters than is required to elect officials in such cities is unreasonable and

tends to protect, if not encourage, dishonesty and inefficiency and is, therefore, subversive and repugnant to the principles of self-government; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee be, and is hereby instructed to bring this matter to the attention of the General Assembly at its next regular session, and use every legitimate means at its command to induce the General Assembly to so amend the law that elections for the recall of delinquent municipal officials may be secured by a petition signed by not to exceed thirty-five per centum of the number of qualified voters of municipalities exercising their elective franchise at the previous election.

• T. J. HITCHINGS,
CHAS. MUENDLEIN,
AL. TOWERS.

The Committee on Resolutions concurred.

Board Member Morton: I move to refer to the Legislative Committee, with the endorsement of the Executive Board.

Board Member Towers: There is an agitation in our town to secure that form of government. It is new to us; we haven't much experience or knowledge of it. We wrote to President Gompers and he states the commission form of government for municipalities is becoming very popular throughout the United States, claiming that 125 of the smaller cities that have adopted it seem to think it is a good plan. He mentioned Des Moines, Iowa, as being ideally governed under that plan at the present time. Just before coming to this convention I wrote to the cities he named. I received one reply prior to coming to the convention. In case it grows more popular in the state of Illinois, I believe the per cent. of the petitions for recall should be much less than 55. The chances are those who would wish to recall an incompetent mayor or commissioner would be the laboring people and it would necessarily entail considerable expense to get 55 per cent. of the qualified voters of the preceding election to sign the petition. We would have less

work and expense if the percentage were lower than 55 per cent.

Board Member Morton: I believe one of the greatest contentions the opponents of the initiative and referendum have is that some of those who were lobbying in Springfield during the last legislature said they were willing to allow the initiative, referendum and recall to go through provided they could agree with the labor organizations to increase the percentage necessary for a recall. I think the Legislative Committee is familiar with that.

Board Member Towers: If a municipality adopts the commission form of government, the initiative, referendum and recall goes with it, but the percentage is too high. Of course, the Illinois State Federation of Labor is seeking, and has been for some years, to broaden this. Now the state only grants the use of the initiative, referendum and recall in cases where there is a commission form of government.

Board Member Kinsley: Rock Island is in the third year of that form of government. We tried to recall the mayor and the head of one of the departments. We were unsuccessful because of the 55 per cent. I believe a majority of the voters would be very much in favor of reducing that to 30 or 35. I think 30 per cent. would be a very fair proportion.

President Walker: I think 25 per cent. is enough. If you refer this to the Legislative Committee in this way some of the opposition to the initiative, referendum and recall will get hold of it and say that organized labor is in favor of 35 per cent. I believe the request of the Legislative Committee is for 5 or 10 per cent. A recall with too large a percentage is worse than no recall. I believe we ought to amend that by striking out 35 and inserting 25 even in referring it to the Legislative Committee.

Board Member Towers: We wrote that 35 per cent. We felt that was high, but coming from 55 to 35 would be as much as we could possibly get. We would like to have it more. I be-

lieve since hearing the discussion it would be better to leave the amount blank and allow the Legislative Committee to use its own judgment in naming the percentage. I move as an amendment that the amount of percentage be left to the Legislative Committee. (Seconded).

President Walker: The original motion would give the Committee a right to reduce it; it states that the percentage shall not be more than 35 per cent. Opponents of the reduction of the percentage would use the statement that the Illinois Federation of Labor is willing to accept 35 per cent. if the resolution is adopted by the Board, no matter what the Legislative Committee does, it will be claimed that the Board is willing to agree to 35 per cent.

The amendment was carried and the resolution was adopted as amended.

Resolution No. 29.

WHEREAS, The Barbers of Illinois have been compelled to undergo the hardships of Sunday slavery since the year 1895, owing to the fact that in that year the Sunday Closing Law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Illinois, and

WHEREAS, In many cities of Illinois, the barbers are now compelled to work on Sunday and in some cities all day Sunday, and

WHEREAS, The Barbers will seek the enactment of a Sunday Closing law for barber shops at the next session of the General Assembly, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 32nd annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor pledges its support of a measure of this kind that will give the barbers of the state the Sunday day of rest.

WM. JAMPPEL,
THOMAS KELLY,
T. B. DAVIS,
W. S. BROWN,
L. A. HILL.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended concurrence, and further recommended that the Legislative Committee work for a six-day week for all labor.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 30.

WHEREAS, The bloody conflict now sweeping over Europe is an attempt of the industrial monarchs of Europe to force upon open markets for the surplus wealth stolen from labor, and

WHEREAS, The food necessary to supply the carnival of crime indulged in by these industrial monarchs of Europe, consists of the lives and limbs of the working class, and

WHEREAS, The working classes of Europe once more are being forced to pay with their own blood the bitter penalty of neglecting the proper organization of their forces on the industrial field, and

WHEREAS, The bitter experience of the toilers of Europe should be a solemn warning to the toilers of this nation, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we urge upon not only the toilers of the State of Illinois, but the entire nation, and the whole world the immediate necessity of organizing in the speediest possible manner every industry from top to bottom, for the overshadowing purpose of placing the ownership, operation and supervision of every industry under the absolute control of the working classes as the only positive protection of humanity against its despoilers.

Respectfully submitted by
J. COOK.

Milk Wagon Drivers Local 753.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended concurrence. Adopted.

Resolution No. 31.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in the convention assembled:

WHEREAS, During the month of July, 1914, the membership of the International Association of Machinists voted by a large majority, pledging our Association to a more compact form of organization of all metal trades, including the Machinists, Boilermakers, Blacksmiths, Brass Workers and Metal Polishers, Sheet Metal Workers, Iron Workers, Electricians, Plumbers and Steam Fitters and Ele-

vator Constructors, and

WHEREAS, The International Association is submitting this information with the hope that this may be made part of the records of this convention, and that the delegates representing the above named trades might report to their respective local organization the action taken by the Machinists; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That requests of the Machinists be granted, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the various trades be requested to take up the question of a more compact form of organization for the Metal Trades.

JOHN FRITCHIE,

Delegate Local 660, International Association of Machinists.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended non-concurrence, and recommended further that the mover of the motion take the matter up with the American Federation of Labor through his International office.

Upon motion of Board Member Morton the recommendation of the Committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 32.

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists are concentrating their efforts to organize the non-union machine shops where mining machinery is being made, and

WHEREAS, During the past six months much progress has been made in the cities of Litchfield, Belleville, Alton and Murphysboro through the splendid assistance of President Walker of Illinois Federation of Labor and the organized mine workers of the state, and

WHEREAS, There are a number of non-union mining machine shops that might be easily organized throughout the state of Illinois, thereby making working conditions and wages better for machinists and other crafts, also placing in the mines union-made machinery, and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists feel very grateful for the assistance rendered, and sincerely hopes that the agitation begun may be followed up now with even greater activities, that we

might finally organize the firms like the Beal Shovel Works at East Alton, Illinois, Western Cartridge Company, of Alton and East Alton, Illinois, Duncan Machine Company, of Alton, Illinois, Desmond Manufacturing Co., of Edwardsville, Illinois, Hertzler & Henninger Machine Company, of Belleville, Illinois, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That every assistance be given the Machinists in organizing these firms, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copy of these firms be furnished mine workers locals affiliated with Illinois State Federation, and that they be requested to write these firms inquiring if they operate a union shop.

JOHN FRITCHIE,

Delegate Local 660, International Association of Machinists.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended concurrence.

Adopted.

Resolution No. 33.

WHEREAS, The Jaeger Baking Company, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, has bought out the Sichling Bakery, the bakers of the well known and famous "Milwaukee Rye Bread," which formerly was always made by union men, but since the firm of Jaeger Company secured possession they discharged all union employes and hired non-union help, and absolutely refused to recognize organized labor, and

WHEREAS, They have a great shipping trade all over the country, and especially in the State of Illinois, as the City of Chicago receives 2600 loaves of bread in a day, and in comparison likewise other cities in the state; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the state convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, held in Peoria, requests organized labor in general throughout the State, and especially in Chicago, to refuse buying the so-called "Milwaukee Rye," and try all they can to force the Jaeger Baking Company to recognize the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America, corresponding with said firm, and requesting people of stores in which bread is sold,

to inform the company that should they not recognize union labor that their product cannot be handled by them, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be spread on the minutes of the convention and referred to the labor papers of the State..

HERMAN ROSS.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended concurrence.
Adopted.

Resolution No. 34.

WHEREAS, The Bakery Workers of Springfield were locked out on the first of May, 1914, without any reason, by the master bakers of that city, and

WHEREAS, It was the aim and object of the employers of Springfield to force the open shop on the Bakery Workers with the financial support of the Business Men's League, and

WHEREAS, Many attempts were made by the local and state officers of the State Federation to adjust the grievances, but without success, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 32nd Annual Convention of the State Federation of Labor, assembled at Peoria, endorse the action of the Bakery Workers, Local No. 147, Springfield, and put the following firms—Hartman Bros. and Connelly Bakery Co., makers of the Butternut and Eclipse bread, on the "We Don't Patronize" list.

HERMAN ROSS.

The Committee on Resolutions referred the resolution to the Executive Board.

Upon motion, the resolution was adopted by the Board.

Resolution No. 35.

WHEREAS, There is at the present time a struggle going on between labor and capital for better conditions, and

WHEREAS, The organized bakery workers, being no exception to the rule, are also in a bitter struggle with the master bakers for more humane conditions, using all the weapons that a modern labor movement puts at their command, and

WHEREAS, The union label is one

of these weapons by which we try to obtain better conditions, the union label of the bakery workers being absolute guarantee that the bread upon which it is placed is not alone baked under sanitary conditions, but that it also guarantees a living wage for the man who bakes it, and

WHEREAS, The label of the Bakery Workers has been one of the greatest factors to bring about sanitary conditions for the men and women in these shops; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 32nd annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor re-indorses the bakers' union label; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Board be instructed to again impress upon the organizations affiliated with the State Federation of Labor the importance and necessity, especially at this time, to demand the bakers' label on all bread and crackers they purchase.

HERMAN ROSS.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers
International Union of America.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended adoption. Upon motion the recommendation was concurred in.

Resolution No. 37.

WHEREAS, Many of the labor organizations at the present time are using non-union paper for letterheads and envelopes when there is a union water-mark paper on the market, and

WHEREAS, The Paper Makers' Union is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and is a part of the great American labor movement, and

WHEREAS, It is the sworn duty of all union labor to stand together for the upbuilding and promotion of the labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Danville Labor Trades Council and Vermillion Lodge No. 473 of the International Association of Machinists that all affiliated locals of the Illinois State Federation of Labor are requested to use nothing but the union water-mark paper on their envelopes, letterheads and all and any other stationery used by them; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Secretary of the Illinois State

Federation of Labor send out a letter of notification to all affiliated bodies and notify them where the union water-mark paper can be purchased; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention inform their respective locals that the Illinois State Federation of Labor has put the bad order seal on all stationery that does not bear the union water-mark on the paper.

EDWARD M. METHE,

JOHN F. DEMLOW,

JAS. B. KEENAN,

Resolution Committee Danville Trades and Labor Council.

H. A. WISE,

C. B. ADAMS,

Lodge No. 473 I. A. of M.

L. P. STRAUBE,

Chicago Federation of Labor.

J. BARRY,

Local Lodge 22, Boilermakers, Danville, Ill.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended adoption of the resolution. The recommendation of the Committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 38.

WHEREAS, Thirty-five thousand men have been on strike on the Illinois Central and Harriman lines for a period of three years for the right to organize, and

WHEREAS, The Illinois Central and Harriman lines have refused to recognize the Shopmen's Union and have employed SCAB LABOR since the inception of the strike, and

WHEREAS, The Illinois Central and Harriman lines have employed detectives, thugs and gunmen with the view of eradicating the efforts of the men on strike are making to win this strike for organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The Illinois Central and Harriman lines are the worst enemies to organized labor that organized dollars has ever produced; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Danville Trades and Labor Council and Vermillion Lodge No. 473 of the International Association of Machinists that the Illinois Central and Harriman lines be placed on the unfair list by

all organized labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor are requested not to ride over the Illinois Central or Harriman railroads; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention make a report to their respective organizations upon their return home from this convention, and notify their constituents that the Illinois Central and Harriman lines are unfair to Union labor and that the Illinois Central and Harriman lines have been placed on the UNFAIR LIST by the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

EDWARD M. METHE,

JOHN DEMLOW,

JAS. B. KEENAN,

Resolution Committee Danville Trades and Labor Council.

H. A. WISE,

C. B. ADAMS,

Lodge No. 473 I. A. of M.

J. BARRY,

J. FLATTERY,

Boiler Makers' Local No. 22, Danville.

L. P. STRAUBE,

Chicago Federation of Labor.

The Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the incoming Executive Board.

Board Member Whalen: I move the adoption of the resolution. (Seconded by Board Member Whalen.)

Secretary Morris: This resolution, in my opinion, should not be acted upon by the Board in view of the action taken today. The purpose of this meeting is to take up the resolutions that were not acted upon in the convention.

Board Member Towers: I move that the resolution be referred to a future meeting of the Board for action. We will have to investigate before putting them on the unfair list. (Seconded.)

Board Member Morton: I move as an amendment that that part relating to instructions to the convention be concurred in, and the matter of placing these lines on the unfair list be referred to a future meeting of the Board.

The amendment was adopted.

Resolution No. 39.

WHEREAS, The employers import strike breakers into the different cities during strikes and have them sworn in as special officers, in order that they may uphold the power of the law, as they call it, in their own behalf; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 32nd annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the Legislative Committee have a law enacted to compel all persons sworn in as officers to be legal residents and voters in the county where they are to serve as such officers.

Respectfully submitted,
THEODORE BISSER,
DAVID ROSS.

Quincy Trades and Labor Assembly.

The committee recommended concurrence.

Secretary Morris: No man can be sworn in as a special deputy, except as a United States marshal, unless he is a legal voter of that county. This law is on the statute book, and if the people are not alert and enter protest when such things are done it is their fault.

Upon motion the recommendation of the Committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 40.

RESOLVED, That Article XV of the State Mining Laws, in regard to manholes on haulage ways, be amended as follows: "That all haulage ways be two feet and six inches from outside of rails," (meaning rope and motor haulage ways); and be it further

RESOLVED, That a law be enacted giving to the public schools material needed for a common school education, namely, books, pens, and pencils for all grades.

Submitted by Resolutions Committee of Local Union No. 578, U. M. W. of A.

(Signed) ED. MANSELL,
GEORGE McCLINTOC,
J. OYSTON,
Committee.

The Committee on Resolutions concurred insofar as that part pertaining to amending the mining laws is concerned, and recommended further that the part relating to school books and supplies be stricken out, as the school matter had been passed upon by the action on other resolutions.

The recommendation of the Committee was concurred in by the Board.

Resolution No. 42.

RESOLVED, That this convention in session assembled instruct all delegates to use their best efforts to secure the immediate release of the members of the International Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union who are now serving various terms of sentence in the Federal Prison at Fort Leavenworth, Kans., and that justice was not meted out in the trial of these men and therefore we deem it necessary to exercise a never-ending nor tiring, honest and earnest effort at all times to return these men to their liberty and homes. We also call every union man's attention to do everything in his power that hereafter no man can be deprived of his liberty and pursuit of happiness for the simple reason of his standing or union position.

MARTIN S. NEWSTED,
ELMER BLYTHE,
JAMES E. RAY.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended concurrence.

Board Member Norton: I move that we concur in the report of the committee and that the officers give such assistance as they deem necessary.

The motion was seconded and adopted.

Resolution No. 44.

To the Officers and Delegates of the 32nd Annual Convention of the Illinois Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Western Federation of Miners was for a year engaged in a titanic industrial struggle with the foreign millionaire owners of the copper mines of Michigan in an effort

to secure better working conditions for the men and to organize, and

WHEREAS, In the course of the strike, at the instance of the mining companies and through the instrumentality of hirelings and tools, over 2,000 of the striking miners were thrown into the jail upon various charges from murder down; in this effort to harass the strikers every nefarious method known to the professional gunman was freely used in behalf of the organized copper barons to arrest and later convict the miners, and every effort, even to the removal of the prosecuting attorney elected by the people, and the appointment of a special attorney general to prosecute the remaining strike cases, has been used against the miners a specially selected judge, knowing that the Supreme Court would compel a change of venue, in obedience to his reputation, sent the trial of strikers charged with murder to the Steel controlled and unorganized county of Marquette, and

WHEREAS, Three members of the Western Federation of Miners now lie in jail, bail being refused, and have lain there eight months awaiting trial after an arrest based upon an admittedly purchased confession, one since repudiated, and

WHEREAS, The Western Federation of Miners has suffered severely, financially, as a result of this long conflict, and as a result of the disastrous result on the metal miners of the war, and

WHEREAS, These victims of a vicious corporative greed should receive the support of organized labor in their fight for freedom from the unjust toils of the law, and

WHEREAS, Such support was so generously given in their splendid fight for industrial freedom; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 32nd Annual Convention of the Illinois Federation of Labor, hereby pledge its undivided support to these miners who are in difficulty and authorizes its Executive Board to render all possible assistance.

E. N. NOCKELS,
W. A. NEER,
E. CARBINE.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended concurrence.

Adopted.

Resolution No. 45.

WHEREAS, The Goodman Mining Machinery Co., of Chicago, Ill., have since the 3rd day of July, 1912, refused to allow any man working for them to belong to a union, or organization of his fellows, and

WHEREAS, As the company itself is a member of the Manufacturers' Association, the un-Americanism, injustice and inconsistency of its position is demonstrated by its own actions, and

WHEREAS, During all this time it not only refused to recognize the machinists' organization, but it has employed thugs, gunmen and murderers and used the police force of the city of Chicago to beat up brutally, ill use and put in the jail or hospital every man that refused to submit to the tyrannical and despotic rule and go back to work as a servile slave of this labor-crushing corporation, and

WHEREAS, The members of the Machinists' Union formerly employees of this machinery trust, during all the time have heroically fought for the right to organize for reasonable wages and hours of employment, humane conditions and decent treatment, and have suffered patiently this barbarous treatment in hopes that this company would sometime be convinced of the inhumanity and absolute unfairness of its position, and

WHEREAS, This combination of modern despots and barbarians still persists in its absolutely dishonest and indefensible position toward the men who work in the production of machinery; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled condemn in the most emphatic terms the attitude of this labor-hating scab-loving concern; that we pledge our unqualified support morally and financially to our brothers, the Machinists, on strike, who have made such a magnificent battle for human rights, and be it further

RESOLVED, That our incoming officers be instructed to do everything in their power to assist the strikers to

win the struggle; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask all affiliated unions and all organized labor to lend every assistance they can to the end that this company be required to recognize the Machinists' Union and settle on a basis that will mean justice to the men on strike.

ED. CARBINE,
A. T. PACE,
PETER DEVLIN,
JAMES McLEISH.

The Resolutions Committee recommended concurrence.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 48.

WHEREAS, The men working as chauffeurs throughout the State of Illinois, numbering 100,000 or more, work from twelve to twenty-four hours at a stretch in many instances, and

WHEREAS, They are driving machines that are public conveyances and running on the streets of the various cities and towns, and these long hours of work incapacitate them from using the amount of precaution necessary for the safety of the public traveling over the streets and highways in the State of Illinois, as they travel at per hour, we believe there should be a law passed at the next session of the Legislature governing the hours of labor of this particular industry, for the safety of the public, to avoid such accidents, etc.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor, assembled in convention, instruct the incoming Executive Board to draw up a bill governing this industry, and that this convention instruct the Executive Board to instruct the Legislative Committee to endeavor to have the bill passed at the next session of the Legislature; and be it further

RESOLVED, That it be embodied in this bill that no chauffeur working on any kind of gasoline or electric vehicle will be allowed to work not more than eight hours in any twenty-four.

Respectfully submitted to the con-

sideration of the delegates of this convention.

T. F. NEARY, Secretary.
Chauffeurs' Union No. 727, I. B. of T.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended concurrence. The recommendation was adopted by the Executive Board.

Resolution No. 49.

WHEREAS, In the city council at Chicago, Illinois, there was recently introduced an ordinance providing that stipulations be inserted in all contracts entered into by said City of Chicago, requiring that all work performed for the City of Chicago should be performed by citizens of the United States employed not more than eight hours in each twenty-four, and

WHEREAS, The Corporation Counsel of the City of Chicago delivered an opinion in which he stated said ordinance would be unconstitutional, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor be instructed to take the first possible opportunity to have the Constitution of the State of Illinois so amended that provisions may be legally inserted in state or municipal contracts protecting the rights and interests of citizens against unscrupulous employers and sweat shop corporations.

ARTHUR W. SMITH,
JAMES WILLIAMS.
Chicago Allied Printing Trades Council.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended that the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 50.

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly, that every employer of labor in this state engaged in any work or process which may produce or generate poisonous or noxious fumes or dusts in harmful quantities, such as metal polishing, grinding, plating and dipping of metals in acid

solution or dips, which processes and employments are hereby declared to be especially dangerous to the health of the employes engaged in said process, or any like employments creating poisonous or noxious fumes or dust, shall, for the protection of the employes when possible conduct such operations or employments in rooms lying wholly above the surface of the ground.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of the state department of factory inspection to enforce the provisions of this act, and to prosecute all violations of the same before any magistrate or any Court of competent jurisdiction in this state and for that purpose the department and its inspectors are empowered to visit and inspect, at all reasonable hours, all places that may come under the provisions of this act. In the enforcement of the hereof, the Department of Factory Inspection shall give proper notice in regard to any violation of this act to any employer or labor violating it and direct the proper changes to be made to protect the health of the employes therein, and such notice shall be written or printed, and shall be signed by the Chief Factory Inspector or any of his assistants authorized by him to sign such orders, and such notices may be served by delivering the same to the usual person upon whom service is the best to be had, or by leaving at usual place of abode or business, an exact copy thereof, or by sending a copy thereof by mail. Upon receipt of such notice calling the attention of the employer to such violations he shall immediately comply with the provisions of this act.

Sec. 3. Any person, firm or corporation who shall, personally or through an Agent, violate any of the provisions of this Act, or who omits or fails to comply with any of its requirements or who obstructs or interferes with the examination or investigation being made by the State Department of Factory Inspection in accordance with the provisions of this Act, or any employe who shall violate any of the provisions of this Act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and on conviction thereof shall be punished for the first offense by a fine of

not less than twenty-five dollars (\$25) or more than two hundred dollars (\$200), and upon conviction of the second or subsequent offenses, shall be fined not less than one hundred dollars (\$100), and in each case shall stand committed until such fine and costs are paid, unless otherwise discharged by due process of law.

Sec. 4. For an injury to the health of any employe, approximately caused by any wilful violation of this Act or wilful failure to comply with any of its provisions, a right of action shall accrue to the party whose health has been so injured, for any direct damages sustained thereby, and in case of the loss of life by reason of such wilful violation or wilful failure as aforesaid, a right of action shall accrue to the widow of such deceased person, his lineal heirs or adopted children, or to any other person or persons who were, before such loss of life, dependent for support upon such deceased person, for recovery of damages for the injury sustained by reason of such loss of life, not to exceed the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars (\$25,000) provided that every such action for damages in case of death shall be commenced within two (2) years after the death of such employe.

EDWARD LEBERMAN,
Metal Polishers' Union, No. 6,
Chicago, Ill.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended reference to the Legislative Committee. The recommendation was adopted.

Resolution No. 51.

WHEREAS, Members of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union have been on strike since July 10, 1913, at the H. N. White Co., of Cleveland, Ohio, manufacturers of brass band musical instruments, and

WHEREAS, Every honorable effort has been made to adjust this strike and has met with failure, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, make known to affiliated locals this firm's unfriendly atti-

tude towards our International Union, by giving this resolution all publicity possible.

(Signed) EDWARD LEBERMAN,
Metal Polishers' Union No. 6,
Chicago, Ill.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended concurrence. Adopted.

At 12 o'clock the session was adjourned, to reconvene at 2 o'clock p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Executive Board was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., October 25th, President John H. Walker in the chair. Consideration of resolutions referred to the board by the convention was proceeded with.

Resolution No. 54.

WHEREAS, The Rock River Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Illinois, at its recent meeting in Chicago, passed a resolution ordering the superintendent of its printing house in Chicago to give preference to Union printers when engaging composing room help, and,

WHEREAS, This action represents a recession from the attitude of this publishing concern to maintain open shop conditions, and the nine hour day, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Typographical Union, in annual convention assembled, that we commend this new policy of the Rock River conference, and that we urge upon this conference the necessity for establishing full union conditions throughout their entire establishment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge all trades unionists owing allegiance to that religious faith, not to cease their efforts with this denomination until the shop becomes a union institution; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be submitted to the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, in the request that they be adopted as the action of the State Federation, and a copy be sent to the Rock River conference.

State Typographical Union.
C. R. EMBICK,
EDW. R. WRIGHT,
JOHN C. HARDING,
WALTER S. BUSH,
R. S. BARNES,
GEO. E. WEBBER,
H. C. MADDOX,
HARRY HARVEY,
JAS. E. MILES,
F. W. RITTER,
W. J. ARNOLD,
A. V. BILLINGS,
H. P. STEVENS,
E. D. QUINN,
A. F. WOODRUFF,
CHAS. M. FOX,
JAMES J. RYAN,
W. E. WAGNER,
GEO. P. LISCHER,
F. C. ANDERSON,
M. H. SNIDER,
ROBT. EADIE,
E. E. BESSETTE,
GUY S. MCCOY,
HENRY BEETLESTONE.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended concurrence. The recommendation was adopted.

Resolution No. 55.

WHEREAS, The Loyal Order of Moose, Improved Order of Red Men, Modern Woodmen of America and the Court of Honor, have each made a ruling ordering the Allied Printing Trades Council Union Label to appear on all printed matter of these fraternal orders, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Typographical Union, that we consider such rules praiseworthy in the highest sense, and worthy of emulation by other fraternal societies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the State Federation of Labor endorse the sentiments expressed in the foregoing, and that these resolutions be published in the minutes of the thirty-second annual convention as the action of the body, and sent to the several fraternal orders mentioned herein.

State Typographical Union.
C. R. EMBICK,
EDW. R. WRIGHT,
JOHN C. HARDING,
WALTER S. BUSH,
R. S. BARNES.

GEO. E. WEBBER,
H. C. MADDOX,
HARRY HARVEY,
JAS. E. MILES,
F. W. RITTER,
W. J. ARNOLD,
A. V. BILLINGS,
H. P. STEVENS,
E. D. QUINN,
A. F. WOODRUFF,
CHAS. M. FOX,
JAMES J. RYAN,
W. E. WAGNER,
GEO. P. LISCHER,
F. C. ANDERSON,
M. H. SNIDER,
ROBT. EADIE,
E. E. BESSETTE,
GUY S. McCOY,
HENRY BEETLESTONE.

W. E. WAGNER,
GEO. P. LISCHER,
F. C. ANDERSON,
M. H. SNIDER,
ROBT. EADIE,
E. E. BESSETTE,
GUY S. McCOY,
HENRY BEETLESTONE.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended concurrence. Adopted.

Resolution No. 57.

WHEREAS, Almost without exception, text books in use in the public schools of Illinois, are the product of unfair manufacturers, and do not bear the label of the Allied Printing Trades Associations, and,

WHEREAS, The resulting profits to the publishing houses from the sale of school books to parents of Illinois school children represents a huge and exorbitant toll, for which there is no commensurate return, and,

WHEREAS, An additional agency for absorbing the workers' wages is employed by too frequent changing of text books, likewise the lack of uniformity and continuity of the books, and these are sources of large and useless expense to the citizen, who is compelled frequently to shift his residence from city to city, and,

WHEREAS, Through the adoption by Boards of Education of a set of text books that are the product of greedy, trustified, non-union publishers, trades unionists are compelled to buy scab products without any choice in the matter; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois Typographical Union, that we urge upon every trade unionist the necessity for early and drastic action, relating to complaints recited in this resolution; that agitation along the line of uniform text books and state ownership of copyright be renewed, and continued vigorously by the incoming officers of the State Federation of Labor; that we reiterate the sentiments expressed by President Wright in his report to the Decatur convention, and invite attention to the action of that convention in the matter, as contained in the following extract from the proceedings of the 31st convention:

The committee recommended concurrence. Adopted.

Resolution No. 56.

WHEREAS, There is need of legislative enactment of a measure that will regulate the payment of wages, and

WHEREAS, There is now a law in effect in the State of Illinois demanding a semi-monthly pay day; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Typographical Union, that we favor the enactment of a law enforcing the payment of wages in United States coin or currency, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be submitted to the convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor for endorsement.

State Typographical Union.

C. R. EMBICK,
EDW. R. WRIGHT,
JOHN C. HARDING,
WALTER S. BUSH,
R. S. BARNES,
GEO. E. WEBBER,
H. C. MADDOX,
HARRY HARVEY,
JAS. E. MILES,
F. W. RITTER,
W. J. ARNOLD,
A. V. BILLINGS,
H. P. STEVENS,
E. D. QUINN,
A. F. WOODRUFF,
CHAS. M. FOX,
JAMES J. RYAN,

"The Abuse of Our Greatest Institution—the Public Schools.

"Our campaign for a better school system in our State failed of fruition in the last General Assembly. It would seem that our representatives wholly failed to grasp the demands of the people for better primary schools. The policy of 'giving to him who hath' is splendidly exemplified in the additional advantages awarded in our 'higher educational' system to the one high school graduate out of the 163 entrants in the primary classes.

"What becomes of the 162 little children who enter the public schools, but fail to complete their studies, and why are they condemned to the carrying of wood and to the drawing of water? Our 'educators' prate knowingly of 'blind alley' occupants, as if we did not all know the 'blind alley,' and were fighting our way out. They roll the phrase about in their mouths as though it were something pleasant. But why do they condemn another generation to the objectionable callings? Why not adopt the remedy now?

"We have the mockery of a school system in some industrial centers, in the placing of more than one hundred children in the care of one teacher. One little, underpaid, overburdened woman is called upon to 'teach' this company of our dear little ones! You, the father, are puzzled and bewildered in guiding and controlling your two or three children, yet you unhesitatingly trust scores of them to the care of the girl school teacher.

"One of the delegates to this convention informs me that his little daughter has a chance to recite her lessons in the school room every fourth day.

"We erect magnificent buildings of pressed brick and cut stone, install the finest equipment, and invite the public to view our 'magnificent school system.' During our controversy before the Legislature it developed that 3,700

school teachers in Illinois received a salary of \$300 or less per year. A day laborer, caring for a horse and cow, receives a higher wage than the teachers referred to above. In fact, most of our 'teachers' are in reality nurse girls, caretakers or police women. The parents must do the real teaching at home, while the teacher reviews the work of the parents.

"A real school system would reverse this order, and as true friends of the public school, we should lend our efforts to secure this reform. We should demand real teachers, and pay them honest wages; we should demand a sufficient number to instruct our children and to lay the foundation for a life of usefulness.

"The City of Chicago is equipping school buildings with swimming pools. Excellent; but in these same schools there are just twice as many children per teacher as they can teach. Swimming is healthful and stimulating, but the busy brain should be enabled to keep pace with the healthy body.

"The school books the child uses are often of indifferent educational value, and have no continuity in their course of study. One book of one series, then one of another, and so on through a hodge-podge of inconsistency. The books are very expensive; or, rather, the price we pay would be excessive, even for good books, with a high percentage of teaching value. I have several times referred to the cost of these books as just plain legalized robbery, and I see no reason to qualify this statement.

"The defeat of our school book measure means the loss to the workers of this state of probably half a million dollars the coming two years. 'Educators' and school book men say that the average cost of school books amounts to but 75 cents per year. Do you believe it?

"What are we securing from this agitation?

"First, I am pleased to report that one of the largest school book publishing houses in the United States has unionized its plant throughout.

"Second, the school board of the City of Chicago has instructed the superintendent of schools to proceed along the plan advocated by the State Federation, and secure the copyright and publish a book for use in the Chicago schools. Should the move prove a success—and there appears to be little room for doubt—the movement should rapidly develop a state wide popularity. We are getting a foothold in the very place we experienced the hardest opposition.

"Our agitation must continue for uniform school books, the State to own the copyright. In no other way can we hope to win. Under the initiative and referendum such a law would be enacted, and I would suggest it as our first effort when we succeed in enacting our greatest reform."

The thirty-first convention acted upon this report in the following manner:

"The Abuse of Our Greatest Institutions—the Public Schools."

"Under the above caption the president gives seven illustrations of the public school system as is at present in vogue in the State of Illinois, touching upon the wages paid to a great number of the school teachers and the enormous number of pupils imposed upon these poorly paid teachers, with the expectation of their developing the young minds. Such a condition should not exist in a state like Illinois, and without consuming unnecessary time of the convention your committee recommends that that complete article be referred to the incoming Executive Board, with instruction to investigate thoroughly and to give and get all publicity possible as a means of bringing about a radical change in the school system of our public schools in the State of Illinois until such time as it can be truthfully said they are second

to none in the world."

We also refer to the expression of the Seattle convention of the A. F. of L.:

"Report of Committee on Education."

"Delegate Walker, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

"To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

"We, your Committee on Education, to whom were submitted the resolution and that portion of the Executive Council's report bearing on the subject, beg leave to report as follows:

"Resolution No. 84—By Delegate James T. Patterson of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

"Whereas, The American Federation of Labor one year ago adopted a resolution calling for state uniformity of text books in our public schools, and further endorsed the proposed plan of state ownership of copyrights of such books; and,

"Whereas, The prices charged for text books now in use in many of our public schools, can only be designated as a legalized form of robbery of the people; and

"Whereas, Some confusion has arisen as to the best method of carrying into effect the intentions of the resolution adopted one year ago; Therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to prepare a model bill for a law on this subject, embodying the plans of state uniformity of text books and state ownership of copyright, and that the same be printed and circulated in such a manner as will, in the judgment of our officers, be the most effective means of accomplishing the reform we seek.

"The report of the committee was adopted."

RESOLVED, Further, that these resolutions be referred to the convention of the State Federation of Labor

for concurrence and approval; and that the Legislative Committee be instructed to renew efforts to secure a uniform text book law, and a law vesting in the state the ownership of copyright of text books from the incoming legislature.

Illinois State Typographical Union.

C. R. EMBICK,
EDW. R. WRIGHT,
JOHN C. HARDING,
WALTER S. BUSH,
R. S. BARNES,
GEO. E. WEBBER,
H. C. MADDOX,
HARRY HARVEY,
JAS. E. MILES,
F. W. RITTER,
W. J. ARNOLD,
A. V. BILLINGS,
H. P. STEVENS,
E. D. QUINN,
A. F. WOODRUFF,
CHAS. M. FOX,
JAMES J. RYAN,
W. E. WAGNER,
GEO. P. LISCHER,
F. C. ANDERSON,
M. H. SNIDER,
ROBT. EADIE,
E. E. BESSETTE,
GUY S. MCCOY,
HENRY BEETLESTONE.

The Resolutions Committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the incoming Executive Board.

Delegate Morton: I move that the resolution be made a special order of business for the next session of the Board. The motion was seconded and adopted.

Resolution No. 61.

WHEREAS, The workers of the Old World, and in several states of our own country, have carried on a successful campaign for a general legal eight-hour day, and

WHEREAS, The workers of the State of Illinois, need a shorter work day, to benefit their conditions, both socially and industrially, and

WHEREAS, All beneficial labor legislation must be strenuously fought for by the labor movement, with its organized strength; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention, representing the organized workers of

Illinois, go on record as demanding a legal eight-hour day for all workers, both men and women, employed in this state; and we further instruct our Legislative Committee to have a general eight-hour law introduced into the next session of the Illinois State Legislature.

FRANK LIJEWSKI,

Delegate, Local Union No. 620, U. M. W. A., LaSalle, Ill.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended concurrence. Adopted.

Resolution No. 60.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the I. S. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, A number of co-operative societies are in operation in this state, and many more are in the formative stage, and

WHEREAS, These societies are now working in a haphazard manner, each purchasing its stock from many private wholesale houses, thus losing a great deal of co-operative benefit, and

WHEREAS, It is necessary to have these societies co-operate, as individuals are doing, and

WHEREAS, A meeting of co-operators representing ten co-operative societies in Illinois, was held in this city for the purpose of bringing about some form of organization of all co-operative societies throughout the State, and

WHEREAS, This meeting decided to ask the State Federation of Labor to help in this great work, and the following resolution explains the request and desires of the Illinois co-operators, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, now assembled, that we instruct our incoming officers to use their best efforts in forming a state-wide co-operative organization immediately after the adjournment of this convention.

We beg to submit the following plan of action to the incoming officers as a means of bringing quick results:

An invitation to attend a conference, to be held in some city designated by the officers, should be extended to every co-operative society, including

the Farmers' Co-operative Mail Order House, in this state, also those in process of formation; the purpose of the conference to be to devise ways and means to line up all the societies and establish one central wholesale house.

Respectfully submitted by co-operators' meeting.

THOMAS R. DOWNIE,
Gillespie, Ill.
D. L. THOMAS,
O'Fallon, Ill.

Board Member Daughton: That is a resolution signed by Thomas Downie. Is there any objection to his appearing and making a statement?

President Walker: None at all.

Thomas R. Downie, Mine Workers. Gillespie: The other evening we had a meeting in the city hall of those delegates who were representing co-operative societies and those interested in the matter. Our idea was to bring about a state society, with the idea of organizing a state-wide wholesale house. Only ten societies were represented, and there are some twenty-five already in operation, or about to begin operation, and ten or fifteen more being organized. The brothers, who were all delegates, and all others present, felt it would be a good idea to ask the Executive Board of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to use its efforts to bring about a conference. It would not entail any expense, it would involve only the moral support or the use of the office so to speak to bring about this conference. We would like to have it done as soon as possible in order to stop the inroads made by private enterprises against the sentiment for co-operation.

When I was in Rock Island the society fell for a proposition—or the manager did—from a private concern in Chicago called the "Consumers' Catalog Company." We believe this co-operative movement belonged to the labor movement, and we would like to have the Executive Board and the state officers agree to use their organized efforts to bring about this conference so that we may be able to establish a wholesale house for the co-operative societies of the state.

President Walker: Can you furnish us with the addresses of the secretaries?

Mr. Downie: I will in the course of the next few days.

Secretary Morris: The resolution has been concurred in by the Committee on Resolutions.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 62.

WHEREAS, There are three bona fide organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which organizations are as follows: Cigar-makers, Tobacco Workers and Brewery Bottlers, that use wooden boxes to pack and ship their union products, and

WHEREAS, The majority of these boxes are manufactured by a dual organization that has no affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, as the latter body has gone on record in past conventions declaring for one organization and one affiliation, and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America has always held jurisdiction over box-making and sawing, as records will show that when the father organization of the union label, the Cigar Makers' Union applied their union label on these cigar boxes, the boxes were made at the carpenters' bench before the advent of the box-making machines; likewise did the carpenters' branch of box-makers make other boxes, until boys and girls were employed in the box industry, when the box machine was first installed in the larger box factories, and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners have several box factories organized outside of Chicago, in which city the organization of United Box Makers and Sawyers hold their headquarters and have several hundred employees affiliated that continually discriminate against the carpenters by insisting that they are the only original wood box-makers' organization, and

WHEREAS, The Carpenters' general president, Mr. James Kirby, has waited on the officers of the United

Box Makers, about the first of June, with the end in view of offering fair terms of amalgamation and other inducements, which have met with no response from the United Order of Box Makers' Employees; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation, in convention assembled, in the City of Peoria, instruct their incoming officers, immediately after the adjustment of the convention, to make an investigation into these dual wood-workers' box factories located in the State of Illinois, and to use their best efforts to have the cigar makers and manufacturers, tobacco workers and brewery worker bottlers demand that the Carpenters' label be applied on all boxes, and if they do not comply not later than the first of December, other box factories will be organized in Chicago and vicinity by the Carpenters, and will apply the Carpenters' label.

D. J. FARLEY, L. U. 1544.

E. Y. WRIGLEY, L. U. 183,

T. W. GERDES, L. U. 183,

WILLIAM DEAL, L. U. 183,

W. K. BROWN, B. A., L. U. 183,

GEORGE P. JENKINS, L. U. 44,

J. I. PATTERSON, L. U. 344,

Brewery Workers.
GEORGE HANKINS, L. U. 44.

Referred to the Executive Board by the Committee on Resolutions.

Board Member Jenkins: An effort has been made to amalgamate these box makers with the U. B. In several places we have the Carpenters' label on the cigar boxes and on the bottle boxes that are used by the brewers. As stated in the resolution, efforts have been made by General President Kirby to amalgamate the two organizations. Whether the State Federation at this time or the officials can go very far I would not say positively, because it is a matter of jurisdiction to a certain extent, and I don't believe the Federation makes it a point to settle jurisdiction troubles.

President Walker: The State Federation is supposed to use its influence to carry into effect the decision of the A. F. of L. In some instances we have had special requests from the American Federation of Labor to assist in the settlement of jurisdiction disputes, and we have assisted in bringing about settlements. I believe the State Federation and the Chicago Federation in a meeting where the President of the Chicago Federation was representing the A. F. of L., did more to allay the feeling that existed in the brickmakers' trouble than all other influences combined. The A. F. of L. has decided there shall be only one charter for the woodworking industry, and so far as the State Federation can lend its influence we are obligated to do everything we can to establish that condition. The American Federation of Labor will do what it can when the carpenters call upon it. So far as the State Federation is concerned, we will do anything we can. To adopt the resolution will make it clear to them we are willing to lend whatever assistance we can.

Board Member Morton: There is one paragraph in the resolution I do not like, that which fixes the date when this should be done. We had this up first two or three years ago. We have taken it up with the Brewers' Association. The machinists and millwrights requested the central body to withdraw all brewery workers until such time as the Brewers' Association agreed to put in union-made machinery. The Association came back and said they had an agreement with every one, from the stableman up to the malster, and it was up to the organization to organize some machinery factory so they could get union-made machinery. If the label can be put on the product of one box factory we can go to the brewers and show them we have union-made boxes.

The Brewery Workers' delegate will be in the American Federation of Labor. If our delegate should take this resolution and ask the Carpenters and Brewery Workers to get together and recommend something the A. F. of L. whereby this could be

brought about, I think it would be a better solution of the problem. You are not going to get the Brewers' Association in any city to create a demand for the label unless you put it out first.

President Walker: It seems to me the right method to settle this would be for the United Brotherhood of Carpenters to take this up with the United Brewery Workers and the Cigar Makers' International Unions and reach an agreement. They have authority to handle their members. We can say to the cigar makers, "You do this," and they will do it if they want to, but that is as far as we can go. We can only use moral suasion. We haven't a particle of authority to compel any one to do anything.

This is not a local proposition, it is not confined to Illinois, but affects a number of different states. I think the right course to pursue would be for the United Brotherhood of Carpenters to take it up directly with the other international unions involved. I believe, in addition to lending them what assistance we can to get the matter settled, the delegate to the American Federation of Labor ought to be requested to introduce the resolution for the purpose of bringing the matter to the attention of the convention. In my judgment it should be referred to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners for the purpose of taking up directly with the international unions involved.

Secretary Morris: It simply asks the officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to assist, if they can, in getting them organized. It says if they do not comply by the first of December other box factories will be organized by the carpenters. This is signed by the carpenters and by Jim Patterson. I feel, like Brother Morton, that whenever they organize a box factory that carries the Carpenters' label and go to them and say, "We want you to use this," they will do it. As it is, they say, "Don't use these boxes," but there are no other boxes with the label.

Board Member Jenkins: Our man Farley ought to be able to tell us

where the factories are that make boxes with the union label. He ought to be able to tell us whether they can supply the demand. I don't know whether they can supply the demand, but I know there are some such factories. This matter has been taken up by the Carpenters, the Cigar Makers and the Brewery Workers. It might be well for our delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention to bring it again to the attention of those who are assembled there, and urge them to make a little stronger effort, and with what assistance the Illinois State Federation of Labor can give them, we may be able to bring about the desired results in the State of Illinois.

Board Member Morton: If the Carpenters and Brewery Workers are affiliated with the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor it seems to me a lot of pressure could be brought to bear in that way. The Label Department meets prior to the American Federation of Labor. They agree to stand by one another's labels, and that would have some weight on the matter.

Board Member Irish: I think the factories you speak of that have the label are in the breweries in St. Louis.

The resolution was referred to the International unions affected.

Resolution No. 63.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, Assembled in Convention:

WHEREAS, At various times during the past two or three years, when the Chauffeurs have been on strike in this state for the betterment of their conditions, shorter hours and more pay, the Employers' Associations in various parts of the state have imported incompetent men, men who did not know the streets or how to operate a vehicle, to act as strike breakers and jeopardize the safety of the public, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Executive Board of the State Federation of Labor to draw up a bill pertaining to importation of

chauffeurs at the time of strike, to act as strike breakers, and that this bill contain a clause that no man can obtain a license in the State of Illinois to operate a public vehicle unless he has been a resident of said state for at least six months; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention authorize the Executive Board and Legislative Committee to endeavor to have this bill passed at the next session of the Legislature.

Respectfully submitted to the consideration of the delegates of this convention.

T. F. NEARY, Secretary,
Chauffeurs' Union No. 727, I. B. of T.
W. A. NEER.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended concurrence.

Board Member Towers: I move the adoption of the report of the Committee. (Seconded.)

Board Member Jenkins: I move as an amendment that it be referred to the Legislative Committee.

The amendment was seconded and adopted.

Resolution No. 66.

WHEREAS, It has come to our notice that certain employers of this state require a physical standard as a condition of employment, thereby permitting self-insured employers, insurance companies, corporations, firms or agents thereof to determine what this standard shall be, and employ a physician who will make the examination, and

WHEREAS, This will and has enabled employers to discharge active trade unionists in their employ and serve as a shield behind which these men can be most effectually black-listed, the doctor's certificate of examination supplying the tool to accomplish this purpose, and

WHEREAS, Workmen's Compensation is not for the physically and mentally perfect, if such exist, but for all wage earners, and the entire purpose of Workmen's Compensation would be overthrown if any law providing for certain physical standards was to be adopted, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Illinois State

Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we can not afford to allow the principles or the purpose of the Compensation Act to be set aside or evaded in any manner, nor become a menace instead of a benefit to the workers of this state, and, as in our opinion, the proper remedy could be only through legislative action, therefore, be it further

RESOLVED—That this State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as favoring an amendment to prohibit physical examination as a condition for employment in connection with this Compensation Act, and that a committee be appointed to draft said amendment to be presented to the Illinois State Legislature at the coming session, and that the Federation use its influence for its adoption.

JOSEPH TRUMBLE,
Central Ill. Conf. Board, Int. Molders' Union.

JOHN A. NELSON,
Progressive Railway Lodge No. 695,
I. A. of M.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended concurrence.

Board Member Jenkins: I move to concur in the recommendations of the committee. (Seconded.)

Board Member Towers: It is our particular craft that is being mostly affected by this. In Granite City, Ill., the Steel Company has 100 of our members working, and they are using that strongly. It seems occasionally to be used against active union workers. They are using it very strongly in the unorganized districts we hear so much about, in Rock Island and Moline. They are using it against the few union men who may be able to secure employment in the foundries. Some of the molders feel the Compensation Law, by virtue of the fact that the manufacturers use that against them, is a menace for that reason. They would like to have something done to get around that proposition, because no one can question the result of the doctor's examination. They can use it against any one in the plant. A man is out of the shop for a few days; he will have to undergo this physical examination

before he can get back, and the doctor's decision may be unfavorable.

The motion to concur was adopted.

Resolution No. 67.

WHEREAS, We believe all men should have the right to earn a decent living, with freedom from the blacklist, which the application for employment with its personal record makes possible, by requesting information other than the applicant's name and address, and name and address of nearest relative, and

WHEREAS, The employer uses this method as a means to blacklist individuals who seek employment; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the members of Progressive Railway Lodge No. 695, International Association of Machinists, do recommend and demand that the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, draft a bill to be presented to the Illinois State Legislature, providing that it be made illegal in the State of Illinois, to demand of individuals seeking employment, either in writing or otherwise intimidating them, any information other than their names and addresses and the name and address of nearest relative; violations of said ordinance to be either a fine of \$500 or six months in jail, or both.

Passed and approved by Lodge No. 695, I. A. of M., at a regular meeting held October 14, 1914.

Passed and approved by the Tri-City Federation of Labor, at a regular meeting, held at Rock Island, Ill., Thursday, October 15, 1914.

JOHN A. NELSON,
J. S. MILTON.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended concurrence. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 68.

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Council is an organization established by the American Federation of Labor for the protection of building laborers, and

WHEREAS, Some branches of the American Federation of Labor are

allying themselves with organizations that are not affiliated with the A. F. of L., at the same time withdrawing their support from the Building Trades Council, and

WHEREAS, We believe such action is not in accord with the purpose of the A. F. of L. when the Building Trades Councils were established therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegate from the Illinois State Federation of Labor to the American Federation of Labor convention be instructed to bring this matter before that convention and secure in every way possible protection of the Building Trades Councils by demanding that all organizations eligible to affiliation with the Building Trades Councils join those organizations, and that no alliance with outside crafts that has a tendency to weaken any organization established by the A. F. of L. shall be permitted.

J. F. DEMLOW.

The Committee on Resolutions recommended reference to the Executive Board.

A motion was made and seconded that the resolution be referred to the delegate to the American Federation of Labor.

Vice President Whalen: The Building Trades Council of East St. Louis has been having trouble with carpenters. They are trying to get them to affiliate with the Building Trades Council. When they are in the Council if they can not rule they will pull out. They did that several times. The Building Trades Council allowed it to run on for a couple of months. As a last resort they unseated them in the central body unless they would be seated in the Building Trades Council. We unseated the carpenters. They applied to the American Federation of Labor, and we had to reconsider the matter and take them back. I think our delegate ought to take this up and see if a law can not be adopted to compel them to affiliate with the Building Trades Council and the central body. There is no way we can force them in except through the American Federation of Labor.

Board Member Jenkins: There was

a controversy between some of the building trades. It was put to a referendum vote, and the carpenters withdrew from the Building Trades Department, but they are still affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. I think it will have a tendency to make some of the locals change their vote when it comes up again if our delegates goes to the American Federation of Labor and works with the end in view of bringing the building trades together again.

Board Member Morton: Our delegate to the American Federation of Labor knows as well as I do that he will not have the chance to bring it up. The International organizations will bring it up. There have been so many differences over the country in every place where there is a Building Trades Council between the carpenters and sheet metal workers that it will be brought up. When the report of the Adjustment Committee comes before the American Federation of Labor convention it will certainly be decided by a roll call vote, and Brother Morris, with one vote, will not have much weight; but he can record himself as being in favor of the carpenters affiliating with the Building Trades Department.

The following communications were referred to the Legislative Committee:

Chicago, October 19, 1914.

Mr. J. F. Morris, Secretary,

Illinois State Federation of Labor,
Springfield, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Local Union 147 of Chicago, Illinois, asks the assistance of the delegates of your honorable body to assist them in enforcing some of the laws regarding health and cleanliness that have been neglected for a good many years. We would like to have your assistance in the enforcement of the following sections of Article 21 regarding tenements and lodging houses:

Section 1226. Walls, Ceilings, Courts, etc., painted.—The cellar walls and ceilings of every tenement house shall be thoroughly whitewashed or painted a light color at least once every year.

Section 1227. Repairs.—To be Kept Clean.—Every tenement house and every part thereof shall be kept in good repair and shall be clean and free from any accumulations of dirt, filth, garbage or other matter in or on the same, or in the yards, courts, passages, areas or alleys connected with or belonging to the same.

Section 1229. Wall Paper to be Removed.—No wall paper shall be placed upon the walls or ceilings of any tenement house unless all old wall paper shall first have been removed therefrom and such walls and ceilings thoroughly cleansed.

Your support on this will be highly appreciated by our organization.

JAMES MOONEY,

JOHN PERRIN,

Delegates L. U. 147, Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America.

Chicago, October 19, 1914.

Mr. J. F. Morris, Secretary,

Illinois State Federation of Labor,
Springfield, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Your support will be highly appreciated in straightening out the difficulties existing on the South Park Board of Chicago, Illinois, in so far as they have for several months employed non-union painters in place of union civil service men who were employed there previously for years.

At the time that the employing painters of Chicago signed an agreement with our organization for an increase in wages to sixty-five cents per hour for 1913 and seventy cents per hour for 1914, the South Park Board declined to pay the men the union scale of wages and continued to pay them off at the rate of sixty cents per hour, the old scale. The organization allowed the men to work on the South Park Board for one whole year below the regular scale of wages with the expectation that they would ultimately be able to get the union scale for painting. Though a committee has waited upon the circuit court judges and sent letters to Governor Dunne and done all in their power that they possibly could do, still the South Park Commissioners declared that they will not pay the increase in wages and that they are going to hire such men as they see fit for the best of the board.

Chicago Federation of Labor, and the secretary of that organization will be able to give you some facts on the matter.

Trusting that your honorable body will act upon this matter, we are

Fraternally yours,
JAMES MOONY,
JOHN PERRIN,

Delegates L. U. No. 147. Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America.

The motion to refer to the delegate to the A. F. of L. was carried.

The sub-committee on donation and striking Broom Makers reported as follows:

To the Executive Board, I. S. F. of L.:

We, the sub committee, appointed to consider the appeal for aid from the Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, recommend a donation of \$50, and that a circular letter be sent to the affiliated locals, signed by the President and Secretary of the Illinois State Federation of Labor asking them to give what financial assistance they can to the Broom and Whisk Makers' Union to help them in their struggle against the United States Broom Company.

JOS. W. MORTON.
ALOIS TOWERS.
M. J. WHALEN.

(Adopted).

The following resolutions, Nos 47 and 69 were referred to the legislative committee:

Resolution No. 47.

To the Officers and Delegates of the 32nd Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There are now nine laws on the statute books of Illinois which come directly under the factory inspection department for proper application and enforcement, and

WHEREAS, The number of inspectors and the amount of funds appropriated by the past sessions of the legislature has been insufficient to carry on the work adequately, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming officers of the Federation be instructed

to use their efforts at the next session of the general assembly, to urge the enactment of such legislation that will insure the proper enforcement of such laws through the entire State.

Fraternally submitted,
L. A. ALLTON,
DENNIS LANE,
J. C. MONTGOMERY,
A. H. GREENER,
ANNA FITZGEROLD,
V. A. OLANDER,
WM. HALL,
J. A. GENTRY,

Delegates.

Resolution No. 69.

To the Illinois State Federation of Labor, Greeting:

WHEREAS, It has come to light that there are a great number of union men working for this great State of Illinois the commonwealth, in various institutions, and

WHEREAS, These unionists don't receive the scale of wages set up by the union of the district in which they work, and

WHEREAS, When they do receive it, it is monthly, and

WHEREAS, That it is not in accordance with the semi-monthly payday law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct its Legislative Committee to take up this matter with the State Board of Administration or any other place that they see fit to get the proper action on same.

T. W. GERDES,
Local No. 183, Carpenters.
WM. DEAL.
E. Y. WRIGLEY.

A committee of three Board members, Brothers Allton, Daughton and Irish, were appointed to act with the auditors in the transfer of the office of Secretary-Treasurer to the Secretary-Treasurer-elect, who will take office November 1st.

At four o'clock p. m., October 25th, the meeting of the Executive Board adjourned.

J. F. MORRIS,
Secretary-Treasurer.

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PROCEEDINGS
Thirty-Third Annual Convention

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Illinois
State Federation
of Labor

ALTON, ILLINOIS
OCTOBER 18 to 22, 1915



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PROCEEDINGS

Thirty-Third Annual Convention

Illinois State Federation of Labor

Alton, Ill., October 18th to 22nd, 1915

FIRST DAY—Morning Session

Alton, Ill., October 18, 1915.

Pursuant to the law, the regular meeting of the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m., in the Hippodrome, Alton, President William E. Miller of the Alton Trades and Labor Assembly presiding.

In behalf of the Trades and Labor Assembly and the organized workers of Alton President Miller welcomed the delegates to the city, and expressed the hope that the convention would be a success in every way and do much to advance the labor movement in the State.

President John H. Walker in the chair.

Delegate Miller presented to President Walker a handsomely decorated gavel.

President Walker: We have another representative of the local movement with us this morning who has been a delegate with us in the past and helped us in the work of the labor movement of the State. He represents the Building Trades Council of Alton as business agent. I take pleasure in introducing Brother Roland Adams.

Business Agent Adams: Mr. Chairman, Brothers and Sisters—It is a pleasant surprise to me to have the honor and privilege of speaking to

you on this occasion. The president of the Building Trades Council notified me this morning that it would be impossible for him to be here, and delegated me in his stead to extend to you the fraternal greetings of the Building Trades Council. We are very glad indeed to have you with us. We told you in Peoria that if you would come to Alton we would try to show you the time of your life. We are going to try to make that promise good. We have a local committee whose duty it is to see that every one of you has a good time.

We people of the Building Trades Council of Alton are very proud and very jealous of our organization. We believe we have as good a building trades movement as there is in the United States. We enjoy splendid working conditions and the greatest harmony prevails in the council. Not a man works on a building in Alton, from the cellar to the roof, that is not organized. The lowest scale paid is to the cement workers, forty cents an hour, and the rest of the men receive fifty-five cents an hour to seventy cents an hour. But the one feature of our working conditions we are proudest of and most jealous of is that it is strictly closed shop. We absolutely refuse to work under any kind of Rockefeller organization.

The conditions we enjoy, however, were not handed to us on a silver platter. They are the result of untiring efforts on the part of the officers and members of the Building

Trades Council and its affiliated local unions. In 1910 the bosses' association decided they wanted to run an open shop in Alton. They told us if we would throw our cards in the river, keep the business agent off the job and let them hire any men they wished they would allow us to join any organization. We went to the bat and for fourteen months we fought the bosses, the business men's association, the manufacturers' association; they took us to court, they enjoined us and we had to contend with strikebreakers; but today the Building Trades Council is doing business in the hall the contractors had, and they are out of business.

The Building Trades Council of Alton is a local organization; it is not a part of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; but each organization that is affiliated with the Council belongs to an international organization that is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. A great deal of credit for the good work is due to the officers.

I want to congratulate the State Federation and its officers upon the good work that has been done in the past year, notwithstanding they have been handicapped by the unsettled conditions of the country and by the actions of the people we have elected to go to Springfield to make laws for us. I have often thought if we exercised the same care in sending representatives to Springfield that we do in selecting the officers of our labor unions, our representatives and committees would not have so much trouble when they go to Springfield to get laws that will be of benefit to labor.

I want to again extend to you the greetings of the Building Trades Council of Alton and express the hope that you will have a very successful convention and a very pleasant time.

President Walker: In behalf of the delegates to this convention I think I can say truthfully that we appreciate the sentiments expressed by the president of the central body and the representative of the building trades-

men. While possibly the polish of the finished orator has been lacking, the statements of these representatives of labor ring true. They represent the honest workers in this community and they are giving us a welcome from their hearts. They are really and honestly part of us; they are desirous, not only of making things pleasant for us while here but making it possible for us to do our best work and get the best conditions for the workers of the state that this convention can bring about. While we expect to take advantage of the hospitality they have offered us, at the same time we expect when we leave here that all the pleasant memories will not be ours, that we will leave in their minds and hearts a pleasant recollection of this convention.

At the last convention measures were taken looking to economizing the time of our annual meetings. It indicated that the membership wanted to spend no more time than was necessary to do the work for which our conventions meet, and I am going to take that as an indication of how we shall be guided while here, and, in so far as it is within my power, there will be no unnecessary work, but at the same time we will try to have those things done which will make for the best interests of our labor movement and for the best work of this convention.

I will now call the meeting to order and we will proceed at as early a moment as possible with our regular work. I want to ask the fraternal delegates who are here from the different central bodies, state organizations and local organizations, as well as the representatives of the different international organizations who are here and expect to deliver a message to us before the meeting is over to come forward and take seats upon the stage, in order that we can take advantage of an early opportunity to receive the messages they are here to deliver.

As you know, the last convention discontinued the practice of having the officers make their reports to the convention. After they were read in past conventions the Committee on

Officers' Reports had to read them in making their reports and recommendations to the convention. We felt that was an unnecessary duplication of work and a useless waste of time and money. The reports of Secretary Olander and myself are now in the hands of the Committee on Officers' Reports. They worked yesterday and last night. I don't know that they are ready to report, but they will be ready at an early date. In the meantime I want to take advantage of this opportunity to present to you Brother Schmidt of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union.

General Organizer Joseph Schmidt: Mr. President, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen—In behalf of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers I wish to extend fraternal greetings to your convention and best wishes for the success of your organization and of the entire labor movement. I was requested by our organization to come before this convention to speak in behalf of a general campaign of agitation that is being carried on in Illinois. In order to make this campaign a success we need the support of the entire labor movement, we need the help of every organization affiliated with the State Federation of Illinois and the American Federation of Labor. We need this help in order to accomplish our aims and objects in our fight against large trust concerns that have been established during the last few years and are trying to undo all the work that has been accomplished by our organization since it has been in existence.

The public has been told about the great achievements in manufacturing the staff of life, of the great progress that has been made in the production of bakery products in the large factories. The public is told that they have modern machinery in the different bakeries, that human work is gradually being abolished in the bread factories, and that this method of making bread is cleaner and more sanitary than the old way. But no attention is paid to the men who are making that bread, the men who have to suffer under the conditions prevailing at the present time in all the large

establishments that are controlled by trust concerns.

The fight of our organization is not only against certain trusts but against all nonunion bakeries, and in order to make it successful we have introduced the union label. The union label is the real expression of our aims and objects and stands for sanitary and hygienic conditions in the bakeries. We do not stop with the building, but go farther and see that the men do their work in a sanitary manner. You may put the bread in wrappers and deliver it in a sanitary condition, you may have all kinds of machinery in the establishment, but if the man who makes the bread is enslaved then you cannot have a sanitary loaf of bread in your household. The protection of the men lies in the organization, and in the organization only.

I hope the delegates assembled here will give heed to our appeal and help us when we start our general campaign in this state to get every city in line and have the union label introduced in every shop. Over 800,000,000 union labels have been issued by our organization during the last year. That shows the assistance we received from organized labor in the different parts of the country, and we appreciate the help that has been given to us. I wish to call your attention especially to the efforts that are made by the American Bakery Company, a concern established in St. Louis, that ships bread into the different parts of Illinois. It is absolutely opposed to any efforts of organized labor, just as the General Baking Company, which controls thirty-six bakeries all over the country, is opposed to organized labor. These firms try to deceive the public.

Mr. Butler, the president of the American Bakery Company, made a statement to representatives of organized labor that there was no room for any union men or union principles in that establishment. There is not a man employed who belongs to a union, either in making the bread or in delivering it. This attitude is also the attitude of the General Bak-

ing Company. We intend to appeal to organized labor, and make this statement, that if there is no room for unionism in their establishments, there is no room in organized labor for the scab products coming from those concerns.

I trust that whenever you hear the name of the Heidt Bakery, which is doing most of the shipping of bread from St. Louis into southern Illinois, or the name of any other concern belonging to the General Baking Company, that you will do your utmost to drive their product out of your locality. I therefore appeal to you in behalf of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union to give us your support in our present struggle against these nonunion establishments. We will visit the different cities in Illinois within a short time, and wherever it is possible to start a local union it will be done with the help of organized labor.

Every assistance that has been given to us is greatly appreciated; but still we need more help, we need your moral support and we think the interests of organized labor will be better protected if you will demand union bread than if you purchase the product of establishments that make nonunion bread. I hope the support of every organization affiliated with the Illinois State Federation of Labor will be given us. If it is, we will win our fight despite the efforts of any trust or nonunion establishment.

President Walker: We have with us the representative from the Missouri State Federation of Labor, Brother Marion Cope, who is also a member of the Western Federation of Miners. I take great pleasure in introducing Brother Cope.

Fraternal Delegate Cope: Mr. President, Delegates to the Convention, Brothers and Sisters—I feel today that a double pleasure has been given me. It always affords me pleasure to take an active part in this great movement which is represented here today. And I am particularly pleased to be here in Alton, for I first saw the light of day in Jerseyville, a short distance up the line from this city.

I have the pleasure of bringing fraternal greetings from your neighboring State of Missouri. Another pleasure is that I represent the Western Federation of Miners from the Joplin district. You are aware that in the past the Joplin district has been one of the greatest scab recruiting districts in the United States, but the Western Federation is fast wiping out the stain that has been attached to that locality. I am representing more than 5,000 organized miners in that district as well as representing the Missouri State Federation of Labor, and I bring fraternal greetings from both organizations.

It has long been a blot on the Missouri movement that we were unable to organize the metal miners of the southwestern part of the State. We have succeeded partially, we have the organization well under way. In the recent meeting in Moberly it was almost the entire thought of the convention how to complete the work in Joplin and bring all the miners into the folds of organized labor. I am sure that every delegate in that convention of the State Federation of Missouri who favored my election as fraternal delegate had in mind that I might be able to place the situation before the delegates in Illinois in a way that would redound to the benefit of the movement in Missouri, and that at the same time the assistance of this State would be given to help the efforts being made to build up the organization of the metal miners.

It may not be amiss to state some of the conditions that confronted us in the Joplin district. For years we were unable to awaken the Joplin miners to the necessity of organizing. We established locals there, but we were unable to maintain them owing to the apathy of the men. But the operators ground them down and down until they reached a point where the men revolted against the unbearable conditions.

Last May the men at Joplin came out independently, marched from mine to mine over the district until they had the entire district closed down. There were certain mine operators working with some political bosses

and some discredited labor leaders in the Joplin mining district, and they conceived the idea of organizing the men for their own private and political purposes. They raised a hue and cry against the Western Federation of Miners, said they were an aggregation of foreigners, and if the Joplin miner, who prided himself upon his American citizenship, affiliated with the Western Federation it would bring him down to the level of the Dago and the Bohunk, as they termed them.

One leading mine owner said: "We will have to organize the men because the ore is going so high we will not be able to maintain wages at the point they are now unless we control the men; consequently we will organize them into an independent union and control them ourselves, or we will give them such a drubbing it will be impossible to establish a bona fide organization in this district for years." But they had not taken into consideration the fact that for years the Western Federation of Miners had kept organizers in the field, had sent literature into the districts and awakened in the minds of the once obedient slaves a spirit of revolt.

After the independent union was organized and they went on strike the men began to realize that they were up against a serious proposition and called for assistance upon men who knew something about the American labor movement. Those of us who had charge of the situation there sent for President Wood, of the Missouri State Federation of Labor, one of the board members, President Moyer of the Western Federation, President Lord of the Mining Department, Mother Jones and others, who carried on a whirlwind campaign of education and agitation. As a result over 5,000 men are in the Western Federation of Miners, and they have already largely affiliated themselves with the Missouri State Federation of Labor.

We haven't our fight won in Joplin; we are only starting. The men who are taking part in the work are being discriminated against; they are being denied the right of employment in that district. God knows we don't

lose much, but it means bread and butter to the families of the men who are there and cannot get out of the district. The chances are we will have to go to the bat, to use the words of the brother who just spoke, and when we do we will have to go up against a stiff proposition. However, when the times comes we will ask for your moral and possibly for your financial support.

I know when we make an appeal to you it will not go unheeded. I know the noble support the Western Federation of Miners got from the Illinois labor movement when we were carrying on that unequal fight in Michigan. And I want to extend thanks particularly to the mine workers of this state for the generous treatment they have us in that matter. If the labor movement of other states—although they did nobly—had given us the support you gave from this state there would be a different chapter of history written in the copper regions of Michigan.

We will probably have the same fight to go through in Missouri. The Western Federation of Miners, it seems, is doomed to be everlastingly placed in a position where it has to defend the right of men to organize. In Arizona today we have more than 5,000 men out on strike, not for wages and conditions, but for the right to exercise the privilege of organizing themselves into a union.

These are the things I want to get before you. While I do not represent such a movement as you have here, at least in numbers, I believe I represent one equally as effective in point of militancy, the Missouri State Federation of Labor. It will not be many years until we bring the movement to where our conventions will be as large as yours is today, for we are making wonderful strides in Missouri. A few years ago our conventions were small, just a few delegates from the leading towns. Now our conventions are filled with men from the small towns and cities representing movements that have sprung up in the last few years. While our achievements in a legislative way are not what they should be we are making progress, we are lay-

ing the groundwork for victories which are to come in the future.

As stated so aptly a few minutes ago, when the workers of Missouri realize the necessity of acting as solidly on the political field as they do on the organization field they will get results. In my opinion it will be only a short time until our legislative committee will go to Jefferson and ask for the things labor wants. They will not have to get on their knees to ask for those things, but instead will go there to assist the representatives we have elected from our own ranks in preparing the bills we want passed for the protection of the organized workers of the state.

We were disappointed that we did not have a fraternal delegate from Illinois in our convention, and I hope this convention will not adjourn until it has elected a man to meet with us in our next convention, which is to be held in Joplin. I believe more fraternity in our legislative committees would be a good thing. If we could arrange meetings of the legislative committees of the different states we would get good results. Our convention will convene next September in Joplin and I hope your representatives will be there, not for what it will do for your organization but for what it will do for ours.

I want to express my deep appreciation of the privilege of appearing before you today. I hope that your deliberations will be fruitful of results. You are writing history here today, history that will have an effect upon every worker in the civilized world. I will not take up any more of your time, because I know you want to get busy writing that history, and I hope it will bring results.

Mr. Joseph A. McKern, President of the Illinois Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' state organization, was introduced by President Walker.

In introducing the speaker President Walker said: During the last year, in an effort to bring our movement closer together and get all the trades unionists in Illinois together in one big machine that will act in unison, and possibly in the future

be a share of that machine that comes to Springfield at the time the legislature convenes, I had the pleasure of meeting with the state convention of the Bricklayers. I had met them a year before in Ottawa and urged them to affiliate with our organization. In the interim I discovered that Section 11 of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor provides that no organization not affiliated with the A. F. of L. can be accepted in a central or state body in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. It was a keen disappointment to me, because those men indicated in Ottawa that they understood the situation and were ready to become part of our state movement.

If these men were part of our movement I know what it would mean as an added strong, virile, active influence in our organization, not only in securing legislation we are seeking but in doing the work of the general labor movement, assisting in strikes and helping to organize. It would enable us to more effectively assist them in the work which they are doing, and I again repeat it was a source of keen disappointment to me to learn that that constitutional bar stood in the way of their becoming directly affiliated with the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

I pointed out to them the constitutional bar that stood in the way, and as it would be necessary to have a referendum vote of every local union before they could affiliate, they had to go through that work and expense in order to affiliate as a central body, as the mine workers affiliated, I asked them to make application as a state organization and come in on that basis, so that we could at least get that action on their part to show the rest of the labor movement that they were desirous of becoming part of us.

They took that action after discussing it for something like an hour, and I don't know of any men I ever met with that showed any keener appreciation of the advantages that would accrue, not only to them but to the rest of the labor movement

by their becoming part of it. By unanimous vote they passed a resolution to make application to our organization. That resolution provided that they were to make application as a state organization. I pointed out, however, that we would probably be unable to comply with their request, but I would take it up with the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor, and if they were willing to take a chance on what the convention in San Francisco would do to us for agreeing to take them in I would be willing to take a chance on what those who disagreed with me would do in the event this convention accepted them.

President Gompers took the matter up with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; they considered the constitution and pointed out that they were unable to set aside that law. And I am not finding any fault with them, because really that law was made by a convention and it should govern them regardless of their desires or mine. However, we have with us the president of their state organization, and in conformity with their action as a state convention, by unanimous vote, they have made application. I have advised them of what the exact situation is, and in my report I have suggested a way out of the difficulty.

There isn't any place where the movement is in trouble that Brother McKern, who will address you, is not willing to give us his help. I want you to make him feel while he is here that he is welcome, that we want his organization with us, and I want you—if you can reconcile yourself to it—to do everything in your power while in this meeting to pave the way for the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' state organization to become a part of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

During the last session of the legislature, while we did not make a great deal of progress, there was nothing we asked their organization to do that was not done. They did it without cost or charge to us and gave us substantial assistance in the little progress we did make. They have a board of examiners appointed which enables them to separate the

bricklayers from the would-be bricklayers and keep their organization on the right kind of basis, and that will enable them to exert an influence throughout the state to see that that kind of work is done by organized labor.

President McKern: Mr. President and Delegates—You all know I did not learn the trade of orator; I am a bricklayer, but I am glad to be seated as a fraternal delegate in this convention. In our last convention in Peoria it was voted unanimously to present a petition to this convention to become a part of you. I will read the petition.

President McKern read the following petition:

Illinois State Conference of Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union.

To the Officers and Delegates of Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Alton, Ill., October 18, 1915:

Brothers—At the annual convention of the Illinois State Conference of Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, held at Peoria, Ill., on September 16, 17 and 18, 1915, a resolution was unanimously adopted to ask for affiliation with your honorable body. The bearer of this petition was elected as a delegate to this convention and instructed to use all honorable means to secure the acceptance of his credentials as a delegate and to secure the affiliation of our organization with the Illinois State Federation, believing it to be to our mutual welfare and interests. We therefore petition your honorable body to admit us as an affiliated organization, and pledge ourselves if so admitted to use our utmost endeavors to promote the welfare, growth, prosperity and upbuilding of your organization.

Respectfully submitted,

Illinois State Conference of Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union.

JOSEPH A. McKERN,
President.

Delegate to Illinois State Federation of Labor Convention.

Brother Walker seems to think you are unable to take us in at this time as an organization; but before your convention adjourns I would like to see it come to a vote so that I can take back to my organization the sentiment of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention. I am glad to be with you and hope to be here as long as you are in session.

President Walker: We have with us this morning a representative of the official organ of the Women's Trade Union League, a magazine called "Life and Labor," which is published in the interests of the trades union organizations of the women and girl workers of our country. I take great pleasure in introducing to you Mrs. Argo, who represents that publication.

Mrs. M. Argo: Mr. President, Delegates and Visitors—I am with you at this convention as a representative of the Women's Trade Union League for our paper, "Life and Labor." I have had the honor of being asked to address you. The strength of the organized labor movement lies in the maxim, "Together we stand, and alone we fall." All craft organizations have recognized this fact for years, as shown by your international form of organization. As the unions have progressed and become stronger so have the employers organized and become more powerful still.

Some years ago some of our international unions recognized that the maxim I have quoted must be extended further. The formation of an international central body to assist each other was the result. It was soon seen that this was a great step forward. Then to strengthen our organization still further, city and state bodies were organized. You all know it is a recognized fact that it is a difficult matter to get any one to change from an old idea to a new, but the benefits derived from the central form of organization cannot be denied. You know this as well as I do and possibly better, or you would not be here.

But the employer also knows. His first cry is: "I will run my own business." But after he has a sample

of how nearly he can run his own business without labor he agrees to meet with our committees. Then he says they must represent their craft and work in their shops. He next finds out he has an international to deal with, and after more or less trouble he agrees to deal with it. Today he is finding that labor can build a more powerful organization than he can with all his money, for nothing can be done without labor.

Our problem is how to get organizations together. We can do it through education. One way is to educate all members to patronize the union label, not only on cigars and tobacco, but on everything. When we go home, start this form of organization; show your brothers and sisters where they may be helping prison contractors, sweat shops, scab shops and possibly helping to break a strike.

Get your members to read the right kind of papers, the papers published by them and for them. I ask you, in behalf of the Women's Trade Union League, to subscribe for this magazine, "Life and Labor." I hope no delegate will leave this hall this morning without taking one of the subscription blanks with him. You can return it this afternoon with a half dollar for a year's subscription. If you are already a subscriber, I hope you will renew your subscription for it, for it is the only publication of its kind in America.

President Walker: There has been an organization that has not been represented legally in our conventions in the past; but, thanks to Mayor Thompson, of Chicago, the book trust and the powers that are trying to educate the children to be scabs, this body has been rather strenuously opposed and brought into the limelight, with a fire that was intended to burn them up within the last year. While I do not want to infer that that is the reason such men as those who are here this morning are with us, that kind of fire has burned the light into some of the members who did not understand this thing as well as they might have done; but today they are very nearly in a position to join hands with the

general labor movement and get into battle with the army that is fighting for the cause of humanity.

In that organization during the past there was one particular brother who has been lending, as best he could, every influence in his power to help us make for progress. There was no time during the sessions of the legislature, day or night, that he did not give freely everything that was in him to help establish any legislation that was for the benefit of men and women generally.

I take pleasure, and I consider it an honor, to introduce to you at this time one of the men who has a big human heart as well as one of the best minds, one who has done his part and will continue to do it, Robert C. Moore, Secretary of the Illinois State Teachers' Association.

Address of Robert C. Moore, Ex-County Superintendent of Schools, Macoupin County, and member of I. S. T. A:

Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the Convention—You see on my breast this morning a badge of red, white, and blue, which has upon it the word "delegate." I beg leave to inform you that it is somewhat to my regret that this word "delegate" on my badge is a misnomer and that I have not been elected by any organization to represent it in this great convention. I belong to that class of workers called teachers, and am a member and an officer of an organization of teachers; but that organization has not seen fit to send any delegates to your convention, and I have not been chosen by that organization at all to represent it here as a delegate. Therefore, my message to you this morning is from me personally and cannot in any way bind any organization. However, I believe I have a right to wear your badge in its present position at this time; for I want to assure you that, as your president has indicated, that badge lies over a heart that beats thoroughly in sympathy with the great movement you represent.

There is a fight in the State of Illinois at the present time with regard to how far the teachers of the

state, or of the different parts of the state, shall affiliate or ally themselves with the labor movement or co-operate with it to promote their common interests. Judging from some recent occurrences, I say frankly to you this morning that a very large number of the teachers of the state are thoroughly in harmony with the thoughts and feelings which I have expressed and shall express as my personal thoughts and feelings. But we know also that a large number of them have the idea that they need not affiliate nor co-operate with any other organization, and that it may be best to drift along in harmony with those silent but powerful forces which some of us believe seek to control the ideas of the general public in a way that we consider harmful to the welfare of schools and school children. And if I speak too strongly here this morning, I may be taken to task for it, because it seems that these forces resent our co-operation to promote child welfare.

But you give me encouragement. I find upon this badge the picture of the Lovejoy monument which stands near this city and which was erected to commemorate a man who dared to say what he thought, and who suffered death for that expression. Upon this badge is a quotation from this man's expression, which says, "As long as I am an American citizen and as long as American blood runs in these veins, I shall hold myself at liberty to speak, to write, to publish whatever I please on any subject—being amenable to the laws of my country for the same." Freedom of thought and expression are things I think both labor men and teachers respect and defend. Therefore, I shall dismiss from my mind all fear of being called to account for my personal expression, and shall try to outline for you, as clearly and fairly as I can, some of the problems of the teachers of Illinois, in which I believe you are interested.

One of our problems at this time is the problem of organization. Since only about one-third of the teachers in the state are members of our State Association, it is evident that many of them do not understand very thoroughly the necessity for an or-

ganized effort to promote their common interests. Possibly the reason for this is the fact that many teachers do not seem to understand just what our common interests are. But I wish to inform you that we seem to be learning, we seem to be discovering that we have certain common interests; and the organization of the teachers of Illinois is growing very rapidly.

I believe that we teachers can learn from organized labor in the State of Illinois something of what organization means, of loyalty to organization, and of what organization should stand for. My observation is that those teachers who come from cities and parts of the state where labor organizations are strong and where their activities are conducted in a good, sensible way, are thoroughly in accord with the idea of organization and have very definite ideas upon how organizations should be conducted. Therefore, I hope you will not conclude that I come here to instruct you upon the subject of organization. I believe that just now we teachers might receive considerable instruction from some of the leaders in the labor movement concerning this problem of organization, and of loyalty to our organization.

I do not want to touch upon any question that seems to be political in any narrow or partisan sense, but the question of suffrage is broadly political. Now, a large number of the teachers of the state are women, possibly four-fifths, or even more; there is a large increment each year of new teachers who do not know a great deal about the duties of teaching until they have had a few years of experience and some additional training, and of course they have not thought deeply upon the duties of citizenship. It seems to me that these teachers do not understand organization and the work of organizations because they are not voting citizens, or have not long been citizens, and have not been taking an active part in all the duties of citizenship in Illinois. Therefore, the labor movement of Illinois ought to stand by the teachers of Illinois who have gone on record as favoring the principle that women should be given the

rights of full and equal suffrage and thereby be the better prepared to train young citizens and to teach the rights and duties of citizenship to your children and mine.

It seems that many of these young teachers lack social consciousness. I do not know that you understand that term as I do, but I shall use it as I understand it. It is quite natural that young people should lack this social consciousness, because America has only recently entered upon an era that makes it necessary. American has just completed its day of pioneering and original development, during which man has waged a fierce struggle to conquer nature and make it serve him. This struggle to master the natural resources of a continent by men somewhat isolated from each other has developed the belief in individualism to an extreme. But we have entered upon an era when the subjugation of nature, our denser population, and the development of many complex social relations, all make it necessary that we realize our true and proper social relations, and that individualism must be curbed when it interferes with the rights and welfare of others. This is social consciousness.

Some of our members have imbibed this philosophy of unlimited individualism and naturally impress upon their pupils the same ideals. Some people seem to think it is the purpose of the schools of Illinois to make every individual as strong as possible in order that he may survive because he is strong. This is the old idea of the survival of the fittest, which to some means the survival of the strongest, and which carried to an extreme is the law of the jungle. And the law of the jungle is that the individual best fitted to survive is the one best fitted to compete with his fellows, or even to prey upon his fellows. You know the tiger survives in the jungle. Why? Because he is strong, he is active, he has long claws and sharp teeth, and he is absolutely conscienceless. Too many people have the idea that the individual ought to be trained into a man who acts something like the tiger and can reach out with his long claws and sharp teeth and prey upon the

rest of humanity. Opposed to this idea is the modern ideal of civilization which may be called the Christian ideal of love for humanity, or the philosophy of the Golden Rule.

I believe we teachers are getting away from the philosophy of the jungle to the philosophy of the Golden Rule. I believe we can get some inspiration from your labor organizations along this line, because I think you believe that we ought to train children to fit into a great social body, to co-operate with their fellow men in promoting the interests of the whole social body, and not to prey upon humanity because they are the fittest—the fittest having the longest claws and the sharpest teeth. Will you help us and co-operate with us in developing in all people this new consciousness?

There were at least two concrete problems that have had a tendency within the last year or two to bind together, at least to some extent, the labor forces and the teaching force of the State of Illinois. Since these problems touch both our organizations, they remind us that our organizations should co-operate to solve them. When you know what these problems are, you will know how I happened to become acquainted with your president and some other members of this body, and how I happened to be invited here.

But first I ought to tell you about some practical ideas the teachers have tried to put into effect. The teachers of Illinois have learned that, if they want to promote good things for themselves and the children, they must watch very closely the measures and bills introduced in the legislature. Teachers had been passing resolutions every year in their association meetings, after which they simply waited for those resolutions to take effect. They hoped somebody would catch their ideas as children catch the measles. But the ideas did not seem to be very contagious, especially to the members of the legislature.

At the annual meeting of our association in Springfield in December, a delegate was chosen to remain in Springfield during the sessions of the

Forty-ninth General Assembly in order to promote certain educational legislation and to defeat certain other legislation. I happened to be chosen to perform that duty. I did not know then whether I had been elected as a lobbyist or not; but I am willing to admit now that I was just a plain lobbyist. Of course there are some teachers in Illinois who are so dignified that they would not think of sending a lobbyist to Springfield; and if you were to accuse them of doing such a thing possibly some dignified, high-browed professor who teaches philosophy in some endowed university would explain as follows:

"We beg leave to explain to you that we educators are entirely above employing and compensating a lobbyist to ply his nefarious trade in the Capital City. But the educational interests of the state, believing that the welfare of the social whole might be promoted, that the integrity of the educational system might be endangered, that the fate of our country might hang in the balance, and that the progress of civilization ought to have some assistance in the deliberations of our great law-making body, we therefore chose a delegate to remain in Springfield to function with the legislature in preserving the constitution and in promoting the great cause of education in our beloved state."

Now, I don't know what that all means, but that is about the way I have heard it expressed. But, let me ask you, dear friends, that, when you hear anybody allege that the teachers of Illinois had a lobbyist at Springfield last winter, you simply admit the truth of the allegation and defy the "allegator" to do his worst.

When I began my new duties I felt very lonesome. No one seemed to care to see me: in fact, they did not seem to know I was there. When I was chosen by the teachers to represent them, I felt my importance; I was proud of my constituency, and imagined that I could go to Springfield and do wonders. But there were other lobbyists that seemed to get more attention than I. For instance, the Mayor of Chicago came down one day with a brass band or

two and several hundred silk hats following him, and many people, including several legislators, ran to learn what he wanted. And they left me in a corner by myself. One day a big, important looking fellow came in, and I was told that he represented certain big interests and a powerful organization. He was followed to his room at once by about forty legislators.

Do you know what I did finally? I learned that there was a labor lobby in Springfield, and I thought I might learn something from it. I went to the office of the State Federation of Labor, where your present chairman, Mr. Walker, held forth, and there I met about fifteen or twenty people who to me were very congenial spirits. And they welcomed me and extended to me the right hand of fellowship, and I "grabbed" it. Then we talked the thing over, and found that we had some common interests. Just think of it! We found that some of the things contained in the resolutions of the teachers' association were also principles that the labor lobby stood for and were trying to promote. And so, in a way, I became a member of the labor lobby or the joint legislative board, as it is called in more dignified terms. I suppose our work together to promote our common interests gave these men an excuse for inflicting my speech upon you this morning.

But what are some of these common interests that bind us together as brothers to work for the same ends? The first I shall mention is a school revenue.

We find the manner of raising school revenue in Illinois is very inequitable and unjust. The present system of raising school revenue was devised fifty or sixty or seventy-five years ago, when our fathers were boys and when they lived in separate communities that had very little relation to other communities even in the same state. My father still lives on a farm forty or fifty miles north of here, and he tells me that he can remember when there were no railroads nor telegraph lines nor tele-

phones nor fences nor cities anywhere near his little neighborhood; there were no factories nor markets near, and they had to raise and make at home practically everything they ate and wore, and when his father had a few hogs to sell, these hogs had to be driven on foot down here to Alton.

Of course there was very little relation between this little community and other similar communities scattered over the state; and they did not feel that they owed each other any assistance or co-operation. When these separate communities began to establish schools, the State of Illinois told them, "If you want to maintain schools, I will help you by creating a taxing body for each of you to tax your own community to maintain your own school." And that is practically the taxation system that exists today, although social relations and economic conditions have undergone a wonderful transformation since then. Property values are now congested in certain localities, and oftentimes the children to be educated are grouped in other localities.

For instance, up in my county of Macoupin, where I served as county superintendent for eight years and thus came in contact with this problem and co-operated with the labor movement in trying to provide more decent and efficient schools for the children in the mining communities, I found this condition: In Staunton, and Sawyerville, and Benld, and Gillespie, they might tax themselves to the legal limit of three dollars on the hundred of assessed valuation and then have to crowd sixty, or seventy-five, or even ninety or a hundred children into an insanitary room with a young girl teacher and call it a school. And just a short distance away, perhaps in an adjoining township or district that had a mine or two and several railroads, the tax rate would be twenty cents, or at most considerably less than one dollar, simply because that district was long on property and short on children. This is caused by the persistence of the old idea of raising nearly all the school revenue by local taxation.

Now, you people in the labor movement have agreed with us teachers that education is a state function, and that it should be supported by the whole state. We both believe that the whole state is now one big community with closely interwoven social ties and economic relations. We both believe that all the children in the state deserve sanitary schools, that they deserve good teachers, and that these teachers deserve good pay. Since this seems impossible in some communities under our present system of taxation, we agree on the general principle that all the property of the state must be taxed to educate all the children of the state, and that means we stand for an enlargement of the state support for public schools. In the recent past, this increase in state support has been called the restoration of the two mill tax, which would yield about \$5,000,000 per year from the state for the schools. By persistent and united efforts, we have succeeded in six years in getting this fund increased from \$1,000,000 to \$4,000,000 per year, and we are likely to get the \$5,000,000 per year granted by the next General Assembly by continuing our united efforts. This will enable us to provide better schools in your crowded districts. And I believe that a still larger portion of the school revenue ought to be raised by a state-wide tax, so that you coal miners, for instance, who have many children and little property may have your children educated in good schools by good, well-paid teachers, while those people who live in large cities or wealthy communities with much property and few children will pay more taxes to educate the future citizenship of the state.

Another question upon which we agree is the question of vocational education. The teachers and organized labor are unalterably opposed to the dual system of schools and are in favor of developing vocational education gradually and naturally in our present system. But some people, who evidently have the philosophy of life I have referred to as the law of the jungle, would like to establish a separate system of schools in which they can place the

working man's child at a very early age, train him to do one certain thing, and chain him to that task for life. They want to train the boy from the collar down to be an efficient industrial unit, but do not care to educate him from the collar up to know and exercise his rights and duties as an efficient American citizen. Now, we believe that in a democracy such as ours we must educate all the children through the grades, and even in the high school, alike; that is, we must give them absolutely equal opportunities, equal advantages, and the right to choose for themselves in their maturer years what work they will do.

We do not believe with the people who supported the bill for a separate system that children at the tender age of fourteen or fifteen years should be taken out of the schools and the homes and put into the factories and allowed to go to school only a few hours a day or in the evening, there to receive training in their particular trades. We do not believe these young children ought to be separated from other school children, practically forced into certain industries, and trained by "practical shop men" who may be chosen by the factory owners. This is repugnant to our ideals of democracy.

I believe that you carpenters and miners and shop workers and other members of this brotherhood ought to be able to get such a salary through your just and equitable wages that the economic pressure will not force you to put your fourteen-year-old children in the industries. I believe you ought to keep them at home and in the school and let them play a little longer, if you please. And I believe that, if you men get a just and equitable share of the wealth you produce, you will be willing to keep your children in school long after the age of fourteen years and that you will be glad to do it.

A bill for a separate system of vocational schools will probably be introduced in the next General Assembly. It was introduced this year and was defeated, but it took a com-

bination of the strongest forces that could be raised by the teachers and the labor movement to defeat it. But I ought to say also that we were assisted to some extent by woman's clubs, parents' clubs, and some other auxiliary organizations. But it will likely come up again, and raising school revenue is always a live question. If we cannot agree to support any other measures, let us get together on these two propositions—to obtain a more ample, just and equitable revenue for the public schools and to prevent the success of this iniquitous scheme to establish a separate system of schools for the laboring man's children.

In conclusion, I shall recite to you a short story in rhyme by Charlotte Perkins Gilman. This poem is full of meaning to us teachers who are brought into contact with all the children of all the people. And then I shall comment on it very briefly to give you an idea of the attitude we ought to bear toward the poorer children of our country. It may help all of us to revive our ideals of justice to childhood, to get away from the law of the jungle, to renew in us the principle of the Golden Rule, and to warm our hearts with a genuine Christian charity.

To the Wise—A Bargain.

Said the Slumchild to the Wise—
To the people of place and power
Who govern and guide the hour,
To the people who write and teach,
Ruling our thought and speech,
And all the Captains and Kings
Who command the making of things:
"Give me the good you know,
That I the child may grow!
Light for the whole day long,
Food that is pure and strong,
Housing and clothing fair,
Clean water and clean air,
Teaching from day to day,
And room—for a child to play!"
Then the Wise made answer cold:
"These things are not given, but
sold.

They shall be yours today,
If you can pay."

"Pay!" said the child. "Pay you?
What can I do?
Only in years' slow length

Shall I have strength.
I have not power nor skill,
Wisdom nor wit nor will—
What service weak and wild
Can you ask of a little child?"

But the Wise made answer cold:
"Goods must be bought and sold;
You shall have nothing here
Without paying—paying dear!"
And the rulers turned away.
But the child cried on them: "Stay!
Wait, I will pay!"

"For the foulness where I live,
Filth in return I give.
For the greed that withholds my
right,
Greed that shall shake your might.
For the sins I live in and learn,
Plentiful sin I return.
For my lack in home and school,
Ignorance comes to rule.
From where I sicken and die,
Disease in your homes shall lie.
My all uncounted death
Shall choke your children's breath.
Degenerate—crippled—base,
I degrade the human race;
And the children you have made—
These shall make you afraid.
I ask no more. I take
The terms you make;
And steadily, day by day,
I will pay!"

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we are all proud of our great school system and of the many advantages and opportunities open to the children in this country. But we teachers know from actual contact with children in the school rooms that there are many children who do not have light for the whole day long; there are children who do not have sufficient food that is pure and strong; there are children in wretched homes; and there are children who are robbed of the rights of childhood to go long to school and to breathe Heaven's pure air while romping over God's green hills. And we know also that children who suffer these things do not make good, strong, efficient citizens, that even child recreation is now commercialized, and that children or their parents are expected to pay, pay, pay too much and too high a price for things that should be free

to children. And we teachers—I think I may speak for most teachers; I know I can for myself—are ready and willing to co-operate with the labor people of Illinois in promoting child welfare and in protecting and defending the rights of sweet, helpless, innocent childhood.

Delegate McGowan: I would like to move that this most wonderful speech of Mr. Moore be embodied in our proceedings verbatim.

Secretary Olander: All the addresses will be printed in the verbatim report of the convention.

Delegate Aspengren, Tri-City Federation: I move that the speech be printed in a separate pamphlet and distributed throughout the State of Illinois. (Seconded and carried.)

President Walker: We have two other speakers I know you will desire to hear. Do you wish to hear them now, or do you wish to adjourn and hear them after you reconvene?

The delegation decided to remain in session to hear the speakers.

President Walker: You will note that in the Legislative Committee's report there were six men out of two hundred and four who were elected by our votes as state senators and representatives in the last state election in Illinois who had union cards. There is one, I understand, who was actually working for a living in connection with industry and four who were working in other vocations, but who still retained their membership because of their respect for the movement.

We have something like three-quarters of a million trade unionists in our state. If we could not influence any other votes except our own we could have elected at least one-third of those men to those positions without the help of a single person outside of the trade unionists. There are, I suppose, almost as many votes cast by sympathetic, decent-minded people for the trade unionists as there are trade unionists' votes cast, so that I am rather of the opinion that had we been thoroughly organized and had we done our work systematically and

methodically in the last election in Illinois we could have elected a majority of trade unionists to those positions. I am in hopes that some day we will do that.

It is going to cost a little money to do it, but it will cost us a great deal more not to do it. I hope that some day we will do the work and pay the costs. In the meantime we must do the best we can and elect as many as possible. It so happened in the last election that we actually placed one of our own members in one of those positions. He has not been a trades unionist for any other reason except that he was a worker himself; he believed in the movement and fought for the things labor wanted.

I had the privilege during the time he was serving in Congress to go to Washington to help bring about an investigation of the Colorado strike through Congress, and also an investigation of the Michigan strike through Congress. During that time I had opportunity to actually observe and see for myself what was being done and to hear from the men representing labor what this man had done. As you know, I am neither a Republican nor a Democrat, and I am not in the habit of being a hypocrite, particularly in the interest of men who are identified with either of these two parties, and I am not going to be in this case; but I want to say to you from the things I saw and heard, from the things I know were done, there wasn't anything that lay in this man's power to do for the cause of the men and women who work for a living that he did not do while in Washington as a member of Congress. He has not counted the cost to him when questions were raised and it looked very much as though his own political life was going to be the price of doing the things labor asked him to do.

I take great pleasure in introducing to you at this time Brother Frank Buchanan, a member of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union, a member of Congress, and I hope he will be a member of it for many future sessions.

Congressman Buchanan: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow Unionists—I would not be human if I did not appreciate the kind words of commendation just uttered by one of the best presidents the State Federation of Illinois has ever had. I am a member of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union, have been for many years, and I expect to continue to be until they refuse to accept my money for my dues. I have had all the honors that organization has had to give to anyone, being executive head of the local organization in Chicago and also the executive head of the International Association for four years. I have worked as hard as any man could work. I was born and raised on a farm, my parents were poor and my mother was left a widow when I was eight or ten years old. I was denied the privilege of schooling and secured what store of information I have in the college of hard knocks; therefore I feel somewhat at a disadvantage in following the able speaker who has just addressed you in such an interesting manner.

I am a delegate to this convention, representing my local union. I hope in taking part in these proceedings to be of service in making this one of the best conventions the State Federation has ever held. In Congress, as your president stated, I have tried to be of service to the wealth-producers of our country. My point of view is that the working people of this country are those who do anything useful, no matter whether they work with their hands or their brains, and therefore I am pleased to hear a representative of the teachers of Illinois address us in this convention.

In my study of the needs of the wealth-producers of the country I find that while we have made some progress in securing legislation that gives us in part our rights, we are practically only scratching at the top, and we must get down to the bottom of the matter and advance and protect the interests of the working masses. I have, since being in Congress, due to my stick-to-it-iveness, you might say, per-

haps exercised greater influence than anyone who knows me would expect me to exercise in the greatest legislative body of the world. I appreciate that I hold a distinguished position, but I try to be broad enough intellectually to not let my position make a fool of me; I am a servant instead of a dictator to the people who sent me there.

I appreciate the splendid support I received in my election that made it possible for me to be a member of the national legislative body of this country. I appreciate the fact that it has given me an opportunity to be of service and of influence in serving the wealth-producers of the country; but it is gratifying to me to know that the working people are sufficiently awake to elect one of their own kind to a high official position.

If I were to undertake to tell you the legislation that has passed Congress since I have been a member of it, legislation that labor had previously sought to secure and their appeals had fallen on deaf ears, I would be taking up too much of your time. Therefore I will speak to you of only one or two of the important questions, and the one I believe to be the most important is the Clayton Act, reversing the Anti-Trust Law. Those of you who have studied the labor movement know the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was passed for the purpose of stopping combinations of capitalists in monopolizing the necessities of life and charging abnormally high prices.

When the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was passed it was not thought it would be applied to organizations of human kind; but, as is often the case, we found the first application of it was made to a labor organization, and it resulted in absolutely denying labor its legal rights and, putting it in plain words, it hamstrung and chloroformed the labor organizations of the country where it was applied to them. The United Hatters, for instance, were making an effort to bring a few of their employers to time, asking them to give such conditions and wages as a great majority of the employers were giv-

ing, exercising what had always been a legitimate proceeding, but the employers found some judge to apply this law to the Hatters' Union. It resulted in their being fined \$250,000. Their homes were attached. It discouraged laboring people from becoming members of organizations if they had property.

To show how the friendly judges twist those laws to the disadvantage of the working people, and how they are able to construe and twist them in favor of combinations of capital, you will notice that when the Standard Oil Company and the American Tobacco Company were tried for violation of that law a friendly judge said, in effect, not quoting him exactly, but I understood the decision to be that they said to those corporations of dollars: "You have been violating the law all these years, you are violating it now, but I will give you six months to continue to violate it and then you must find some way to do the same thing within the law."

And so that they might be able to find that way to do the thing within the law they even furnished a federal judge to show them how to organize! The stock of the Standard Oil Company went up, the product of the company went up to help pay the cost of the litigation, perhaps. I said one time to some of my lawyer colleagues in Congress, when I met them in a social way: "The United States federal bench is packed." They seemed to be astonished. I presume they thought it took a good deal of nerve, and it usually does. They intimated that I should not make such remarks. I said it would be a most unnatural thing if it was not packed.

What has been electing the presidents and representatives for the past twenty years? It has been the large contributions from the get-rich-quick, criminal corporations of the country, and it naturally follows that the recommendations of those influences will have weight in securing the appointment of lawyers on the federal bench. If you will trace them back you will find almost without exception that they are corpora-

tion lawyers. I said: "If I were playing those fellows' game I would pack the federal bench, and I think they are playing it in fully as able a way as I would if I were playing it." We ought to open up our minds and understand that we are not going to get full justice until we wake up and furnish the sinews of war and elect men who, in the light of their records, we think will be of service to the masses of the people of this country.

It was thought, due to this act that was passed excluding the labor unions from the trust laws, that the working people would be free to be active in their organizations. We also passed an anti-injunction provision in that law. That is a very important law, in my opinion, but it brings to our minds that that law became necessary because of usurpation of power on the part of the judges. And in passing I want to say that the judges are not the only ones that are usurping power that results in denying the labor people of the country the right to exercise their constitutional rights. We find in tracing the history of the labor legislation of this country that it has been perverted, twisted and often practically destroyed by executive orders as well as decisions of judges.

Since I have been in Congress we have been endeavoring to pass a measure giving the employes of the federal government in the postoffice department the right to petition Congress. Why? Because President Roosevelt issued an order denying them that right, and it was broadened by President Taft. It was absolutely a usurpation of power, which was, in my opinion, the worst crime that could be committed. While I have been elected on the democratic ticket I will not uphold any institution under the name of democracy that is practicing plutocratic autocracy.

Under the present administration they are practicing almost the same thing in the postoffice department. With the President of the American Federation of Labor I went to the Postmaster General to secure redress for postal employes. He stated

frankly he was opposed to organization of the federal employes, and indicated he would use his influence to stop them from organizing, or would give no consideration to their organization. I went to the President in regard to the matter. It was evident to me that Burlesonism had percolated through to the President himself, and he intimated that he was opposed to the federal employes becoming organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

I said, as nearly as I can remember, that any public official who exercised his influence as a public official to deny a citizen his right under the laws, under the constitution, and his fundamental rights, no matter whether that citizen happened to be an employe of the government or otherwise, was a usurper of power. I gave much attention and time to the matter, but we haven't got results.

The recent order of the Board of Education in Chicago is of great importance to the labor people, not only of the city of Chicago and the State of Illinois, but the people of the whole country. It does not matter whether you are in full accord with the Teachers' Federation of Chicago—as far as I am concerned I am—they have accomplished great good, and in my opinion there has not been a more useful citizen in Chicago in rendering service to the masses of the people than Margaret Haley, but we will pass that part of the matter up and say for the sake of argument we are not in full accord with the Teachers' Federation, but that board of education is committing a crime when it denies any people the right to organize. If you will submit to such an abuse of power as that you don't know when it is going to strike you or the next fellow. Therefore it becomes the fight of every citizen that holds dear the rights our forefathers fought for and spilled their blood and sacrificed their lives for.

I am pleased to have this opportunity to address you, and to have the distinguished honor to be called upon before the convention starts. I hope to have the pleasure of working

with you to make this convention a success. I have been giving my attention to a great many things I think ought to be done. You have been kept blinded in campaigns by false issues. I am a free trader and solved that problem when I was hammering rivets. That is when I saw the light in regard to the tariff. It never did, cannot now and never will help the working people. But it is not the cause of your trouble. There are three important things you will have to get down to before you can get the load off your back that has been placed there. One is that the natural resources of our country should not be permitted to be monopolized by private interests; another is the currency and another is transportation.

The Stanley Steel Committee in Congress showed that the directors of the steel corporation had control of transportation facilities capitalized at over ten billion dollars. When you take the Standard Oil and other large corporations you will find the monied interests are in one big conglomeration and that they have succeeded in gobbling up the natural resources of this country. These things were created for the benefit of mankind and not to enable a few financiers to collect tribute from the masses of the people. There is no doubt we are paying two dollars a ton more for anthracite coal than we would pay if the government had retained control of it.

I have introduced a bill in Congress I want to bring to your attention, and perhaps ask you to pass a resolution to try to get it backed up. Six or eight years ago there was some public opinion in favor of a postal savings bank, and for the purpose of allaying that agitation and satisfying the public a lemon was handed out in the way of a postal banking law. That law is, as usual, so restricted and limited that it almost makes it impracticable of operation. No one can deposit more than \$100 in any one month, and not to exceed \$500. The depositor is paid two per cent and the money is redeposited in bank at two and one-half per cent. The banks get it with

less expense and for smaller interest than if it were deposited directly by the depositor.

My bill provides for taking those limitations off. Let anybody and everybody deposit as little or as much as he will. Instead of loaning it to the banks and permitting them to loan it to the home-builder and the farmer at 7 per cent, it will be loaned direct to the home-builder and the farmer. This will save to the wealth-producers of the country sums running into the hundreds of millions a year. But it will take the active help of the labor people, to pass this through. It also provides for loaning to states, school districts and municipalities.

This bill is a very important one, and if the labor people will get active with the farmers who are trying to get a rural credits bank, which is the same plan as my bill, except that my bill covers both farmers and working people—if those forces are united and the labor people of the country begin to understand their rights, I think we will have results. There is no more important function of a government than to help the citizen who needs help. When the government helps a man build a home it is making a better citizen. This bill ought to be considered by the working people of the country.

I am, in a way, representing the Government Ownership League of Cook County, and I have been asked to say something in regard to government ownership, but I will not take up your time now, because resolutions will be introduced and I will speak when I am better prepared and you are better prepared to listen. I think perhaps I have imposed somewhat upon your time this morning. I want to repeat that I am pleased to be with you. I know both your president and your secretary well, and I assure you if the State Federation of Labor has not been successful in the past year it is not due to the fact that they have not tried honestly, earnestly and faithfully to serve you in the positions they fill. I have never known more earnest, honest and hard-working officials than you have at the present time.

President Walker announced that the following committee had been appointed prior to the convention, in accordance with the action of the last convention, and had been in session considering the reports of officers submitted to them:

Committee on Officers' Reports.

James B. Connors, Switchmen's Union, Chicago.

P. J. Carlson, Carpenters, Rock Island.

Henry Bogaske, Cigarmakers, Springfield.

Albert Peterson, Engineers, Chicago.

John R. Schaffer, Miners, Belleville.

John P. McGrath, Bartenders, Springfield.

Elizabeth Christman, Gloveworkers, Chicago.

The appointment of the following committee was announced:

Committee on Rules.

John J. Bruce, Street Railway Men, Chicago.

Ed Carbine, Machinists, Chicago.

Henry Schwarz, Hospital Nurses, Dunning.

Theodore Bisser, Brewery Workers, Quincy.

E. J. Hicks, Bartenders, Royalton.

Ed Wilkins, Teamsters, Galesburg.

Jessie J. Peebles, Women's Union Label League, Decatur.

Adam Blasco, Glass Bottle Blowers, Streator.

President Walker announced that the Chief of the State Factory Inspection Department of Illinois would give an illustrated lecture on the work of the department at the Temple theater Wednesday night at 8 o'clock, and asked all the delegates to attend.

At 1 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

FIRST DAY—Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Monday, October 18th, President John H. Walker in the chair.

Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate William Jampel for the committee, reported as follows:

A. F. OF L. LOCAL TRADES AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

CARLINVILLE — FEDERAL LABOR UNION No. 8806.

Emil Brown

CHICAGO — ELEVATOR CONDUCTORS AND STARTERS No. 11959.

Jas. J. McAndrews
Edward N. Nockels
H. Thompson
William Batchelor
Maurice Sachs
Sam Griffith
Mack Larsen
John Sullivan
Matt Taylor
Fred Patzelt

CHICAGO — FEDERATION OF MEN TEACHERS No. 14221.

James A. Meade

CHICAGO — FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS No. 14658.

Florence S. Hall

CHICAGO—OFFICE EMPLOYEES No. 12755.

Margaret Murray

CHICAGO—PORTRAIT ARTISTS No. 14286.

L. P. Straube

DECATUR — FEDERAL LABOR No. 14481.

John L. Hopkins

DUNNING—HOSPITAL NURSES AND ATTENDANTS No. 14655.

Henry Schwarz

GRANITE CITY—T. S. I. & G. W. No. 10943.

Grover Fouke
L. M. Crain
J. E. Wigger

HERRIN—FEDERAL LABOR No. 11617.

J. T. Wilson

KANKAKEE—HOSPITAL NURSES AND ATTENDANTS No. 14714.

Peter Eder

LINCOLN—HOSPITAL NURSES AND ATTENDANTS No. 14779.

Lee Adams

MARION—FEDERAL LABOR No. 13178.

Chas. McLaughlan

PEORIA—NURSES AND ATTENDANTS No. 14755.

Jas. F. Sarsfield

Alice Ahlfeldt

SANDOVAL—FEDERAL LABOR No. 8306.

F. B. George

SPRINGFIELD—FEDERAL LABOR No. 7426.

Mary Morris

BAKERY AND CONFECTION-ERY WORKERS.

CHICAGO—No. 2.

Tony Weth

HERRIN—No. 199.

W. B. Douthitt

JOURNEYMEN BARBERS.

BELLEVILLE—No. 108.

William Jampel

DECATUR—No. 90.

Elmer Baker

PEORIA—No. 44.

Geo. W. Ambrose

SPRINGFIELD—No. 96.

Steve Young

STREATOR—No. 140.

Thos. Kelly

BILL POSTERS AND BILLERS.

CHICAGO—No. 1.

John Jilson

A. A. Wiles, Jr.

BLACKSMITHS.

DANVILLE—No. 113.

Mike J. Barry

BOOKBINDERS AND PAPER CUTTERS.

CHICAGO—No. 8-25.
Marvin Thomas

BOILERMAKERS AND HELPERS.

DANVILLE—No. 22.
Otis Henthorn
John Berry

MOLINE—No. 377.
C. R. Kizer
B. J. Nolan

PEORIA—No. 60.
Frank Hierspiel

BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS.

CHICAGO—No. 94
Agnes Johnson

BREWERY WORKMEN, MALSTERS, DRIVERS, BOTTLERS, ETC

BELLEVILLE—No. 21.
Adam J. Funk
Albert Nebgen

CHICAGO—No. 18.
Chas. Gaude
Anton Huebner
Jacob Pfeifer
Gus Scheel
Chas. Berger
John A. Koehler

CHICAGO—No. 121.
James Driver
Frank Lelivelt
Geo. Johnson

CHICAGO—No. 248.
Paul B. Lussnig
Anton Schirmang
Christ Kramer
John Szalay
Peter Fischer
Ed. Thomas
Albert Frank

CHICAGO—No. 337.
Math Lorenz

CHICAGO—No. 342.
Martin McGraw
Otto Eizberger
John Cholewczynski
Rudolph Strauss
Dan Sutter
Chas. Weber

CHICAGO—No. 344.
Jas. T. Patterson
Wm. A. Saracina

Louis Dorman
Robert Hanlon
Joseph Neiman
Emil Steffen
A. J. Mauloff
Geo. Deist

DECATUR—No. 313.
Otto C. Pannek

JOLIET—No. 149.
Fred Baker

KANKAKEE—No. 321.
John Braun

PEORIA—No. 167.
Robert Clark
Louis Eichhorn

PERU—No. 33.
William Croissant

QUINCY—No. 39.
Wm. Buerklin

QUINCY—No. 239.
Theodore Bisser

QUINCY—No. 263.
Bernhardt Deters

BRICK WORKERS.

STREATOR—No. 74.
Edward Metcalf

BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS.

CHICAGO—No. 1.
Frank Buchanan

BROOM MAKERS.

CHICAGO—No. 29.
Will R. Boyer

CARPENTERS AND JOINERS.

ALTON—No. 377.
James Wood
W. E. Draper

AURORA—No. 916.
Guy Underwood
William A. Searl

BLOOMINGTON—No. 63.
W. S. Dorland
Frank J. Morgan

COAL CITY—No. 1544.
Dave Farley

CHAMPAIGN—No. 44.
G. B. Jenkins
W. H. White
Geo. Hankins

DECATUR—No. 742.
Walter E. Long

GRANITE CITY—No. 633.
Fred W. Heely

KANKAKEE—No. 496.
William S. Taylor

PEORIA—No. 183.
L. A. Berry
M. Raish
J. R. Westerman
B. L. Cottrell

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ASSEMBLIES, FEDERATIONS
AND COUNCILS.**

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ASSEMBLY.
H. C. Maddox
John Coleman, Jr.
S. T. Echols

AURORA—TRADES AND LABOR
ASSEMBLY.
G. W. Stafford
E. F. Ream
P. J. Hickey

AURORA—BUILDING TRADES
COUNCIL.
F. C. Marti
M. J. Snover
R. B. Nawman

BELLEVILLE—TRADES AND
LABOR ASSEMBLY.
Edward Neuf

BENTON—TRADES COUNCIL.
Clarence W. Gunter

BLOOMINGTON—TRADES AND
LABOR ASSEMBLY.
H. W. Grant
W. S. Brown
L. Salch

BREESE—TRADES AND LABOR
ASSEMBLY.
Frank Hallerman

CALUMET—JOINT LABOR
COUNCIL.
Gerrit Metz

CENTRALIA—TRADES AND LA-
BOR ASSEMBLY.
Geo. Adams

CHAMPAIGN-URBANA — TWIN
CITY FEDERATION OF LA-
BOR.

H. V. Downey
Frank Whittington
J. E. Harding

CHICAGO—FEDERATION OF
LABOR.
F. C. Hopp
Fred A. Lohn
John Werlik

CHICAGO—ALLIED PRINTING
TRADES COUNCIL.

Otto Lorch
James Williams
John C. Harding

CHICAGO HEIGHTS — TRADES
AND LABOR ASSEMBLY.

Harry Fields

COLLINSVILLE — TRADES
COUNCIL.

Edward Franek

DANVILLE—TRADES COUNCIL.

J. B. Keenan
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BOR ASSEMBLY.

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George Glore
J. H. Englen

DUQUOIN — CENTRAL LABOR
UNION.

Robert Paxton

EAST ST. LOUIS—CENTRAL
TRADES AND LABOR UNION.

Michael Whalen
O. B. Kirk
Hunter B. Keith

ELDORADO—TRADES COUN-
CIL.

W. A. Turner

GALESBURG—TRADES AND LA-
BOR ASSEMBLY.

W. E. Wagoner
Earl Hoskins

GRANITE CITY—TRI-CITY CEN-
TRAL TRADES COUNCIL.

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Will Herman
Fred W. Heely

HARRISBURG—CENTRAL LA-
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Job Richards

HERRIN—TRADES COUNCIL.

Hugh Willis

HILLSBORO—TRADES COUN-
CIL.

E. M. Clevanger

JOLIET—CENTRAL TRADES
AND LABOR COUNCIL.

Wm. Lemay
Robt. A. Pell
Fred T. Murphy

JOLIET—BUILDING TRADES
COUNCIL.

David Fleming

KANKAKEE—FEDERATION OF
LABOR.

A. M. Finefield

KEWANEE—TRADES AND LA-
BOR ASSEMBLY.

Robert J. Wilson

LA SALLE—TRADES AND LA-
BOR COUNCIL.

James F. Foley

Chas. Bennett

MARION—TRADES COUNCIL.

W. J. Allbright

MURPHYSBORO—TRADES
COUNCIL.

Ralph Johnson

MT. OLIVE—TRADES AND LA-
BOR COUNCIL.

Fred Nachschoen

O'FALLON—TRADES AND LA-
BOR ASSEMBLY.

Dave Wilson

OGLESBY—TRADES AND LA-
BOR ASSEMBLY.

Richard Whennen

OTTAWA—TRADES AND LA-
BOR ASSEMBLY.

Geo. Gibbons

PEORIA—TRADES AND LABOR
ASSEMBLY.

L. A. Hill

E. O. Brooks

W. K. Brown

PERU—TRADES AND LABOR
COUNCIL.

Edward Snow

Michael Chilla

QUINCY—TRADES AND LABOR
ASSEMBLY.

John J. Kearney

David Ross

Geo. N. Schmitt

ROCK ISLAND—TRI-CITY FED-
ERATION OF LABOR.

Eric J. Aspengren

Charles MacGowan

P. J. Carlson

SPRINGFIELD — FEDERATION
OF LABOR.

J. F. Sanks

Henry Bogaske

T. K. Ball

STAUNTON — TRADES COUN-
CIL.

Alonzo Savill

STREATOR—TRADES AND LA-
BOR COUNCIL.

Fred P. Schroeder

W. FRANKFORT—TRADES AND
LABOR COUNCIL.

Alex Williams

WESTVILLE—CENTRAL LABOR
UNION.

Wm. Moyer

CIGAR MAKERS.

ALTON—No. 73.

John Geary

CHICAGO—No. 14.

J. A. Kain

Geo. J. Thompson

Beny Meyer

O. S. Kelley

Fred Bose

Henry Goebel

A. E. Adeloff

Barney Cohn

DANVILLE—No. 80.

S. T. Leonard

DECATUR—No. 20.

Chas. Wright

PEORIA—No. 118.

L. A. Allton

SPRINGFIELD—No. 38.

T. T. Moorehead

CLERKS' ASSOCIATION, RETAIL.

ALTON—No. 344.

Wm. E. Miller

GRANITE CITY—No. 435.

Chas. J. Hilker

SPRINGFIELD—No. 208.

J. F. Daughton

ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

AURORA—No. 461.

C. A. Townsend

BELLEVILLE—No. 50.

W. A. Neil

GALESBURG—No. 184.

N. A. Johnson

SPRINGFIELD—No. 427.

Wm. Childs

ENGINEERS' UNION.

ALTON—No. 41.

Henry Sanes

CHICAGO—No. 401.

Albert Peterson

CHICAGO—No. 464.

Matt Keefe

CHICAGO—No. 569.

Jos. Coveyow

FIREMEN—STATIONARY.

CHICAGO—No. 7.

M. C. Friel

Jos. W. Morton

FOUNDRY EMPLOYEES.

BELLEVILLE—No. 7.

Henry B. Wagner

GARMENT WORKERS, UNITED.

JOLIET—No. 164.

Sam Jurrich

**GLASS BOTTLE BLOWERS'
ASSOCIATION.**

ALTON—No. 2.

Harry Halton

STREATOR—No. 3.

John A. Jones

Adam Blasco

GLOVE OPERATORS.

CHICAGO—No. 18.

Margaret Blake

**HOD CARRIERS AND BUILD-
ING LABORERS' UNION.**

LA SALLE—No. 148.

Peter Donnelly

OGLESBY—No. 248.

Percy Boher

OTTAWA—No. 134.

J. J. Russell

H., R. E. AND BARTENDERS.

ALTON—No. 243. Bartenders.

Fred G. Busse

JOLIET—No. 714. Bartenders.

Wm. Brown

KEWANEE—No. 231. Bartenders.

Robt. J. Wilson

MOLINE—No. 639. Bartenders.

Al. F. Olson

PEORIA—No. 286. Bartenders.

John M. Irish

Wm. Kowalski

QUINCY—No. 153. Bartenders.

John H. Hilfrink

Fred J. Becker

ROCK ISLAND—No. 850. Bartend-
ers.

I. A. Wynn

ROYALTON—No. 834. Bartenders.

J. E. Hicks

SPRINGFIELD—No. 573. Bartend-
ers.

John R. McGrath

J. Sheehan

STAUNTON—No. 844. Bartenders.

Joseph W. Rizzie

VIRDEN—No. 692. Bartenders.

C. L. Dodgson

**HORSE SHOERS, JOURNEY-
MEN.**

CHICAGO—No. 4.

John J. Fitzpatrick

**IRON, STEEL AND TIN WORK-
ERS, AMAL.**

GRANITE CITY—No. 11.

Robt. Larner

David Bowen

**MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER
WORKMEN.**

CHICAGO—No. 87.

Dennis Lane

CHICAGO—No. 554.

Louis Kolumbar

MACHINISTS.

ALTON—No. 660.

B. F. Lamb

CHICAGO—No. 208.

Ed. Carbine

A. H. Greener

DANVILLE—No. 473.

Fred Wittig

Harry Mason

Arthur Mitchell

DECATUR—No. 833.

E. Seidel

H. Reddix

GRANITE CITY—No. 572.

J. W. Leach

PEORIA—No. 360.

Jas. W. Gentry

ROCK ISLAND—No. 695.

J. S. Milton

E. B. Passmore

STREATOR—No. 650.

Arthur Carroll

METAL POLISHERS.

QUINCY—No. 111.

Hy. W. Vorndam

METAL WORKERS, SHEET.

ALTON—No. 169.

J. R. Schubert

AURORA—No. 220.

M. P. Schiltz

CHICAGO—No. 115.

M. F. Carey

A. G. Fox

MINE WORKERS, UNITED.

BELLEVILLE—No. 238.

Edw. Dobbins

BELLEVILLE—No. 304.

John R. Schaffer

BELLEVILLE—No. 859.

Walter Nesbit

Peter Zink

BELLEVILLE—No. 2708.

Fred H. Brewer

Bert Miranda

BENLD—No. 2707.

John J. Staple

Harry Robison

BLOOMINGTON—No. 753.

John Radka

Henry Polthoff

BENTON—No. 578.

H. T. Bannister

Earl Long

BENTON—No. 1959.

Lewis W. Miller

BRESEE—No. 765.

John Knies

BUCKNER—No. 1420.

P. F. McAuley

BUCKNER—No. 1421.

Henry Heacox

BUSH—No. 2555.

John Duddy

CANTON—No. 893.

H. M. Groover

Frank Shields

CANTRALL—No. 600.

Frank Farrington

CARRIER MILLS—No. 1059.

Jas. M. Rose

CARTERVILLE—No. 2556.

Oscar Tally

CENTRALIA—No. 52.

Frank Fetgatter

CENTRALIA—No. 1397.

J. C. Mullins

CHRISTOPHER—No. 332.

D. B. Coble

CHRISTOPHER—No. 2376.

Frank R. Hatton

CHRISTOPHER—No. 2468.

D. T. Stuart

Wiley Davis

Jesse Jones

Arthur Adkins

CLIFFORD—No. 388.

Arthur Gothard

COLFAX—No. 1011.

A. T. Pace

COLP—No. 1144.

J. E. Taylor

COLLINSVILLE—No. 264.

Mike Dooner

COLLINSVILLE—No. 685.

Louis Welch

COLLINSVILLE—No. 848.

Frank Hefferly

CUBA—No. 368.

John Poppleston

Orville Huff

DEWMAINE—No. 1228.

A. J. Bowers

DORRISVILLE—No. 2515.

Bert Pickering

DUQUOIN—No. 478.

Jos. P. Collins

M. T. Schultz

DUQUOIN—No. 1458.

Thos. F. Yates

Enoch Martin

R. T. McAllister

EAST PEORIA—No. 563.

John J. Walt

ELDORADO—No. 794.

Robert Kennedy

ELDORADO—No. 1449.

Wesley Plercy

ELDORADO—No. 1865.

J. J. McGuinn

FARMINGTON—No. 1213.

John Russell

James Lord

FARMINGTON—No. 1927.

Lewis Schuler

FREEMAN—No. 1776.

Geo. F. Cooper

GEORGETOWN—No. 1356.

O. T. Van Winkle

Mark Cooper

GILLESPIE—No. 730.

Robert Cowie

Earl Black

Mike Blaskey

GILLESPIE—No. 2219.

Thos. Long

Ike Rowland

- GIRARD—No. 694.
Walter G. Shepard
- GLEN CARBON—No. 686.
Dan H. Slinger
Charles Hageir
- HARRISBURG—No. 1910.
Bert Tavender
Joe McIntosh
- HARRISBURG—No. 2650.
W. M. Boone
- HERRIN—No. 766.
Marion Rogers
William Burton
- HERRIN—No. 944.
E. E. Slucher
- HERRIN—No. 986.
Groce Lawrence
- HERRIN—No. 1000.
Fred Sanders
A. T. Pace
- HERRIN—No. 1248.
Chas. A. Sullivan
- HERRIN—No. 2469.
John L. Hullen
- HILLSBORO—No. 644.
James McNulty
- HILLSBORO—No. 2679.
Wm. Shakespeare
- JOHNSTON CITY—No. 91.
McElroy Trout
- JOHNSTON CITY—No. 711.
R. H. Lewis
Thos. Hunter
- JOHNSTON CITY—No. 1426.
McElroy Trout
- JOHNSTON CITY—No. 1941.
J. G. Crick
- KINCAID—No. 1807.
A. S. Haywood
- LINCOLN—No. 598.
Edward McGowan
- LINCOLN—No. 815.
Edw. Maher
- LA SALLE—No. 473.
Wm. Dziabas
- LIVINGSTON—No. 2656.
Elio Gori
Thos. Headon
- MARION—No. 1117.
Russ Gours
- MARION—No. 1880.
Chas. McLaughlin
- MARISSA—No. 784.
R. J. Wilson
- MARYVILLE—No. 1802.
John Kettle
Wm. Halliday
- MATHERSVILLE—No. 2384.
George Sackfield
- MILLSTADT—No. 737.
Edward Weiss
- MT. OLIVE—No. 728.
Sam Johnson
- MUDDY—No. 843.
George Aaron
- MURPHYSBORO—No. 605.
Ralph Johnson
- MURPHYSBORO—No. 2368.
Peter Summers
- NOKOMIS—No. 493.
E. Sandner
- NOKOMIS—No. 1484.
Wardie C. Argust
- ODIN—No. 715.
J. A. Perry
- O'FALLON—No. 705.
Rich. Corbridge
- OGLESBY—No. 929.
Duncan McDonald
Michael Peitzrak
- ORIENT—No. 303.
James Teague
- PANAMA—No. 1475.
Temple Donaldson
Dave McDaid
Chas. Bills
- PEKIN—No. 1948.
Jas. Riley
- PEORIA—No. 221.
Louis Calvin
- PEORIA—No. 707.
Edward Brown
- PEORIA—No. 732.
Philip Kroll
- PEORIA—No. 734.
Marien Stenvenson
- RIVERTON—No. 754.
John W. Hindmarsh
Ed. Dobbins
John Glenwright
Wm. Hutton
- ROYALTON—No. 1782.
William McDowell
Jack Miller
- SESSER—No. 1237.
Thomas Sweeney
Earl C. Finlay
- SPRINGFIELD—No. 492.
William Hall

SPRINGFIELD—No. 731.
Joseph Hood
SPRINGFIELD—No. 999.
Stephen Sullivan
SPRINGFIELD—No. 2403.
Jake Weissing
SPRINGFIELD—No. 2441.
Chas. J. Daily
STAUNTON—No. 720.
Monroe Neal
STAUNTON—No. 755.
Tilden Bozarth
John H. Wieck
THAYER—No. 1391.
James R. Roady
VIRDEN—No. 2404.
Dominic Picco
WEST FRANKFORT—No. 329.
Chas. E. Norman
WEST FRANKFORT—No. 789.
Tom Jones
WEST FRANKFORT—No. 959.
Geo. Stewart
Sam McClement
Steve Bone
Jack Rodden
Mike McCann
Harry Dixon
WEST FRANKFORT—No. 1971.
John Joplin
John Walters
WESTVILLE—No. 1103.
Evan Evans
John Shaffer
ZEIGLER—No. 992.
W. D. Fox
Jos. Filipovich

MOLDERS.

BELLEVILLE — CONFERENCE
BOARD.
Chas. Markham
BELLEVILLE—No. 182.
Al Towers
W. T. Christopher
Wm. Nebgen
BELLEVILLE—No. 220.
Edw. J. Gibson
GRANITE CITY—No. 412.
Harry Waldorf
QUINCY—No. 44.
George Friess
Frank Hunt

MUSICIANS.

ALTON—No. 282.
H. A. Moore

AURORA—No. 181.
D. W. Goddard
CHICAGO—No. 10.
Ernest Woollett
CHICAGO—No. 208.
E. W. Bailey
DECATUR—No. 89.
R. P. Tickell

PAINTERS AND DECORATORS.

ALTON—No. 471.
Alex Caldwell
AURORA—No. 448.
C. S. Sperry
CHAMPAIGN—No. 363.
Walter E. Price, Jr.
CHICAGO—No. 147.
C. H. Coulter
James E. Root
Edward Hammond
W. Doyle
John Bennett
Jas. Mooney
CHICAGO—No. 180.
Geo. Walker
Wm. Dunn
Joe Powers
Wm. Stewart
CHICAGO—No. 191.
James Lucas
Wm. McCurry
CHICAGO—No. 275.
Julius Lichtenstein
Herman Jessen
DECATUR—No. 288.
Waldo Cross
JOLIET—No. 33.
Chas. Raynor
STREATOR—No. 505.
Wm. Windus

PAVERS AND RAMMERS.

CHICAGO—No. 25.
W. T. Dean
T. J. Adams

PHOTO ENGRAVERS.

CHICAGO—No. 5.
Mathew Woll

**PLUMBERS AND STEAM
FITTERS.**

CHAMPAIGN—No. 149.
J. B. Hickey
DECATUR—No. 65.
Dwight Burdick

POST OFFICE CLERKS.

CHICAGO—No. 1.
Halbert L. Smith

PRESSMEN.

CHICAGO—No. 3.
Patrick S. Cahill
John Semeran

RAILWAY CARMEN.

DANVILLE—No. 561.
James M. Shipman
Herbert Bonham

SEAMEN.

CHICAGO—LAKE SEAMEN'S
UNION.
Victor A. Olander
T. A. Hanson
Val Duster

**STREET AND ELECTRIC RAIL-
WAY EMPLOYEES.**

ALTON—No. 236.
A. L. Dolbow
CHICAGO—No. 241.
James Doyle
Patrick Gill
Michael McGinnis
Henry C. Schwabe
CHICAGO—No. 308
John J. Bruce
EAST ST. LOUIS—No. 125.

E. R. Weathers
Jos. Bailey
Wm. M. Lewis

PEORIA—No. 416.
Henry F. Culver
A. J. Kenagu
Marshall H. Jones

ROCK ISLAND—No. 313.
Gunner G. Engstrom
Henry C. Hinrichs

STONE CUTTERS.

CHICAGO—JOURNEYMEN
STONE CUTTERS.
James A. Short
Arthur Dougherty

STOVE MOUNTERS.

BELLEVILLE—No. 4.
Louis Haborn

SWITCHMEN'S UNION.

CHICAGO—No. 58.
James B. Connors

EAST ST. LOUIS—No. 16.
Henry Kerr
PEORIA—No. 224.
D. F. Clancy

TAILORS, JOURNEYMEN.

CHICAGO—No. 5.
Walter S. Nylen

TEAMSTERS, CHAUFFEURS.

CHICAGO—No. 705.
Wm. Herzog
Thos. Hoban
John V. Barry
James Flynn

CHICAGO—No. 710.
Geo. F. Golden
John W. Snowden
Alex Oliver
Jas. Smith
Geo. O. Johnson
Michael Eagan

CHICAGO—No. 721.
Jeff Johnson
Philip Schug, Jr.

CHICAGO—No. 734.
Jim McGeean
Louis Larson
Otto E. Mickley
Harry Lawrenz
Max Meyer
M. Kobe

CHICAGO—No. 753.
O. M. Baker
A. E. Berg
R. Bryant
Jas. Connolly
M. Cun.
F. C. Dahms
W. A. Fausler
P. H. Fisher
F. Haller
T. Hartman
E. W. Larson
P. Madsen
H. Miller
H. Paraut
Carl Peterson
J. E. Ryan
C. K. Schultz
H. Schroeder
H. Strong
Weber Van Der Hi

CHICAGO—No. 772.
R. H. Andree

GALESBURG—No. 203.
Ed. Wilkins

EAST ST. LOUIS—No. 729.

A. G. Hartman
Wm. Freeman
H. C. Clendenon

PEORIA—No. 660.

W. H. Koch

TELEGRAPHERS, RAILROAD.

CHICAGO—No. 126.

C. H. Meador

THEATRICAL STAGE EMP. AND MOVING PICTURE OPERATORS.

ALTON—No. 268.

Dell Kander

CHICAGO—No. 110.

E. D. Jack Miller

EAST ST. LOUIS—No. 288.

Arthur Schumacker

EAST ST. LOUIS—No. 157.

L. T. Ayers

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION.

ALTON—No. 306.

J. C. Bramhall

BLOOMINGTON—No. 124.

James J. Ryan

CHAMPAIGN—No. 444.

Frank C. Spelman

CHICAGO—No. 16.

H. C. Curtis
Wayne M. Goodwin
John Plummer
B. O. Kischell
Edwin R. Wright

DECATUR—No. 215.

J. E. Rogers

OTTAWA—No. 265.

Owen F. Kelly

PEORIA—No. 29.

Geo. F. Russell

ROCK ISLAND—No. 107.

Clement O. McQuaid

SPRINGFIELD—No. 177.

James F. Jabusch

UNION LABEL COUNCIL.

SPRINGFIELD — UNION LABEL
COUNCIL.

R. E. Woodmansee
Ed. Ryan

WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE.

CHICAGO—

Emma Steghagen
Elizabeth Christian
Mary Anderson

WOMEN'S UNION LABEL LEAGUE.

CHICAGO—No. 9.

Anna Fitzgerald

DANVILLE—No. 288.

Phoebe Walker

DECATUR—No. 264.

Jessie G. Peebles

FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

MISSOURI STATE FEDERATION
OF LABOR.

Marion Cope.

FARMERS' EDUCATIONAL AND
CO-OPERATIVE UNION.

John P. Doyle

ILLINOIS STATE CONFERENCE
OF THE BRICKLAYERS, MA-
SONS AND PLASTERERS.

Joseph A. McKern

UNITED BRICK AND CLAY WORKERS OF AMERICA.

BLUE ISLAND—No. 3.

Albert V. Beedy
Andrew Lechner
John Huebner
Clarence Woodward
William Tracy
Frank Kasten

CHICAGO—No. 49.

Joe Osinka
Paul Krueger

CHICAGO—No. 1.

Jas. McGraham

CHICAGO—No. 253.

John Spencer

CHICAGO HEIGHTS—No. 203.

Wm. Montpetel

EAST PEORIA—No. 255.

N. J. O'Connell

DOLTON—No. 5.

Albert Kasten
Martin Walkerly

GLENVIEW—No. 186.

Fred J. Clavey

GRANT PARK—No. 34.

Fred K. Elfgen

LANSING—No. 2.

Anthony H. Koselke
Thos. W. Hughes

MURPHYSBURO—No. 257.

Wm. Dann

MANTENO—No. 214.

Walter Reinick

SHERMERSVILLE—No. 14.

Wm. Seiler

Edw. Juhrend

G. W. Sticken

DANVILLE—No. 116.

Frank Combs

G. W. Conner

Oscar Coon

SPRINGFIELD—No. 258.

Frank Young

STREATOR—No. 52.

John Mills

(See index for additional reports of Committee on Credentials.)

Delegate Seidel, Decatur, moved the adoption of the report. (Seconded.)

Delegate Kane: Including the fraternal delegates there have been credentials for 569 delegates presented to this time. From the number of credentials that are still to come in it is safe to say this convention will have more than 600 delegates.

The motion to adopt the report was carried.

President Walker: We have twenty-two fraternal delegates from another organization located in this state. There are no representatives of the other organization in the same industry here. The controversy between them is to be decided in the next convention of the American Federation of Labor. The men represented by these fraternal delegates are strong, virile fighters, and they would be a source of strength to us. They are here with us as fraternal delegates; they are doing their best in an honorable way, I think in a manner that will commend itself to every decent trade unionist in the country, to become part of our movement again, and while so doing to create the least possible friction and at the same time do everything in their power for the rest of the labor movement. I will not attempt to go into the merits of the controversy unless it becomes necessary, and if it

does I expect to talk rather plain on the subject. I take great pleasure in introducing to you at this time Mr. Frank Kasten, president of that organization, who, in my judgment, is one of the clean, decent, aggressive trade unionists in the state and who represents an organization of the same type.

Fraternal Delegate Frank Kasten, President of United Brick and Clay Workers: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Unionists—I am going to tell you a little story of what confronts a bunch of sorely tried union men. We are going to try to show you how two men are responsible for the fact that you have twenty-nine fraternal delegates here from the Brickmakers' organization instead of having that number of regular delegates. We will show you how two men and four or five local unions are responsible for keeping about 5,000 good, loyal trades unionists out of the American labor movement.

About twelve or thirteen years after the inception of our organization the men who were continually footing the bills grew tired of the men who were spending their money without furthering the interests of the organization. They elected a man from Cook County to act as secretary, and another man from the east who was paying his dues into the organization as a member-at-large to act as president and organizer. In convention after convention we listened to plans for organization, although nothing was done, and we decided something was wrong. Taking the matter up in a convention three or four years ago we were told the per capita tax was too small. We boosted it to half of our monthly dues, and still when we met in the next convention there was no organization more than we had in years gone by.

We tried to depose the organizer, but found he had been elected by referendum vote and we could not do so. The next June we tried to defeat him through the referendum vote. About one thousand votes were cast in the east, one-third of the total number cast by three local unions, one of which had paid about \$70 for its initiation and charter; another local had paid nothing, and the third

local had paid \$10 as part payment on its charter. They cast their vote solidly for the general secretary and president, and the men we were trying to run against them were defeated by 300 votes. Those three locals that cast this large vote never paid anything after that convention.

When we met in Blue Island in 1912 we thought we did not have a chance through the referendum ballot, so we decided to put into our constitution the initiative and recall; in other words, we decided if we could not force them to organize in one way we would in another. Two or three months after the convention we were told there was to be a special election. We asked the men who ordered it what it was to be called for, and they said for nothing but to adopt the constitution we had amended the fall before, to make it legal. On election day this confronted us. This large sheet I hold in my hands contains a revision of the entire constitution; it takes away our conventions, fixes the initiative and recall so we cannot use them, and, incidentally, adds another year to the office of the secretary and president.

At the bottom it says: "Resolved, That the Galesburg assessment be continued after December 31, 1913; and be it further Resolved, That the balance of the assessment money coming in after this be spent in an effort to reorganize the Purington Brick Company's plant." In other words, organizing the scabs that were brought in there and ran our men out. After the "Chicago bunch," the name we are known by, learned of these things we immediately seceded. There were some hot-tempered members among us. However, before the first day of January a special council meeting was called and we decided to stay inside and fight.

We circulated a petition throughout our organization, signed by fourteen or sixteen hundred men, asking the general secretary of the international organization to submit the legality of that referendum vote to the rank and file. We had no convention to appeal to. He refused and laughed and sneered at us. Then we sought legal advice. We were told the only thing

we could do was to write all local organizations affiliated with the international and ask them to follow out the constitution as it had been amended at the previous convention, the convention held at Blue Island. We did so. Eighteen local unions responded; in fact, about three-fourths of our organization.

We asked them to nominate candidates for office, and they did so, according to the Blue Island constitution. We held an election according to that constitution and held a convention the following September, which was also according to that constitution, and installed officers on the first of October. We went to Seattle and were given a hearing by the American Federation of Labor. Last year we went to Philadelphia and again were given a hearing. There we were told to get back into the old organization, that if we did not the state and city central bodies would be told not to recognize us. In order to not embarrass the state and city central bodies we withdrew. Now things have grown so rotten in the clay industry that we are going to try again in San Francisco next month to see if the American Federation of Labor will not help us to build up our organization.

After President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, had presided over a conference in the Kaiserhof Hotel, Chicago, we went out on strike. After thirteen weeks of good, hard fighting, the secretary and president of the organization that was opposing us went into conference with the brick manufacturers and tried to sign an open shop scale. They took the matter up with the Building Trades Council of Chicago and they told us that, disagreeable as the duty was, if the other men got the contract they would be placed in a position of backing up an American Federation of Labor contract. If that had come to pass we would have lost a good organization in Cook County. The organization signed up a contract with a few slight changes in rules, although we had the brick manufacturers whipped. I have here a letter from President Gompers which says:

"Washington, D. C., May 25, 1914.

"Mr. Frank Kasten, Secretary, District No. 1, International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers, Room 12, 156 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

"Dear Sir and Brother: At the meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, held at headquarters May 11-16, there was under consideration, among other matters, the subject matter of the Bricklayers, as per Resolution No. 74 of the Seattle convention of the A. F. of L. I submitted to my colleagues all of the papers and correspondence in the case, including a report of the conference held in Chicago March 2. The matter was referred to the undersigned with directions to arrange for another conference at a time and place mutually convenient and agreeable, when I, as the representative of the American Federation of Labor, could be present.

"I am unable now to say definitely when I can undertake the mission, but I anticipate in the not distant future making a trip to Chicago and take up several important matters there. As soon as I am in a position to definitely determine as to this, I shall advise both you and Secretary Bodegraven, of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, and make arrangements for a further conference.

"With kind regards and hoping to hear from you whenever convenient, I remain,

"Fraternally yours,

"SAM'L GOMPERS,

"President American Federation of Labor."

The next attempt happened a few days after the emergency convention of the State Federation was held in Springfield this year. We were called to East Peoria, where the bosses had slowly eliminated the officers of our local organization. When we asked the foreman to put those officers back we were told we had no organization. One boss said: "We are tired of having an organization of your kind; we want an organization we can handle"; and to

show us that he did not stand alone he reached into his pocket and pulled out a letter signed by Secretary Van Bodegraven, of the International organization, which said: "I am sending you charter under separate cover, and after you have organized the men I shall come down and negotiate a wage scale for them." This letter was from an international secretary to the foreman of a brick company.

The twenty-seven men employed by that brick company broke away from us for two days. The manager and the boss went among those men and got them to sign a petition for a charter. One man refused to sign. They held one meeting under that charter; we met them the next day, talked to them, and they came back; we held a joint meeting with the men, pointed out the folly of a bosses' organization, and that made our local there stronger than it had ever been before. When the employers found out that these men had come back to our organization they closed their paving plant, and we, knowing the dull period that was coming, took a chance and closed down their other two plants. After eight or nine weeks of the strike the company agreed to submit the ten demands we were making to arbitration. That was done, and seven of them were granted us before the third man was selected. The other three were granted us after the third man was selected.

While we were at the emergency convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in Springfield we were told by some of the men from the southern part of the state that there was something wrong down at Murphysboro. The Murphysboro central body advertised the fact throughout the state that the brick company at that place was on the unfair list. Two or three weeks after they circulated throughout the state that the Murphysboro Paving Brick Company agreed to recognize the Brickmakers' organization and agreed to a closed shop and the check-off. And while the man who was responsible for bringing that about was at the Philadelphia convention of the American Federation of Labor the

secretary of the Brickmakers' organization that is recognized by the American Federation of Labor went down there and, as everybody thought, organized those clay workers.

Some of the men wrote to us from the southern part of the state that there was a chance for us to get in. We said: "No, the International man is there; he has the first chance and we will not come in unless we find out that he has made a bosses' organization out of those poor men. When we were told at the Springfield convention of this Federation that there was dissatisfaction at Murphysboro, we went down. We went about the first of May. The plant was shut down for lack of orders. We met some of the men and asked how they were progressing. We got no satisfaction. We asked them how they liked to be union men, and they said: "If you stand for union labor such as we have been forced to stand for we don't want to have anything to do with organized labor."

They said Secretary Van Bodegraven, of the organization recognized by the American Federation of Labor, came there in November, met the owner of the brick company and five or six lawyers, spent all of three hours there, signed an agreement and left. Then the superintendent walked through the brickyards, told those men they were now union men; that they were to meet in a certain hall and who to elect for president. The men followed out the superintendent's orders. The boys wanted to come over to us at once. We said that we did not want to disrupt their local. As long as the company was willing to pay the International organization's dues for the men we were willing to let them go ahead and do it, but when the plant started we were going to go in there, and the first thing we would do would be to disrupt that contract.

I have gone through a number of union labor contracts, but I never saw such a contemptible agreement as that one. It was signed up for five years, and the men gave away all the rights and privileges they are entitled to in this enlightened day and age—and for the sum of \$1.75 a

day for ten hours. The plant started up in the latter part of July. We got down there the latter part of August and drew up a tentative scale. We did not want to pull a strike until the men had a few checks.

In the latter part of September we went back to Murphysboro and said: "We are ready. We have just adjourned a convention of ours in Streator, the biggest one the brickmakers ever had, even though they are now split up, and we have pledged you sufficient financial assistance to win a strike down here." After six or seven days of ceaseless effort on our part to effect a settlement—and we were only asking for an eight-hour day and a one-year contract—we had to pull the yard to convince the company we meant business. After a few days we compromised on a nine-hour day, five cents increase and a nine months contract. If we did not do anything else we signed up an agreement that carries our men through the winter and expires in the full bloom of the paving season, when if there is any loose money around the boys in Murphysboro will get some of it.

Now, we have a favor to ask of you. We want to have you ask that a committee be appointed to draw up suitable resolutions to present to the American Federation of Labor requesting that the matter of the brickmakers be once more opened. We want to have the American Federation of Labor give us some recognition so that we can get out and organize all those unorganized brick and clay workers in this state, and when you meet next year we hope the twenty-nine fraternal delegates who are now here will come as real bona fide trades unionists to help you with the movement.

Delegate Harding, Typographical Union, Chicago: I move you that the request of the fraternal delegates from the Brickmakers be granted, and that the committee be appointed. (Seconded.)

President Walker: I want to make a statement so you will know some of the experience we have had in this matter. I do this, not only for what I consider the best interests of our

organization in the state, but there is a personal element I want made clear.

At the inception of this controversy, from the knowledge I had of it, I was inclined to believe that these men were right in their position. After I had read this referendum vote which was sent out to each individual to read and digest and then mark according to his own convictions, with more than half of the membership not able to read or write the English language at all, and having not more than an hour on an average to vote between the time of getting the ballot and the closing of the polls—in many instances not even getting an hour to do it—I was thoroughly convinced that something was wrong and that these men had a just grievance.

I know from experience with the mine workers—and I know we have the most tolerant bunch there is in the movement, and they can grasp the meaning of a referendum ballot as quick as anybody—I know that if I sent a ballot of that character to our membership in the state to be voted upon under the conditions this one had to be voted upon, the chances are that most of them would come to see me in Springfield that could get there, and that I would be safer somewhere else than in Springfield when they landed.

I did what I could in the American Federation of Labor convention to get this question recognized on its merits, and a decision on its merits rendered doing justice to these men. But the American Federation of Labor, because of past controversies, would not listen to anything of this kind.

Knowing that I was rather held under suspicion anyhow because I favored the underdog in most of the controversies, I felt that I was in a place where I had either to do one thing or the other—recognize those laws or get out of a position under which I was compelled to recognize those laws. I decided under the circumstances to recognize the law and advised these men in Philadelphia that from that time on I was going to do what I could to build up the other organization, and I hoped

some time the controversy would be settled on its merits and peace would be established in their organization so the members could work together to organize the unorganized and make conditions better for the men in those plants. I said I felt compelled to live up to the decision rendered in Philadelphia.

When I got home the men from Murphysboro—mostly coal miners—and from the surrounding communities in Herrin and Royalton, asked if I would not come there and try to bring about an organization of the brickworkers in that plant. I went down, took the matter up with Mr. Jenkins and arranged for a conference with the owner, Mr. Hill. I went on the appointed date. We had a conference. I tried to get them to agree to have a conference with a committee of the men representing those men and myself, and whatever was agreed upon would be tentative and the men would have a vote on it.

He refused to agree to that proposition. Then I asked him if he would not agree to allow the men to be organized and have a committee—a pit committee I called it—on the ground to take up their grievances, with the understanding that a conference would be held within three months looking to bring about an agreement and with provision made then that the disputed points would be arbitrated. He said: "Walker, I am not going to have anything to do with you. There isn't a proposition you have made to me that does not mean the organization of those men. If I agree to their being organized in the labor movement and I decide finally not to agree with them, you will already have them in the best position to lick me. I am not going to agree to that kind of a proposition. I will have an agreement first before I will recognize their union."

The State Federation officials have no authority to obligate men in any union, and I could not go ahead and take a definite position. There was nothing I could do under the circumstances but use my good offices towards bringing about a conference between the officials of the recog-

nized organization having jurisdiction over that industry and the owners of the plant. I arranged for a conference between Mr. Hill and the representatives of the recognized union. They held a conference, and the information I get bears out the statements of Mr. Kasten.

I wrote to Mr. Van Bodegraven about the matter and told him the time of meeting. He went down there, and my information is that he did not let a man in the plant know he was there; they had no consideration whatever in the arrangement of the contract that was to govern them, they had nothing to say, either, as to wages, conditions, hours or treatment. Even after the agreement was signed, he did not give them a copy of it.

This plant is located in a mining community, and they do not always work steadily. Because the mine was idle, and the miners are not millionaires, they had to look for jobs to support their families. One of them went to the brickyards and got a job. Conditions were so bad he said: "This is rotten. We cannot stand for this; we will have to take it up in the local." About the time he raised his head the boss fired him from the job. He said: "You can't fire me. You will have to take it up in the local." The boss said: "I have a right to fire you or anyone else in the plant."

The men held a meeting and asked Van Bodegraven to go down and explain matters. He refused. Then the company's representatives told them what the agreement really was. The statement was that Van Bodegraven had agreed that prices, conditions, hours, treatment, custom and usages that had existed there before there was an organization would continue for the next five years, and, in addition, wrote into the agreement, or had a verbal agreement to the effect, that any boss who was opposed to organized labor could discharge a man who was trying to organize a union—and gave them the label of his organization for that agreement! All the men got for that was that their dues and assessments were checked off. They did not have a

right to fight under any circumstances.

Immediately some of the coal miners wrote to me and wanted to know what kind of an agreement I had made for those men down there. They asked if I had agreed to those things. I wrote back and told them that all I had done was to try to get a decent agreement made and could not, and I had then arranged for a conference between the International officials of that union and the company to bring about an agreement; that so far as I knew the organization was bona fide and the officers who were responsible would go down and protect those men's interests. Then they wrote me what the contract meant and asked if I could not do something further.

I took the matter up with President Gompers and asked him to send a man down there to investigate. I wrote and told him—there was no bluff about it—that before I would agree to be a party to the making or enforcing of a contract of that kind, there wasn't anything I wouldn't do; that I refused to stay in any official position where I would be required to recognize either a contract of that kind or men who would make it. Since that time those men have withdrawn from that organization; they are in the other organization; they have set aside that contract, and they have got a contract that does mean recognition of their union, reasonable progress now and some hope for the future.

I have been told directly by John L. Lewis, who is an organizer for the American Federation of Labor and a member of my own union, a man whom I know well, that he made the same kind of an arrangement for something like 1,300 brickmakers in Ohio, and that instead of Secretary Van Bodegraven going there to make the agreement, International President Butterworth went down there and made an agreement substantially the same as Van Bodegraven had made for the men in Murphysboro. Those brickmakers in Ohio decided they would not be bound by that kind of contract. They said they wanted to stay in the labor movement, they needed the help it could give them,

and they wanted to be in a position to help the rest of the labor movement when opportunity offered. They said they would go it alone as long as they could, and if they could not stand alone they would go down and go out of business before they would be part of an organization of the kind represented by Van Bodegraven and Butterworth; that they would rather be on tramp without being shackled than be worse than on tramp and bound down besides.

Those men asked if any means could be suggested by which they could stay in the movement, that they would be exceedingly pleased to do it if they could. I understand they were given a charter as a federal labor union by the American Federation of Labor. Now, the American Federation of Labor law requires that whenever there is enough members in a federal local union to form a local of the International that has jurisdiction over them, the International Union has a right to demand that they affiliate. I understand President Butterworth demanded over a year ago that those men be turned over to his organization. I know that no man living has a higher regard for the laws of the American Federation than Sam Gompers, and that even with a slight hurt to the movement he would comply with the law, so there must be something exceedingly bad that would induce him to refuse to comply with that law; but up to the present time my information is that those men are members of the Federal Union and not of the International organization.

I know enough to satisfy me that there is something exceedingly rotten in this proposition. These men, represented by Mr. Kasten, have worked unselfishly, they have done the best they could in every controversy we have had anywhere throughout the state, and they have refused to insist upon having any recognition that would embarrass in any way the rest of the labor movement. They have fought it alone, giving all they could, patiently doing the best they could for the general movement as well as for themselves. They are here now asking for this recognition. I honestly believe the

American Federation of Labor Convention in San Francisco, if it gets to know the truth, will repudiate that other organization and recognize the organization that has the real union in that industry—the organization represented by Mr. Kasten and these other fraternal delegates. I believe the convention will do that. I believe also that an expression of sentiment on the part of this convention in that direction will materially strengthen the men who feel their cause is just.

I would not injure the International organization in any way, shape or form, I would go out of my way to help them in every way I could unless things were exceedingly bad; but I say to you again, as I said over my signature to President Gompers, that if things are as these men have stated and that everything indicates are true, much as I would hate to go out of this position except the men themselves would want me to do, there isn't any position in this or any other organization I would consider worth the cost to me in influencing me to aid and abet these gentlemen in tying these men hand and foot in that way.

I hope it will not be necessary to go to extremes. I don't think it will if the case is presented properly and fully; but unless my mind is changed on the subject—and I want you to understand what it means—I would not hesitate to leave this or any other position rather than give my support to a plan to put men under a contract of the sort the representatives of that International organization agreed to in Murphysboro, and the same is true of the contract in Ohio mentioned by Organizer Lewis.

I want to do nobody a wrong, I want to do what is best for this movement, I would consider myself worse than the blackest scab in this country if I did not do what I could to protect the men who work in the brickyards the same as I would the men who work in the mines. I hope I will never get to the place where the desire to fill any position will influence me to being a party to betraying the whole labor movement and turning men over bound and gagged with a contract obligating

them to submit to everything the other side cares to impose upon them in order to get per capita tax to keep me in office. That is about all I care to say on the subject.

Delegate Keenan, Danville: I wish to go on record in behalf of the Central Labor Council in the city of Danville as carrying the recommendation that something be done for these men. In so far as the old organization officially is concerned with the Central Labor Council of Danville, it has dropped out of existence. We recognized the other organization pro tem., awaiting the action of the State Federation of Labor, and we as a council recommend that these people be allowed to become members of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

The motion offered by Delegate Harding, that the request of the fraternal delegates from the brick-makers be granted and that the committee be appointed, was seconded by Delegate Lawrenz and carried by unanimous vote.

President Walker appointed the following committee, in accordance with the instructions of the convention:

Special Committee.

Delegate Harding, Typographical Union, Chicago, Chairman.

Delegate Wilson, Mine Workers, O'Fallon.

Delegate Patterson, Brewery Workers, Chicago.

Delegate Hammond, Painters, Chicago.

Delegate Greener, Machinists, Chicago.

Delegate Keenan moved that the organization represented by the fraternal delegates be allowed to become members of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. (Seconded by Delegate Lawrenz, and carried.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES.

Delegate Bruce, Chairman, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Members of the Illinois State Federation of Labor Convention:

We, the Committee on Rules, submit the following:

Rule I.

The convention shall be called to order at 9 a. m. each day of the meeting, and adjourn at 12 o'clock m. Afternoon session shall be called to order at 2 p. m. and adjourn at 5 p. m.

Rule II.

Delegates shall present their attendance card with name and address before each session. Delegates not presenting their cards before 9:30 a. m. and 2:30 p. m. shall be recorded as absent.

Rule III.

The President shall appoint a committee of two to attend to Attendance Cards and act as Sergeant-at-Arms.

Rule IV.

Delegates shall refrain from smoking or chewing tobacco during sessions of convention.

Rule V.

Delegates desiring the floor must announce their names and the organization they represent.

Rule VI.

Delegates will be allowed not more than ten minutes to speak on any question except by vote of the convention.

THE COMMITTEE.

Signed—

JOHN J. BRUCE,
Chairman.

ADAM BLASCO,
ED. CARBINE,
THEODORE BISSER,
J. E. HICKS,
TOM JONES,
JESSIE G. PEEBLES,

Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES.

The Chairman announced the following appointments:

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Matthew Woll, Photo Engravers, Chicago, Chairman.

J. J. Kearney, Trades & Labor (Bar), Quincy.

Martin McGraw, Brewery Workers, Chicago.

C. T. Moorhead, Cigarmakers, Springfield.

John C. Harding, Typographical, Chicago.

Geo. F. Golden, Teamsters, Chicago.

Jack Miller, Moving Picture Operators, Chicago.

Fred Wittig, Machinists, Danville.

Chas. MacGowen, Boilermakers, Rock Island.

Richard Whennen, Hodcarriers, Oglesby.

Wm. Hall, Miners, Springfield.

Alice Ahfelt, Nurses, Peoria.

W. H. Brown, Carpenters, Peoria.

Thomas A. Hanson, Seamen, Chicago.

C. S. Sperry, Painters, Aurora.

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Chas. Gaude, Brewery Workers, Chicago, Chairman.

Harry Waldorf, Molders, Granite City.

Jas. Mooney, Painters, Chicago.

J. B. Keenan, Boilermakers, Danville.

John Radka Miners, Bloomington.

Emma Steghagen, Women's Trade Union League, Chicago.

A. G. Hartman, Teamsters, East St. Louis.

D. F. Clancy, Switchmen, Peoria.

James A. Short, Stonecutters, Chicago.

Gunner G. Engstrom, Street Carmen, Rock Island.

Patrick S. Cahill, Pressmen, Chicago.

J. B. Hickey, Plumbers, Chicago.

Chas. Wright, Cigarmakers, Decatur.

Robert J. Wilson, Bartenders, Keewanee.

Frank C. Spelman, Typographical, Campaign.

COMMITTEE ON UNION LABEL.

Anna Fitzgerald, Label League, Chicago.

F. G. Hoop, Cigarmakers, Chicago.

Ernest Wollette, Musicians, Chicago.

Wm. Moyer, Miners, Westville.

James Doyle, Street Carmen, Chicago.

Halbert L. Smith, P. O. Clerks, Chicago.

Walter S. Nylen, Tailors, Chicago.

Sam Jurrich, Garment Workers, Joliet.

H. C. Curtis, Typographical, Chicago.

Margaret Blake, Glove Operators, Chicago.

T. K. Ball, Carpenters, Springfield.

Henry B. Wagner, Foundry Employees, Belleville.

Harry Halton, Glass Bottle Blowers, Alton.

Joseph W. Rizzie, Bartenders, Streator.

M. P. Schiltz, Sheet Metal Workers, Aurora.

COMMITTEE ON LAW.

L. A. Allton, Cigarmakers, Peoria.

Matt Keefe, Engineers, Chicago.

Hugh Willis, Miners, Herrin.

James A. Meade, Fed. of Men Teachers, Chicago.

Geo. O. Johnson, Teamsters, Chicago.

Mary Anderson, Boot and Shoe Workers, Chicago.

Herman Jessen, Painters, Chicago.

W. R. Christopher, Molders, Belleville.

Dell Kander, Moving Picture Operators, Alton.

John A. Jones, Glass Bottle Blowers, Streator.

President Walker: The Committee on Finance is composed of the Vice Presidents and members of the Executive Board.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

Delegate Keefe. Secretary of the Committee: Since the printed form was gotten out some changes have been made by the committee. When we come to these sections we will call attention to the changes.

Printed copies of the report of the committee containing the complete constitution as recommended by them, were distributed to the delegates.

Secretary Keefe read the following Declaration of Principles, each section of which was acted upon seriatim and adopted without change or amendment:

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

Believing as we do in securing the greatest good to the greatest number, we, the Illinois State Federation of Labor, officially representing the organized workers of the state, thoroughly approve of the objects and aims of the parent body, the American Federation of Labor, and pledge ourselves to give it our earnest and hearty support.

We believe that the members of these affiliated bodies when purchasing goods should call for those which bear the trademark of organized labor, and when any firm, individual or corporation shall strike a blow at labor organizations, the workers are earnestly requested to give that individual, firm or corporation, their careful consideration.

We believe that it is of importance that members should vote intelligently, hence the members of this organization should strive to secure legislation in favor of those who produce the wealth of the country.

We contend that it is a sacred principle that union men, above all others, should set a good example as workmen, performing their duties to their employers with honor to themselves and their organization.

We believe that a reduction of hours for a day's work increases the intelligence and happiness of the laborer and also increases the demand for labor and the price of a day's work.

We recognize the fact that the interests of all classes of labor are identical, regardless of occupation, nationality or religion, and a wrong done to one is a wrong done to all.

We object to prison contract labor, as it puts the criminal in competition with honorable labor, overstocks the market and causes a reduction of wages.

We recognize the evils of the piece work system and demand its abolishment.

We favor the adoption of the first Monday in September as Labor's holiday, and recommend that all Local Unions endeavor to observe the same.

We believe in and demand compulsory education and urge the adoption of uniform free textbooks.

We believe in equal suffrage for women and pledge ourselves to work to that end.

We believe in the Initiative and Referendum and the recall of all public servants, including the judges.

We, therefore, pledge ourselves unitedly in behalf of the principles herein set forth to perpetuate on the basis of friendship and justice, to expound its objects and work for its general adoption, to respect and obey the laws laid down for its guidance and government.

We believe it is the imperative duty of every worker to do all in his power to secure, through organization and unity of action among the men and women of all crafts, the objects set forth in this constitution.

Article I. Article II and Article III were read by the committee as follows:

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I

Name.

This organization shall be known as the Illinois State Federation of Labor and shall at all times be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE II.

Objects.

Section 1. The objects of this Federation shall be the securing of legislation to the interest of organized labor; to promote the use of the union label and the purchase of union label goods; to make more effective legally declared boycotts, and in general to promote the work of labor organization.

ARTICLE III.

Membership.

Section 1. This Federation shall be composed of bona fide local unions, district and state organizations and city central labor bodies in Illinois, who are eligible to membership in State Federations of Labor as defined in the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Each Article was adopted as read by the committee.

Sections 1 and 2 of Article IV were read by the committee as follows:

ARTICLE IV.

Conventions.

Section 1. The regular conventions of this Federation shall be held annually and shall convene on the third Monday in October at 10 a. m., at such place as the Federation shall designate.

Sec. 2. Special sessions of the Federation may be held as provided for in Article XI, Section 4.

Each section was adopted as read by the committee.

Secretary Keefe stated that the printed report of Section 3, Article IV, had been amended by the committee by inserting in the second line, "and officers' reports," the amended section to read:

Sec. 3. Committees on Resolutions, Constitution and Officers' Reports, as appointed by the President, consisting of three (3) members each, shall meet in the convention city at a place designated by the President at least two (2) days before the beginning of the annual convention, to consider and arrange their report on matters submitted to them. The auditors shall also meet at such time and place as the above-named committees.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the section as recommended by the committee.

Delegate Seidel: Could we not elect the committees by referendum vote the same as we elect the other officers?

President Walker: That is for the convention to decide.

Delegate Seidel: I move that they be elected by referendum vote. (Seconded.)

Delegate Harding, Typographical Union: I am a believer in the referendum. At the last meeting of this body action was taken looking to putting into effect the referendum idea in the business of this organization. I believe until that principle

is in thorough working order it would not be a good thing to load down that principle with the election of committees of this kind. I believe we can get better and more effective work by allowing the President of this organization to appoint these committees.

Delegate Gaude: If this amendment is adopted we will have to elect delegates to the next convention as soon as we go back to our local unions in order to carry it out—and some of us may be dead by the time the next convention takes place.

Delegate Pace, Mine Workers: I am a firm believer in the referendum. I was on the Committee on Law last year and wrote the minority report favoring the election of our officers by that system that was finally adopted. A good way to kill the referendum is to tack on to it motions such as the brother has made. Those committees should be selected by the Chairman of the organization from delegates who have been elected by the different local unions and central bodies. I hope no amendments will be tacked on to this section that will kill the spirit of the referendum.

Delegate Golden: I move to table the amendment. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Williams, Mine Workers, West Frankfort: I move that the number of members in each committee be left to the Executive Officers.

Secretary Keefe: The report does not mean that the President cannot put more members on the committee if he sees fit. Last year the Committee on Officers' Reports recommended that the committee convene in the convention city prior to the opening of the sessions. We now add another important committee.

Delegate Christopher, Belleville: As a member of the Committee on Law I desire to say we concluded it would be wise to have three members come to the convention city a few days before the opening of the session in order to familiarize themselves with the things that are apt to come up. When the convention meets, the President can appoint as

many more members of the committee as he sees fit. When the resolutions come before the committees now, not any of the members know anything about them or their aims or objects. If this is adopted, three members will be familiar with them and will be in a position to advise with the other members as to the best action to recommend to the convention.

Delegate Gori: I think it would be best to allow the President to decide how many members there should be on a committee—three, four, five or whatever he thinks best.

Delegate Lohn: It is left to the President to appoint as many on that committee as he sees fit, but three are to meet two days before the convention. I therefore move that the amendment be tabled.

Delegate Cormer: I think if this report is read over and it is taken up tomorrow we will have more intelligent action.

Delegate Harding, Typographical Union: One thing I like about this convention is that we have got down to business and are proceeding in a business-like way. It is nearly 5 o'clock, and no matter how rapidly we go along with this we cannot complete it before 5 o'clock. That will give the delegates an opportunity to read the rest of this printed report of the Committee on Constitution. If, in reading this, any delegate desires to raise objection, it will be an easy matter to defer action until tomorrow morning. I think we should proceed as we have been doing.

Delegate Jones, Mine Workers: I agree with the brothers that every delegate should be given a chance to thoroughly digest this report. I don't believe in taking snap judgment. Therefore, I would like to see some delegate offer a motion that we take this up as the first order of business tomorrow afternoon.

Delegate Bruce, Street Railway Employees: I am in accord with Delegate Harding; I believe that we should go ahead, and when there is no objection adopt the section; when

there is objection pass the section and take up the disputed points tomorrow.

Delegate Culver, Street Railway Employees: There are only a few changes in this report; it is practically the constitution we have been working under.

Delegate Ambrose moved that further consideration of the proposed constitution be deferred until Tuesday in order that the delegates might familiarize themselves with the report of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Coulter, Painters: I think there are enough intelligent men in this hall to keep anything from being railroaded. This report can be taken up now as well as tomorrow. I don't think anyone can put anything over here. The delegates are too smart, and I move you that we go on with the report.

Delegate Lohn, Chicago Federation of Labor: I am opposed to the motion to defer action on this matter, inasmuch as we have only twenty-five minutes to work before adjournment.

Delegate Jones: I move that debate cease. (Seconded and carried.) The motion to defer action was lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee on Section 3 of Article IV was carried.

The committee recommended that Section 4 of Article IV read as follows:

Section 4. The rules and order of business governing the preceding convention shall be in force from the opening of any convention of the State Federation until new rules have been adopted by action of the convention.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Section 5, Article IV, read as follows:

Section 5. Resolutions or amendments to the constitution must be mailed to the Secretary not later than one week prior to the opening of the annual convention. No resolutions

or amendments can be introduced during the convention, except by a two-thirds vote of the delegates present.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Williams (A.), Mine Workers, moved to further amend by providing that amendments may be introduced during the convention by a majority vote instead of a two-thirds vote. The amendment was seconded and carried.

Delegate Aspengren moved to further amend by striking out the last four lines of the section. (Seconded.)

Delegate Seidel: If we strike out the last four lines any delegate can get up and put in any resolution he sees fit from the floor of the convention, and we will be here an indefinite time.

President Walker: If this amendment is adopted nobody will have a right to introduce a resolution in the convention.

Delegate Aspengren: My motion is made with the understanding that we will have a right to introduce resolutions and amendments to the constitution as we have done in the past.

Delegate Jones, West Frankfort: I move that we table the amendment to strike out the last four lines. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Shipman, Danville: I move that the word "must" be stricken out and "shall" inserted in its stead.

Secretary Keefe: The understanding of the committee was that it would not be well to have delegates coming here with ax-grinding resolutions to promote their own interests. We want them submitted by the local unions affiliated with this Federation. If anything of interest to the movement comes up it will be easy enough to get a majority vote of the convention to bring it up. We want the resolutions from organizations and not from individuals.

Delegate Rogers, Typographical Union: The word "except" in next

to the last line kills the intent of the word "must" as far as any conflict is concerned.

The section was adopted as recommended by the committee and amended by Delegate Williams.

The committee recommended that Section 1 of Article V read as follows:

ARTICLE V.

Representation and Qualification of Delegates.

Section 1. Every local union shall be entitled to one delegate for each 100 members or less, and one additional delegate for every additional 100 members or major fraction thereof. All Central bodies, State and District organizations chartered as Central bodies shall be entitled to a representation of three delegates. No affiliated organization shall be represented by proxy.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Section 2 of Article V read as follows:

Section 2. No person shall be eligible as a delegate to the conventions of this Federation who is an employer or who has the power to hire or discharge; or who holds a salaried appointive political position, requiring labor of a different nature than the union he is a member of has jurisdiction over. Nor shall delegates from Central bodies, District or State organizations be seated except the local of which they are members is affiliated with the State Federation. Be it understood that this section does not debar the paid officials of any bona fide organization from being seated as delegates.

Delegate Goodwin, Typographical Union: In the fifth line it says "or who has the power to hire and discharge." Does that mean a foreman or superintendent of a plant?

President Walker: If he has power to hire and discharge.

Delegate Goodwin: Does it mean a foreman or superintendent who is a member of any legitimate union

will be debarred from being a delegate to this convention?

President Walker: If he has power to hire and discharge.

Delegate Goodwin: I move to strike out the words "or who has power to hire or discharge." (Seconded.)

Delegate Goodwin: As long as a good superintendent pays his dues and works for a wage scale, works for an employer and is a bonafide working man he has all the rights given to other members. I understand this is intended to eliminate foremen, superintendents, straw bosses and everyone else of that sort. I don't believe in throwing out those members; I believe in keeping them in where we can handle them. If we ever let them get away from us we cannot do anything with them.

Delegate Argust, Mine Workers, moved to table the amendment. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Harding: I don't believe the delegates understand what Delegate Goodwin means by his amendment, and I would like to have the gentleman who made the motion to table withdraw it so he can give his reasons.

Delegate Goodwin: I wish to raise a point of order on this. Does it not seem queer that as soon as anyone makes an amendment and wishes to have it discussed, some delegate moves to close debate? In adopting a constitution and by-laws debate should be practically unlimited. I don't object to being defeated on any proposition if we have a fair and free discussion.

Secretary Olander: I think the record will show a suggestion which appeared to be favored by the convention that where there were serious objections raised by anybody to any particular section it was to go over until tomorrow.

Delegate Harding: In accordance with that understanding I move that action on this particular section be deferred until tomorrow morning.

President Walker: I hope you will bear with me a moment in this matter. It is a rather delicate question

and one on which I know the Mine Workers, who I think voted unanimously to table that motion, feel rather keenly. At the same time, under the laws of the Typographical Union they take an absolutely opposite position from that taken by the Mine Workers. Under our laws men who have the right to hire and discharge in some instances are allowed to be members of the organization they pay dues and assessments, but they are denied the right to attend the meetings or take any part in the business of the organization or the election of officers. We feel they are direct representatives of the employers when they are acting in that capacity, and while in many instances they do work over which we have jurisdiction, it is necessary for our own protection to have them in the organization; they set the wages and treatment our organization has been able to get for the men, and we feel they cannot represent the best interests of the organization when they are really acting as substitutes for the employer in having the right to hire and discharge.

The Typographical Union has had a rather difficult experience on this question, I understand. In the early days they did not allow those men to belong to their organization. They found that a considerable number of men, in order to avoid belonging to the organization bought a share of stock or had it given out that they were able to hire and discharge, and for their own protection the Typographical Union found it necessary to take those men into their organization. They have given them all the rights and privileges the other members have.

I don't believe the Mine Workers want to deny an organization the right to be heard and to go into detail on a matter they consider of vital importance to them. If the convention will agree with me I will request that we lay this question over until tomorrow morning and then let the Printers discuss their case fully, so that when the matter is disposed of there will be no feeling on their part that they were not given a hearing. If there is no objection the chair will rule that this matter will

go over until tomorrow for a re-hearing. Hearing no objection, it is so ordered.

The committee recommended that Section 3 of Article V read as follows:

Section 3. Delegates to the conventions must have the union label on all articles of wearing apparel when it is possible to secure the same.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Section 4 read as follows:

Section 4. No person shall be eligible as a delegate to the conventions of this Federation unless his local organization is paying a per capita tax upon its full membership.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Section 5 of Article V read as follows:

Section 5. Dues from Central bodies and local organizations must be paid before credentials of delegates can be accepted, provided that organizations represented in the Federation for the first time and who have not heretofore been affiliated are entitled to representation upon payment of one quarter's per capita tax and initiation fee thirty days in advance of the convention. Credentials of delegates coming from Central bodies shall show what organization they represent.

Delegate Seidel: In Section 1 you include District organizations. I think it would be proper to include it here. I move that "District organizations" be inserted.

President Walker: The committee construes this to mean that the words "Central bodies" include State and District organizations.

The section was adopted as recommended by the committee.

The committee recommended that Section 6 of Article V read as follows:

Section 6. Each delegate to this Federation must present a credential signed by the Presiding Officer and

Secretary and attested by the seal of the organization he represents. Credentials must be presented in duplicate. The credentials, in addition to containing instructions as to rules governing resolutions and amendments and the conditions under which delegates may be admitted to the conventions shall be in the following form:

To the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

This is to certify that at a regular meeting of.....held aton the..... day of.....19...., Mr.was regularly elected to represent the above-named organization in the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hand and seal this..... day of.....19....
.....President.
.....Secretary.

(Seal)

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommended that Section 7 of Article V read as follows:

Section 7. All delegates shall present their credentials to the committee on credentials in person. Upon the credentials being found correct, the committee shall provide the delegates with cards, with seal attached, and no person shall be allowed on the floor of the convention without such card. A duplicate credential of all delegates and alternates elected shall be filed with the Secretary at least fifteen days prior to the date of holding the convention.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

A communication from the Fraternal Order of Eagles No. 254, Alton, was read by the Secretary. The delegates were invited to accept the hospitality of the clubhouse of that organization, located in the 400 block, East Second street.

An invitation was also extended by the Knights of Columbus to visiting Knights to accept the hospitality of their rooms in Spalding Club building, and to attend a smoker and entertainment to be given for them in these rooms on Thursday evening, October 21.

The Secretary read a communication from the President of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, A. McAndrew, extending fraternal greetings and good wishes. The

writer stated that a resolution was enclosed for which he asked the consideration of the convention.

Secretary Olander stated that the resolution was the usual indorsement of the label of the Tobacco Workers and other organizations, and had been referred to the proper committee.

At 5 o'clock the convention was adjourned, to reconvene at 9 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, October 19th.

REPORT OF PRESIDENT JOHN H. WALKER

Springfield, Illinois, October 18, 1915.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

Fellow Trade Unionists—It is a source of much gratification to me to meet with you again at this, the thirty-third annual convention of our organization. I am very much pleased to be able to say that you represent here today an increase in the membership of our movement for the past year—greater than that of any other one year in the existence of the State Federation—with the exception of the year in which the Mine Workers affiliated as a whole through their state organization. This continual, steady and ever-increasing growth, based on an open, full knowledge of what our movement stands for, will make clear to the whole world, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that our organization is immutably founded on the principles of justice; that it stands for the betterment of humanity, and that it is striving to secure for the common people the rights and opportunities to which they are entitled, and that it seeks to protect them from injustice and wrong.

The labor movement is an expression of protest against every wrong and injustice that exists, and a strong, affirmative influence, fighting constructively to obtain every right and opportunity to which the human race is entitled. The movement is as enduring as the life of the human race itself; its sympathies as wide as the tenderest feelings of man; its intensity deeper than the roots of the deepest rooted evils; and its aspirations as high as the highest ideals of human kind.

It is peculiarly fitting that the State body of an organization of the character of ours should at least occasionally have its annual gathering of the representatives of the toilers of Illinois to consider ways and means for the protection of the rights which their past efforts have secured for them, and for extending those rights until mankind will have complete equality of and the greatest opportunity to make the best possible use of the resources of our great State; and also that we contribute to the extent we can, renewed efforts for the highest development of the human race itself.

In the city of Alton, Illinois, is the spot that has been made sacred by the shedding of the life-blood of a man who, in defense of the right of free speech and in opposition to slavery, said: "But, gentlemen, as long as I am an American citizen, and as long as American blood runs in these veins, I shall hold myself at liberty to speak, to write, to pub-

lish whatever I please on any subject, being amenable to the laws of my country for the same. And I have sworn eternal opposition to slavery, and by the blessing of God, I will never go back."

That a man owes a duty to humanity as well as to self. That heroic Illinoisan who died to show that it is more necessary that a man be true than that he live. His memory has made it particularly meet that, as the representatives of the men and women who sent us here, we should have rekindled, by our conduct, the spirit of that great defender of human rights.

The things for which he fought are the things we are fighting for, The principles for which he gave his life are the principles we are fighting to maintain and extend today. It was the efforts and sacrifices of such noble souls as he in the past that made it possible for us to have the opportunity to assemble for the cause we here speak for.

I am sure that had he himself the opportunity to name the thing that he would, more than any other in this world, like to have us do in recognition of his service and sacrifice for humanity—if he could come into our convention today and speak to us himself today—he would say: "I want you to take up the work in the great cause of human liberty and strive to do the things that are necessary to be done now." If we could but realize what his action really meant: that he was willing, and did lay down his very life, that the humblest black man might be freed from slavery; and that the human race should have the right of peaceful assemblage, liberty of speech, freedom of the press, to speak or write without unlawful and vicious restraint or restriction, on the things that were of vital concern to mankind.

Did we really and seriously take up these problems, with the same earnestness, honesty and steadfastness of purpose that he did, and use the powers that we have now to accomplish for us and ours and those that are to come, and insist upon the freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom to associate and communicate with each other peacefully and lawfully, for common protection and advancement, and for industrial freedom as well, I feel quite sure that that would be the thing he would most want us to do, and I sincerely hope that we will, each one of us, while here, absorb that indomitable spirit of his, and consecrate ourselves anew to the carrying out and extension of those great principles for which he died.

I ask this great assemblage now to rise and with bowed heads for one minute in reverent thought of him who gave his life for us and ours, do silent homage to the memory of Elijah Parish Lovejoy—working man and real American—who suffered a martyr's death for the cause of human rights, justice and progress on the evening of November 7, 1837, at Alton, Illinois.

LEGISLATION AND THE LEGISLATURE.

During the year just passed the Illinois Legislature held their regular biennial session which began January 6, 1915, and lasted until June 30, 1915.

There was introduced into that session of the Legislature new bills and amendments to the present laws in the interest of labor to the number of something like a hundred or over. There was also introduced a considerable number of laws which were, in our judgment, detrimental to labor.

The Illinois Joint Labor Legislative Board, which comprised representatives of the following organizations: The State Federation of Labor, Illinois United Mine Workers of America, Chicago Federation of

Labor, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Order of Railway Conductors, Switchmen's Union of North America, Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, State Teachers' Association, Chicago Teachers' Association, Women's Trade Union League, International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, International Journeymen Horseshoers' Union and the Electrical Workers, considered nearly every one of these measures separately, passed judgment upon them and decided what attitude they would assume towards them; and then all joined in an effort to carry into effect the decision reached by that body.

This board has already made a report which has been printed in pamphlet form and set out to all of the labor organizations in our State; but I believe that a thorough dissemination of all information on these matters among our members is necessary in order to get the fullest understanding of the big, vital and fundamental problems of legislation, and the best means of securing its enactment, and of advertising our enemies and giving credit to our friends; therefore I am including it in this report for present and future reference of organized labor and its friends in the State of Illinois.

Every delegate will be given a copy of the report, showing the record of each representative and senator from the various districts, and any organization desiring further copies will be able to get them from Secretary Olander by paying for the actual cost of same.

A mistake was made in the report on page 5, where it says: "Fourteenth—Joint Resolution, providing for State employes getting paid semi-monthly."

In the limited time that a number of the members of the committee had in which to prepare this report, to get it published and sent out, they were unable to wait until the official printed proceedings of the State Legislature were ready for distribution, so that they could be absolutely sure with reference to every matter contained in the report. On that account and on the strength of a statement made by a friendly attorney who assisted us effectively in getting some other measures through, and who stated that this joint resolution had been adopted, they included it in their report. I regret very much to say that that statement was a mistake.

We also failed to mention the amendments to the barbers State law, providing for a State examining board. Amendments were made to it providing for the creation of four additional investigators to assist the board in carrying into effect the purpose of that law, also providing for a clerk to keep the records; all of which will add very materially to the efficiency of that board.

Also on page 19, in connection with statements showing how, by making amendments continually, a bill can be killed. It should have been stated that the rules governing the enactment of legislation and the decisions rendered in connection therewith by our courts are such that in order to be enacted legally, a law must contain the identical language of the bill as acted upon in both houses before it can become law. This rule, of course, also makes clear that although it may be a friendly amendment, if made at a period when there is not sufficient time for it to go through the procedure of being taken over to the other house and officially acted upon with enough of its friends there to put it through, that the apparently friendly amendment may have been introduced and voted for by the enemies of the measure for the deliberate purpose of killing the bill.

I want to cite another of the methods by which the machine organization may make their attitude and desires known to the other

members in order to kill a bill—or vice versa. In the one instance, when they desire to kill it, they have the roll called so rapidly that even a person sitting in the house listening can hardly have time to answer his name, and those in their seats who are not listening closely, and those who may be out for a moment unthinkingly or on business, will be passed by; and also those who are willingly a party to a scheme to not vote at all, and thereby, in effect, have their vote registered against it, and thus take advantage of the machine's willingness to lend itself in that way to the defeat of the measure.

On the other hand, when it is a measure they want to go through, they call the roll so slowly that no one will have any excuse for not answering. And when they do not get sufficient votes, the roll call is stopped altogether until they send their agents out and bring the members in, so as to make them vote.

I might add that where the measures were for labor, the first method was used, and where they were against labor, the last method was used invariably.

Another means to prevent legislation favorable to the workers from being enacted has been made evident on numerous occasions in the past and during the last session of the Assembly, notably, in the case of the amendment to the miners' qualification law, providing for one apprentice only to each practical miner, where the then speaker, Edward Shurtleff, held it up; the enactment of the shot firers' law; and in the last session, the county uniformity textbook law, and some other bills which we had up when they were acted upon in the house. By some means or other, they failed to go through the procedure necessary for their final enactment, being lost or held up for days and weeks in the hands of different committees or individuals, engrossing committees, clerks, etc.

In another instance, namely, the present factory inspection code, known as the health, safety and comfort law, the final records show that there was a difference of a word or two in the bill as acted upon in the house, and as it went through the senate, which made it invalid according to the rules and court decisions and which made necessary our getting it re-enacted at the last session.

And in other instances, such as the so-called resolution creating the commission representing the late Senate, ostensibly to investigate the Chicago School Board, but which has in reality been used to serve the interests of the tax-dodging corporations, the book trust, employers who are enemies of labor, and the crooked politicians, to destroy the Teachers' Federation, appears by the records to have been passed, when in reality, it was not even introduced.

This is one of the devious and peculiar methods operated in mysterious ways to impede or prevent the advancement of legislation favorable to labor, and just as mysteriously from as many different sources to operate in favor of the enactment, regardless of rules or laws, of legislation hostile to the interests of labor.

By the same unseen, unknown, unlocatable influence, labor measures were always held back on the calendar, so that they could not be acted upon, and bills that were introduced hostile to labor and in favor of the interests, unaccountably appeared ahead of their turn first on the calendar, or were by special procedure, given the right of way to hurry them through.

Nearly all labor measures were held back until late in the closing hours of the session, and in many instances, when they were voted upon, it was at one, two or three o'clock in the morning, when their friends were absent, and then they failed to get sufficient votes to put

them through; while at the same time, measures hostile to the interests of the people were acted upon when everybody friendly to them was present, or, as in some instances, even when everybody knew there were not enough votes present to enact them—still they were announced as having received the necessary number of votes. The roll call shows that they did, but in reality they never did.

Again, at these last moments, hundreds of bills would be introduced to crowd the calendar, which made a favorable stage setting for having the committees report to the House as having decided, on account of lack of time or because of the enormous amount of business to be transacted during the few hours or days that remained, that it was impossible for them to give due consideration to the rest of the bills that were in their hands, and under the circumstances, they would ask that they be declared dropped. All of which makes clear the absolute necessity for having some simple, systematic method of having these matters handled, which will make jugglery and questionable delaying or strangling tactics impossible, and also provide for making it impossible for bills to go through without records being made in such a manner that will prevent measures inimical to the interests of the people from being smuggled through, or placed on the records as being enacted when they were not even introduced at all.

One other method by which they kill legislation in the interest of the common people in our Assembly, and at the same time try to leave the impression that they are fair, unbiased, impartial and not on one side or the other, is by mutual agreement between the members of the political machine representing the interests who have control of the House and Senate organizations, working in such a manner as to have half of the bills killed in the House and half of the bills killed in the Senate. For illustration:

If there are two bills that labor wants enacted into law and they are introduced in both houses, the House will pass one of the bills that was introduced there and kill the other. The Senate will pass the bill which the House killed, and kill the one which the House passed; so that both measures are killed and the records of the Senators and Representatives show that they favor one measure, while they were opposed to the other. And they use this situation to create the impression that they did as much for labor as they did against it, when in reality they deliberately, by agreement, planned to and killed all labor measures.

In my judgment, one House is all that is necessary as a law-making body. It will simplify matters; it will make it easier for the people to locate responsibility for failure to pass laws that are good and for the passage of laws that are bad, and will make it much easier to bring direct influence to bear on their representatives by the people of our state.

It will substantially reduce the cost of the legislative branch of our government; make it more responsive to the desires of the people; make it much more difficult for designing persons to influence the legislators to the detriment of the interests of the people, and will cut down the length of time consumed in the enactment of or repeal of legislation to a considerable extent.

I believe that agitation should be started through every organization in our state for the purpose of eliminating the Senate (our State House of Lords) which is a dual law-making body, and is only an unnecessary burden of expense on the people, impedes the intelligent operation of the law-making branch of our state government, makes unnecessary complications, and affords unnecessary opportunity to the enemies of the people and corporate interests to corrupt our legislators that would not exist otherwise, and is of as much use, even outside of these evils, as would be a fifth wheel on the farmer's wagon.

**Legislative Report of the Illinois State Joint Labor Legislative Board,
on the Work of the Forty-ninth Session of the Illinois General
Assembly, For and Against Measures Introduced in the Inter-
est of Labor, and on Some Measures Introduced by Special
Interests, Injurious to Labor and the Common People.**

Springfield, Illinois, July 1, 1915.

This report is directed to all of organized labor in Illinois and all of the friends and sympathizers of the labor movement of this state.

We hope that each and every one who can will get a copy of this report, read and digest it, so that they will have the benefit of what information it contains on these matters, which are of such vital importance to them and theirs, and on which there is apparently such woeful lack of real knowledge.

Summary of the Members of the Senate, Forty-ninth General Assembly.

Republicans	25
Democrats	25
Progressives	1
Total	51

Lawyers	16	Dentist	1
Merchants	5	Architect	1
Real Estate	5	Proof Reader	1
Bankers	3	Lawyer and Banker.....	1
Farmers	3	Druggist	1
Physicians	3	Real Estate and Building.....	1
Farmer and Stock Dealers.....	2	Engineer	1
Accountants	2	Live Stock Dealer.....	1
Editor and Printer.....	2	Union men	1
Banker and Merchant.....	1		

Summary of Members of the House of Representatives of the Forty-ninth General Assembly.

Republicans	79
Democrats	70
Progressives	2
Socialists	2
Total.....	153

Lawyers	46	Barber	1
Farmers	19	Teacher	1
Real Estate	17	Superintendent of Schools.....	1
Merchants	15	Miner	1
Clerks	13	Bailiff	1
Bankers	6	Optician	1
Publishers	4	Dentist	1
Insurance	4	Mayor	1
Physicians	3	Lecturer	1
Manufacturers	3	Deputy Sheriff	1
Commission Merchants.....	3	Painter	1
Retired	3	Hotel Keeper	1
Salesmen	2		
Journalists	2	Total.....	153
Teaming	1	Union Men	5

Bills Passed by the Last Session of the Legislature Which Were Supported by Organized Labor.

First—The Co-operative Law (H. B. 314).

(Two years ago labor sought to get a co-operative bill enacted into law, and succeeded in getting it through the House, but failed to get it through the Senate. Had the farmers not given us their assistance on this bill, it is very doubtful if the bill would have been enacted into law at this session, and to them is due a great deal of credit for their efforts on this bill, judging from the way other labor measures were treated.)

Second—Horseshoers' Law, providing for a state board of examiners (H. B. No. 15).

Third—Amendments to the Mothers' Pension Law (H. B. No. 10, by Bruce).

Fourth—State masonry inspector.

Fifth—Five agreed bills amending the mining laws (from the Mining Investigation Commission).

Sixth—H. B. No. 854 (an agreed bill from the Mining Investigation Commission) providing for an appropriation of twenty-six thousand dollars (\$26,000.00) to the victims—widows and orphans—of the Royaltan coal mine explosion.

Seventh—Amendments to the compensation law (S. B. No. 66).

Eighth—Re-enactment of health, safety and comfort law (factory inspection, H. B. No. 713).

Ninth—As a result of organized labor's efforts in behalf of the restoration of the original two-mill tax for the public schools, as provided for in the bill introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative Kane of Harrisburg, we succeeded in getting one million dollars (\$1,000,000.00) additional appropriation for that purpose with some assurance that the two-mill tax bill itself would be adopted at the next session.

Tenth—The teachers' pension bill, also a part of the Illinois Federation program, was enacted into law (S. B. No. 135).

Eleventh—We also were of substantial service in getting the needed extra appropriations for the benefit of the Chicago schools.

Twelfth—First aid on trains (H. B. No. 969) substituted for Morris' bill, finally enacted, providing for a small first-aid cabinet on all trains.

Thirteenth—Bill passed preventing shipment of stock into Illinois that is infected with tuberculosis or other infectious diseases.

Fourteenth—Joint resolution, providing for state employes getting paid semi-monthly.

Fifteenth—The metal polishers law (H. B. No. 737).

Sixteenth—Joint resolution making an appropriation for and providing for the appointment of a commission on unemployment.

Seventeenth—Amendments to the law relating to employment offices and state labor agencies.

Eighteenth—A bill which provides for physical education and training in public schools (S. B. 401).

Nineteenth—A bill which prohibits building a jail within 500 feet or less of any school (H. B. 772).

Twentieth—A bill which provides for certain standards of school sanitation, health and safety, for the enforcement of these standards, and makes seven months the minimum school year, which is an increase of one month (S. B. No. 182).

Twenty-first—A bill which enables cities to provide playgrounds (H. B. No. 63).

Also seven other laws making minor improvements in the educational laws of our State.

Bills Organized Labor Helped to Kill.

First—Cooley bill on vocational education.

Second—The bill repealing the barbers' license law.

Third—The bill providing for printing of school books, etc., being done in penal institutions.

Fourth—The jury juggling bill.

Fifth—The bill of the Economy and Efficiency Commission, providing for compulsory arbitration and empowering a commission to abrogate law or make rules as they saw fit, and do almost anything they pleased to industry and the workers in the industries of our State.

Sixth—The so-called extortion bill, which was only one-sided and which would only help the real crooks to strengthen their strangle-hold on honest men and honest industry.

Seventh—The pre-election pledge penalty bill.

Eighth—H. B. No. 759 (Hilton), an absurdity, which prohibited more than five hundred pounds of powder to be used on any plant or industry in any one day. It would have shut down two-thirds of the coal mines in the State, also all of the larger cement plants and quarries.

The Corporations' Interests Were Able to Influence the Legislators to Pass the Following:

First—The tax dodgers' amendment.

Second—To get the members of the House to appropriate fifteen million dollars (\$15,000,000.00) without any of them having a copy of the bill on their desks or knowing what it was about or for.

Third—To permit the railroad corporations to bribe and influence the press of our State by furnishing an avenue of evading the old law which required cash payments of regulation rates for all advertising. Now they can pay them with transportation and make their own deal to suit themselves.

The Corporation Interests Were Able to Influence the Legislators Into Killing the Following Bills Favorable to Labor:

First—The anti-injunction bill (H. B. 195).

Second—The seventy-five (75) car limit bill (H. B. 239).

Third—The initiative and referendum bill (House resolution).

Fourth—The constitutional convention (Senate resolution).

Fifth—The amending amendment (Senate resolution).

Sixth—The women's nine-hour bill (H. B. 207).

Seventh—The full crew bill.

Eighth—The child labor bill (H. B. 104).

Ninth—The one day rest in seven bill (H. B. 832).

Tenth—The uniform textbook bill (H. B. 697).

Eleventh—The women's minimum wage law (H. B. 404).

Twelfth—The old-age pension law (H. B. 442, Madsen).

Thirteenth—The interests killed the steam and operating engineers' license law by devitalizing amendments (H. B. 322, L. O. Browne).

Fourteenth—Labor's preferred lien for wages bill (H. B. 850, W. T. Morris).

Fifteenth—Free textbooks (H. B. 74, Madsen).

Sixteenth—Weekly pay bill (H. B. 811, Vursell), killed in Committee on Industrial Affairs.

Seventeenth—For the benefit of men working in compressed air tunnels, miners, etc. (S. B. 355, Senator Hull).

Eighteenth—Providing for penalizing bosses for selling jobs and extorting money from working men for jobs (H. B. 158).

Nineteenth—The street car men's ten hour in twelve bill.

Twentieth—State constitutional amendment providing for compulsory compensation.

Uniformity of School Textbook Killed.

The county uniformity of school textbook bill was killed in the Senate by the amending process.

This bill provided that all schools in the county should use the same kind of textbooks and that the different school boards should not change books oftener than once every five (5) years.

It also provided that a number of counties could be grouped together and arrange to use the same kind of books. This bill was considered of great importance in the industrial centers and particularly so in the mining districts, where so many have to move in order to find work, and which would relieve them by buying books when moving from one school district to another.

The county uniformity of school textbooks is necessary as an educational measure as well as on the ground of economy. We had with us on this bill almost the entire membership of the County School Superintendents of the State, but a few city school superintendents who were on the payroll of the book trust did what they could to defeat the bill.

Organized labor worked earnestly to have this bill enacted into law and did succeed in getting it through the House in fairly good condition, but enough of the members of the Senate, desiring to serve the interests of the book trust, regardless of the effect upon the children of the State, voted for the amendment which killed "county uniformity." The amendment was offered by Senator Richard J. Barr of Joliet.

To have enacted the county uniformity textbook law meant that thousands of children would have gotten an education, that are denied it under present conditions, because their parents are forced to move seeking work, and cannot buy the books.

It would also have meant a saving to the families of working people in the State of at least one million dollars a year, which they are forced to spend for books unnecessarily under present conditions.

Explanation of Roll Call Vote in Senate.

County uniformity of school textbooks.—The vote on H. B. No. 697, providing for county uniformity of school textbooks in the Senate, as given in this report is not a direct vote to pass the bill, but shows the roll call vote on an amendment offered which really meant the killing of the bill, as it entirely eliminated county uniformity, and which was offered by Senator Barr.

Those voting for Senator Barr's amendment are recorded as voting unfavorable to labor.

Those voting against Senator Barr's amendment are recorded as voting favorable to labor.

One Day's Rest in Seven.

The roll call vote in the Senate on H. B. 832, which was a bill providing for one day rest in seven, was on the amendment offered by Senator Olsen, providing for special legislation for his own interest.

Those voting for Olsen's amendment to H. B. No. 832, are recorded as voting unfavorable to labor.

Those voting against Olsen's amendment are recorded as voting favorable to labor.

Increasing Salary Bill.

The vote on H. B. 386, in both Houses, increasing salary, was a direct vote to pass the bill, which would increase the salaries of future legislators from \$2,000 to \$3,500 per term. Many of the members voted for this bill but opposed labor getting anything.

Initiative and Referendum.

The vote on the initiative and referendum was a direct vote to pass the resolution.

Explanation of Roll Call Vote in the House.

Seventy-five (75) Car Limit Bill.

Friends of labor asked to have H. B. 239 called up for consideration, which was a bill providing that seventy-five cars shall be the maximum number of cars in any freight train.

Objections were raised, and under the rules of the House, where one man raised objections, they would then proceed with the roll call to see if the majority of the members were in favor of considering the bill.

It required a majority of seventy-seven (77) votes to get consideration on this bill.

The following is the result of the vote:

Favorable—64 (13 short of a majority).

Against—7.

Absent or not voting—82.

Motion lost. See roll call how members voted.

H. B. 195 (Anti-Injunction Bill).

The vote in the House for consideration on H. B. No. 195 (anti-injunction bill) was seventy-four (three short of a majority).

Absent or not voting, seventy-nine (unfavorable).

(See roll call.)

Woman's Nine-Hour Bill.

House Bill No. 207, known as the "woman's nine-hour bill," came up for a direct vote on the passage of the bill in the House.

Sixty-nine voted favorably (eight short of a majority).

Fifty-nine voted against the bill.

Twenty-five were absent or not voting.

This bill, failing to receive a majority vote, was declared lost.

(See roll call.)

Co-operative Bill.

The vote on H. B. 314 (co-operative bill) in both Houses was a direct vote to pass the bill. (See roll call.)

H. B. No. 104 (Child Labor Bill).

The only direct vote on the "child labor bill" was on the motion offered by Representative Weber to kill it by striking out the enacting clause.

Those voting for the motion are recorded as voting unfavorable to labor.

Those voting against the motion are recorded as voting favorable to labor.

Those voting for the motion are as follows:

Basel	Donahue	Kasserman	Rostenkowski
Bentley	Donlan	Kilens	Ryan, J. W.
Browne, L. O'N.	Fieldstack	McGlooin	Self
Conlon	Franz	Moore	Smith
Cooper	Graham, T. E.	Mulcahy	Tompkins
Curren, C.	Green, C.	O'Connell	Trandel
Curran, T.	Griffin	Purdunn	Turner
Dalton	Helwig	Ray	Weber
Devereux	Jacobson	Rentchler	Wilson, R. E.
		Rethmeier	YEAS—37.

Those voting against the motion are as follows:

Atwood	Festerling	Lyon	Scholes
Benson	Frankhauser	Madsen	Schuberth
Bippus	Gardner	Mason	Shurtleff
Boyer	Garesche	McCabe	Sonneman
Brewer	Gorman	McCormick	Stanfield
Brinkman	Graham, W. J.	Meents	Stewart
Brown, W. M.	Green, E. W.	Merritt	Strubinger
Bruce	Gregory	Mitchell	Taylor
Burns	Groves	Morrasy	Thomason
Burres	Hamlin	Morris	Thompson
Butler	Harvey	Murphy	Thon
Campbell	Hicks	O'Rourke	Tice
Dahlberg	Holaday	Perkins	Tuttle
Davis	Hubbard	Pierson	Vursell
Desmond	Huston	Placek	Walsh
Devine	Jackson	Prendergast	Watson
DeYoung	Kane	Provine	West
Drake	Kessinger	Quisenberry	Williamson
Dudgeon	Lantz	Rhinehart	Wilson, G. H.
Ellis	LePage	Roderick	Wilson, H.
Epstein	Lyle	Roe, A.	Wood
Felts	Lynch	Rowe, W.	Mr. Speaker
		Scanlan	NAYS—89

Those absent or not voting are as follows:

Barker	Flagg	Igoe	Ryan, F. J.
Boyd	Foster	Leach	Santry
Buxton	Hilton	Lipshulch	Shephard
Elliott	Hoffman	Maucker	Smejkal
Fahy	Hennebry	Pace	Turnbaugh
Farrell	Hruby	Rothschild	Vickers
		Ryan, Frank	Young

Constitutional Convention.

The "Senate Joint Resolution No. 3" providing for a constitutional convention was passed in the Senate by the following vote:

Those voting favorable—42.

Those voting unfavorable are: Denvir, Hasse, Shaw, Smith, Ross—5.

Absent or not voting are: Austin, Baldwin, Glackin, Harding—4.

The "Senate Joint Resolution No. 3" met defeat in the House as it only received ninety-two (92) votes, ten short of a two-thirds majority.

Those voting against it in the House are:

Browne, L. O'N.	Festerling	LePage	Quisenberry
Butler	Foster	Lipshulch	Ray
Curran, T.	Garesche	Lynch	Rentchler
Dalton	Gorman	Maucker	Rethmeier
Devereux	Graham, T. E.	Merritt	Shephard
Devine	Harvey	Moore	Smejkal
Donahue	Hennebry	Morrasy	Smith
Fahy	Leech	O'Connell	Turner
			NAYS—32.

Those absent or not voting are:

Barker	Hilton	Rinehard	Seif
Conlon	Jacobson	Roe, A.	Taylor
Curren, C.	Kilens	Ryan, Frank	Trandel
Elliott	McCabe	Ryan, J. W.	Vickers
Epstein	Mulcahy	Santry	Walsh
Franz	Murphy	Scanlan	Wilson, R. E.
Griffin	Placek	Scholes	Wood
		Schuberth	TOTAL—29.

The above are men who voted against and who were either absent or not voting on the resolution for a constitutional convention. The other members are recorded as voting favorable.

One Day's Rest in Seven.

The first vote in the House on H. B. 832 (One Day's Rest in Seven) carried to pass the bill. It was then sent to the Senate to be passed, but Senator Olson succeeded in getting an amendment to it in the Senate, so it necessarily had to come back to the House, to be voted on again as amended; and this being the last day of the session, only a few more than a majority of the House members remained over, and the bill only received sixty-nine votes (eight short of a majority).

The following are the men who voted against the bill:

Brown, W. M.	DeYoung	Graham, W. J.	Pace
Burres	Donahue	Huston	Pierson
Devine	Foster	Meents	Prendergast
Devereux	Graham, T. E.	Merritt	Ryan, Frank
			Turnbaugh

Absent or not voting (on the last day of session) to pass this bill as amended by Senator Olson—seventy-seven (77).

Minimum Wage Bill.

The Minimum Wage Bill for Women and Minors was killed in both the House and the Senate without a roll call for final passage.

While ample hearing was given both sides in the joint session of the labor committees of the House and Senate, these hearings were prolonged and delayed. Although the joint committee made favorable recommendation to both committees, the Senate Committee again delayed action by referring it to a sub-committee, of which John T. Denvir was chairman and Senators Compton and Olson were members, and the bill died in this committee.

The House Committee promptly reported it out, and the introducer, Representative John S. Burns, succeeded in getting it advanced up to third reading in good shape and made every effort to get a roll call for final passage, but in the jam of bills in the last week he was denied the right to have a roll call, as the time could not be given to the women of our State to determine whether there were sufficient votes to pass this bill, as this was at the time the House was passing the bill to increase the salary of judges and members of the Legislature.

Women's Nine-Hour Bill.

The "Women's Nine-Hour Bill" was killed in the sub-committee in the Senate of which Senator Baldwin was chairman.

Senators Carroll and Harris, on that sub-committee, signed the petition to report it out, but Senators Olson and Swanson opposed it, and Senator Baldwin, having the balance of power, refused to act to have the bill reported out. This was also at the time when they were busy considering the question of raising the salary of judges and members of the General Assembly.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Illinois Joint Labor Legislative Board at its final meeting to prepare their report on the work of the recent session of the Legislature, held in the State Mining Board Room, Capitol Building, Springfield, Illinois, Tuesday, July 13, 1915, on matters that we believe to be of sufficient importance to the State labor movement that they should be brought to your attention:

Resolution No. 1.

RESOLVED: That it is the sense of this committee that in order to get anything like results in the way of the kind of legislation we want and should get, that the legislative work must be connected up with intelligent political activity, and to this end we believe that the Joint Labor Legislative Board should be continued permanently. And if possible that six (6) active workers should be kept in the field so as to thoroughly organize the entire State in each senatorial district, and provide a means for keeping every organization in close touch with the purpose of our work and with the actual measures for which we are fighting and the vicious measures we are fighting against; also the organizations and individual enemies that we must overcome to be successful, and the best means of doing so.

These, as we see it now, should be: One from the Illinois State Federation of Labor; one from the Railway Brotherhoods; one from the Chicago movement; one from the women's organization; one from the Miners' Union, and one from the farmers' organizations; and be it further,

RESOLVED: That we lay these matters before the executive officers of the different organizations named, with the earnest request that they, if possible, provide for the putting of a representative in the field, at as early a date as possible, with the understanding that no matter, at as early a date as possible, with the understanding that no the Federation of Labor work in harmony with them and use their best influence to the end that the officers and active members of the entire labor movement of Illinois lend their support to them and give them active assistance to make the work a success.

Resolution No. 2.

WHEREAS: The officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor have started, have been, and are now publishing a weekly news letter, the first of its kind to be published by the State Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS: The information conveyed has been of inestimable value to the entire State labor movement in keeping them informed and enabling them to work in co-operation with each other, and also in drawing them closer together and solidifying its ranks; and

WHEREAS: We are satisfied that if it can be enlarged and its circulation extended, that it will be even a more valuable factor for the good of the labor movement in the future than it has been in the past; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the Joint Labor Legislative Board most respectfully recommend to the organized workers of Illinois, that steps be taken at the coming convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, to be held at Alton, Illinois, in October of the present year, to provide for the news letter being enlarged; its circulation extended and financial provision made to establish it permanently; and be it further

RESOLVED: That organizations which may not be affiliated with the State Federation of Labor are hereby requested to take this matter up with their respective memberships, with a view of enlightening them as to the value of the news letter as a medium of information to the labor movement in the State, for the purpose of working to the end that the news letter be placed in the home of every organized worker in Illinois.

Resolution No. 3.

RESOLVED: That our experience in the past has demonstrated to us the great need of a stenographic record being kept of all committee hearings in both the House and Senate; and also the necessity of a rule by both branches of the Legislature which would require every member thereof to answer every roll call in order that there may be a complete record as to the attitude of the members of the General Assembly.

We, therefore, recommend that organized labor ask the Fiftieth session of the Illinois Legislature to adopt rules that will require a stenographic report to be made and published, of all committee hearings in both the House and Senate; and a rule, requiring members to answer roll call when present at any session of the Legislature or as members of any committee which may be acting on the matters referred to it while they are present.

The Joint Labor Legislative Board also considered the question of Railway Corporations being permitted to furnish legislators and State government officials with passes or free transportation, and were unanimously of the opinion that this was an insidious method of bribery that should not be permitted under any circumstances.

And in view of the statement by the railway corporation representative, Mr. Shurtleff, in the direction of a law being enacted requiring the railway corporations to furnish free transportation to the above-named officials, we are of the opinion that this would obligate the State directly to the railway corporations, and leave an element of feeling of obligation on the part of the Legislators and Representatives, who receive such free transportation, even under those circumstances, which would give the railway corporations a privileged position before the Legislature, even more so than they occupy at the present time.

And from the record made in the last session, on the legislation sought by the working men engaged in the railway industry, your committee is strongly of the opinion that if any change is made in the power or influence of the railroad corporations, with the members of the Legislature that it should be minimized from what it is at the present time, rather than increased; and as a measure of public safety to protect the common people from the corporations, and so that the legislators of the State may feel free, without obligations of any kind, to act as they believe best on all legislation affecting the railway industry.

We feel that the actual cost of railway transportation for public servants, legislators and representatives connected with the law-making bodies of our State government should be paid out of the treasury of the State.

And as it is a notorious fact that the railway corporations kept open a large suite of rooms in the Leland Hotel during the last session of the Legislature, and had those rooms supplied with everything good to eat, plentifully supplied with wines, liquors and cigars, and had at all times a standing invitation to every legislator that could be influenced to partake of this hospitality to eat with them, drink with them and smoke with them, and at the same time discuss pending railway legislation, and at times one representative or senator being alone with one representative of the railway corporations, with what transpired between them, known to no one in the world but themselves.

We feel that that possibility of insidiously corrupting or influencing legislators should also be removed, and that if a means can be provided for, for seeing that only the actual cost for reasonable hotel accommodations is paid for, for the good of the people in Illinois, the actual expense of each official, representative and senator for decent, reasonable hotel accommodations should be provided for by the State.

It was almost three months from the time the last session of the Illinois Legislature was convened before a speaker was agreed upon, which means that the members of the House appear to have been working for the people for the salary they received, almost five months, when in reality they were only working on legislation for something like two months, and as they did not begin their weekly sessions until generally Tuesday mornings and nearly always closed on Thursday afternoons, it means really that less than two months' work was actually put in by the members of the House and Senate working on legislation that they were sent down to the State Capitol to work on, for which they were paid the regulation salary of two thousand dollars (\$2,000) for a session for the House, and four thousand dollars (\$4,000) for the term in the Senate, which means two sessions.

To the uninformed, this long delay in selecting a speaker seems to be without any reason for it whatever that could justify it; and ordinarily that would be true, for if the only motive they had in the selection of a speaker was to select a man who could enforce ordinary parliamentary usages, and the special rules of the House intelligently as a presiding officer, there would be no need of spending more than a day or two at the most in selecting a speaker.

But the real truth of the matter is, that the selection of a speaker almost determines whether legislation is going to be defeated or enacted into law, and the interests who are hostile to legislation for the masses of the people through the representatives that they have elected and which representatives are governed by their wishes, are generally able to prevent the selection of any speaker until all their forces are combined and they have influenced enough new men to get a majority of all votes in the House.

Then, but not until then, is a speaker elected, and you may judge what attitude that speaker will take towards legislation in the interest of the people that the special privilege seekers, the oppressors of the people, big business, the employing interests and large corporations are in opposition to.

As the speaker appoints all the committees, and refers the particular legislation to each committee, on which each particular committee will act, and those committees can report on all legislation referred to them, favorably or unfavorably, or delay reporting it until too late, or refuse to report it out at all; and then the speaker himself can refuse to allow bills in the hands of committees to be brought up, and can, with the connivance of the friends which he has appointed as chairman and as members of that committee, at opportune times pass devitalizing amendments and make it well nigh impossible for the ordinary member, a real friend of the measure, to get recognition to bring up those measures at all; and as every member interested in the passage or defeat of pending legislation, wants the support of the speaker and fears his opposition, and to dare to attempt to bring up legislation in opposition to the speaker, jeopardize their own measures. It is almost impossible to get a bill even considered which the speaker is opposed to.

The speaker, too, can arrange to have bills called up when their friends are absent and have them killed, or he can call a bad bill up when the friends of the people are out on committees and enact it into law.

It can be easily seen what the enormous power of a speaker is, and why the oppressors and exploiters of the people are so desirous of naming the men they can control for that position; and why they will go so far as they did in this session to get their man elected.

In addition to those methods by which legislation can be killed or enacted, there are two means by which measures can be killed on the floor, with the members opposed to the measures not having to go on

record in opposition to them at all. In fact, by one of these methods, while actually killing the bill, they can go on record as not only favoring it, but willing to go even farther than what the provisions of the bill provide.

The first of these methods is the one through which, according to the special House rules, it requires a majority of the votes of the actual members of the session to enact a bill into law. This means that in the past session, seventy-seven votes were required for it before a bill could become a law. Under those circumstances, seventy-six men could vote for the bill and not a single vote be cast in opposition to it, and still the bill fail of enactment because it would not have the required majority; thus the measure would be killed without a single man going on record as being in opposition to it.

The other method is by making amendments, first in one House and then in the other, indefinitely or to whatever extent is necessary to prevent its having time, at the last moment to be acted upon with the full House present, or enough of its friends to give it the required seventy-seven votes.

By that method, enemies of the bill can actually amend it and strengthen and improve the bill, and so far as the records are concerned, appear to be absolutely friendly to the measure, while at the same time, deliberately killing it. All of which shows that absolute imperative need for the people of the State to demand and insist and bring every influence to bear to see that in the future, laws are enacted, providing for the election of a speaker by a popular vote of the citizens of the State.

If that is done, the delay that has disgraced the Illinois Legislature for the last number of sessions, the unnecessary expense for railroad fare and other items will be eliminated, and at the same time, if the people exercise discretion and good judgment at the ballot box, a speaker will be elected who, like the present lieutenant governor, Barratt O'Hara, by virtue of his office, was speaker of the Senate last session, and who will really represent the interests of the people and who will use his influence to see that their measures get the honest, fair consideration they are entitled to.

We believe, too, that the rules under that method would also be amended, so as to permit and require that every measure will get honest open consideration and be voted up or down on its merits publicly with the members of the House and Senate going on record as to their attitude for its defeat, or for its enactment.

One of the first things done by the House in deciding on what rules would govern it during its sessions, was that no lobbyist would be permitted on the floor of the House during the sessions. The new rule provided that the only place we would be allowed at all was in the gallery. They also provided for each lobbyist before he would have the right to appear before a committee, registering with the Secretary of State, who he was, who he represented, what his salary was and what measures he was interested in.

To the latter provision, labor had no objection. In fact, labor rather welcomed and strongly favored this last provision, and was hopeful that it would be carried into effect to the letter of the law and the records published so that everyone could get a copy of them, showing just who was there and what they were there for.

In fact, we believed that lobbyists who are seeking to influence legislators during the time that legislation is under consideration, whether appearing before the committees or not, if they come to the State House at all, should be required to register their names, who they are, what measures they are interested in, and on what side they are; also the pay they are getting and how much of an expense account and on what basis they are getting it.

This record should be an item published officially by the State and put into the hands of all members of the House and all lobbyists.

No legislator who is honest and square has anything to fear from other honest men acting in the open, above board, with the full knowledge of everybody, for something that he honestly believes in, looking him in the face while he is acting on that measure.

A man who is afraid of that kind of an influence has something wrong with him, or is contemplating doing something wrong, and we feel that in the interest of honest legislation, that that kind of lobbyists should have every right and privilege that can be given them to present the facts in the case to the legislators as long as it does not interfere with the legislators acting on, or discharging the duties of their office for which they are elected.

Many of these legislators don't know anything of the merits of legislation affecting a particular industry that comes up for consideration. It is no reflection that they do not, for it is impossible for one man to become familiar with the facts that concern every industry, when there are so many of them. The only way he can get his information authentically is from those who are familiar with that industry itself; and, unless he is familiar with the facts, it is impossible for him to act intelligently, be fair and do justice to the questions which he is acting upon.

So that in our judgment, that rule was an injury to honest legislation of this character, when the only possible means of getting the facts to the legislators was by coming in contact with them while on duty. On the other hand, the last thing that a crooked, corrupt lobbyist will do is to appear publicly and openly on the floor of the House, with everybody knowing just who he is, who he represents, what he is there for, and what he is getting paid for doing it, what his expenses actually are, and on what basis they are allowed, and a crooked legislator does not want that kind of a man talking to him where he can be seen.

That kind of a lobbyist usually desires to do this work under cover, in the dark, in the hallways and by-ways, in the alleys and streets, and in the private rooms of the hotels. That rule, of course, did not injure him, because that kind of a lobbyist don't generally do open work for any measures, and it does not handicap a dishonest legislator in the least, for he does not do his questionable work in the open, either, and as it would prevent the honest representatives of the different organizations, who were openly advocating the enactment of honest legislation, from reaching the honest legislators, it was to that extent, an influence against the people and in the interest of the people's enemies. We feel that rule should be abolished and the other rule extended and rigidly enforced. We also believe that real knowledge of not only their representatives' and senators' actions while acting on laws affecting them should be conveyed direct to every registered voter in the State, but that the general educational effect for the good of the people would be so great and that the knowledge is so vitally needed by them that the expense would be justified.

Your committee found the Illinois State Legislative Reference Bureau of very material assistance to them in their work, and particularly was Mr. Finley Bell, the head of the bureau, always willing to give us any information or documents, or render us any service within his power.

Fraternally submitted,

JOHN H. WALKER, Chairman,

Room 504, Myers Building, Phone 7151, Springfield, Ill.

State Federation of Labor—John H. Walker, President; Victor A. Olander, Secretary.

- Illinois United Mine Workers of America—William Hall, R. J. Wilson, J. A. Tuttle.
- Chicago Federation of Labor—J. J. Bruce, Joe W. Morton, Margaret Haley, A. M. Christensen, Steve Sumner.
- Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers—J. A. Culp, Chairman Legislative Board.
- Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen—D. McCarthy, Chairman Legislative Board.
- Order of Railroad Trainmen—A. D. Burbank, Chairman Legislative Board.
- Order of Railway Conductors—H. D. Lawrence, Legislative Representative.
- Switchmen's Union of North America—J. B. Connors, Vice President.
- Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America—John P. Doyle, Secretary.
- State Teachers' Association—R. C. Moore, Legislative Secretary.
- Chicago Teachers' Association—Miss Margaret Haley.
- Women's Trade Union League—Miss Agnes Nestor.
- International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers—Albert Peterson, Matt Keefe, Adolph Jenczewski.
- International Journeymen Horseshoers' Union—John T. Kane, President.
- Illinois Electrical Legislative League—Edward J. Evans.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

Three resolutions were adopted by the Joint Labor Legislative Board of Illinois. Number one is as follows:

Resolved: That it is the sense of this committee that in order to get anything like results in the way of the kind of legislation we want and should get, that the legislative work must be connected up with intelligent political activity, and to this end we believe that the Joint Labor Legislative Board should be continued permanently. And if possible that six (6) active workers should be kept in the field so as to thoroughly organize the entire State in each senatorial district, and provide a means for keeping every organization in close touch with the purpose of our work and with the actual measures for which we are fighting and the vicious measures we are fighting against; also the organizations and individual enemies that we must overcome to be successful, and the best means of doing so.

These, as we see it now, should be: One from the Illinois State Federation of Labor; one from the Railway Brotherhoods; one from the Chicago movement; one from the Women's organization; one from the Miners' Union, and one from the Farmers' organizations; and be it further

Resolved: That we lay these matters before the executive officers of the different organizations named, with the earnest request that they, if possible, provide for the putting of a representative in the field, at as early a date as possible, with the understanding that no matter what number may be employed in this way, that the officers of the Federation of Labor work in harmony with them and use their best influence to the end that the officers and active members of the entire labor movement of Illinois lend their support to them and give them active assistance to make the work a success.

Because I felt that our State convention should act on this matter before officials would assume the responsibility of acting for our movement on such a large and vitally important question, I have not, up to the present time, taken this matter up with any of the other organiza-

tions. But I believe something along this line is necessary, and recommend that the convention indorse, if not the actual resolution itself, then something along the same lines. And in connection with this matter, so that someone may have authority to represent the State labor movement and simplify matters with reference to labor candidates to the different legislative offices, that you consider the question of making this committee the committee on labor representation, with something like the same authority that the committee on labor representation for American Federation of Labor has.

Resolution number two provides for extending and enlarging the Weekly News-Letter. I believe that a means of keeping the members of the labor movement informed on the questions of interest to them, particularly as they are being acted upon in all avenues of our activities, is necessary to assure the best results for our movement; and I don't know any better way to do it than through having our own paper put into the hands of every one of our members, and if there is anything that this convention can do to that end, I believe it should be done.

The third resolution provides for a stenographic record being kept of all committee hearings in both branches of our Legislature, and would require of every member that he answer roll call in order that there may be a complete record as to the attitude of the members in the General Assembly on the different questions.

I believe this should be indorsed by the convention and extended to apply to the general meetings of both branches of the Assembly themselves, with arrangements made so that any citizen in the State can get a copy of the record, if not free, then at actual cost.

One other recommendation is that the speaker be elected by popular vote. I believe that should receive the unanimous indorsement of this convention. This would minimize opportunity for insidiously influencing the members of either House on the part of the corrupting agents for big business. I believe that the other recommendation that the actual, legitimate railroad fare and hotel bills of all members of the General Assembly be paid out of the State Treasury should also be indorsed by this convention.

INJUNCTIONS.

As you will note by the report of the legislative committee, the anti-injunction bill was defeated by the silent vote method in the House. That is to say, there was not a majority of members of the House cast their votes affirmatively favoring the enactment of that law, and, as under the rules, the majority of the members in each House must vote affirmatively for any piece of legislation before it is enacted by that body, that means that each member who refuses to vote, or for any reason fails to vote, in effect is counted as having voted against the measure.

This bill, without question, as it affected the interests of the organized workers of our State, was the most important piece of legislation that we had up during the last session. We modified the bill from what it originally was to read in the exact language of that portion of the Clayton anti-injunction law, enacted by the last session of Congress, which covers the question of industrial disputes between employers and workers.

This bill was enacted by the House of Representatives of the United States; it was then adopted by a majority of the members of the United States Senate, and then signed by the President of the United States as being in their judgment a necessary measure to protect and safeguard the interest of the common people of our great country.

In so far as disputes arising between the workers and employers engaged in interstate commerce is concerned, even within our own State, the provisions of this law now obtain. But in spite of this fact, and in spite of the fact that the president of the Bar Association of Chicago, a competent and able attorney in no way connected with the trade union movement, in a report made by him on this subject, declared that the employers do already exercise the right to boycott, to blacklist and lock out their employes at their pleasure, and with the full knowledge and consent and actual assistance in a great many cases of the courts themselves, our legislators denied the toiler of Illinois this measure of self defense, even when it is accorded him by the constitution and laws of our Nation, and the constitution of our own State. And it is only denied him by reason of the will of the one man, bench-made legislation on the part of judges who are despots in everything but name.

These edicts issued by such despots (and in my judgment, unprincipled tools and hirelings of the interests) as Judge Humphry, Judge Baldwin, Judge Dunn and others of their kind, leave the workers of our State who are employed in industries not interstate in their character, more completely at the mercy of their employers than were the serfs in the feudal ages. The real heroes of all ages have been those who rebelled against vicious conditions. The real benefactors of mankind have been those who so rebelled. Did the organized men of America, who firmly believed in the right to strike and refuse to work under unjust conditions also refuse to continue as their representatives in the Legislature men who countenanced this abridgment of their functions by the men of the bench, such conditions would no longer exist.

These law-makers of ours in Illinois, elected to office by the votes of the working men of Illinois, turned a deaf ear to our earnest requests and refused to listen to our arguments and acceded to the will of the corporations who appeared to dominate them, and refused to give this measure of protection to the worker of our State.

Before we can be safe in the exercise of our legitimate functions as free men, and our rights as American citizens and workers, it is necessary that these "one-man edicts" by industrial law-making despots be abolished. I would recommend that the officers of the State Federation of Labor be instructed to have this bill re-introduced, and that they use every effort within their power to see that it is enacted into law at the next session of the Illinois Legislature. I would further recommend that they be instructed to interrogate every candidate for a seat in the House of Representatives, or member of the State Senate, as well as governor, lieutenant-governor and speaker of the House, as to their attitude on this question, and that they give the results of their inquiries out to the local unions and central bodies in the different districts, so that on election day your members, and the real friends of labor, may be able to use their votes intelligently in defeating every man who is a candidate for office who is opposed to granting this measure of justice to the workers in the State of Illinois.

CHANGES IN STATE CONSTITUTION.

You will note in the report of the Joint Labor Legislative Board that there were three joint resolutions introduced by us in the last session of the Illinois Legislative Assembly; one for the initiative and referendum, one for a constitutional convention and one for an amending amendment.

The initiative and referendum was, of course, the thing that we favored most strongly, and fought for hardest, and in the event we could have gotten it through, the others would have been dropped.

However, after it was defeated, then we favored the constitutional convention, because, although that meant a delay in getting the initiative and referendum of at least four years even after it was adopted, still, after the defeat of the initiative and referendum resolution, it offered, so far as time is concerned, as quick a method of getting the initiative and referendum put into effect as it would to have it adopted by the next Legislature, and then submitted to the people and later ratified by their votes.

In addition, of course, it offers the advantages of an opportunity to make what other changes in the constitution we believe are necessary to enable progressive measures to be made into law, which at the present time, because of constitutional objections, is impossible.

Failing in the effort to get the constitutional convention, then we favored the "amending amendment," which provided that three amendments to the constitution could be submitted at one time, but the reactionary forces and the tools of the interests, the bipartisan machine that controlled both branches of our Legislature, were able to prevent even this small degree of progress being made at that time.

Not only this, but the tax-dodgers' resolution, which is a proposed amendment to the State constitution, giving the right to the Legislature to classify the different kinds of property that will be taxed, as well as to enable them to exempt from taxation any class that they desire should be exempted, has been used as the stalking horse of the interests to side track all three previously mentioned measures for years, was finally adopted at this session.

All previous records go to prove that whenever the Legislature in the past attempted to exempt any class of property from taxation, it was the property of the interests and the corporations that was exempted, and the burden placed more heavily on the shoulders of the working people, the small property owners, the trade unionists and the farmers.

No more brazen act was committed during the last session of our Legislature than the act which contemplates giving authority to the Legislature which has proven so conclusively that it is owned, controlled and dominated completely by the interests' power to relieve their masters, the great corporations and trusts, from the payment of taxation at all, and place the entire burden on the backs of the common people; and I would recommend that we persist in the effort to secure the initiative and referendum; that, in the event of failure, we again press for the adoption of the constitutional convention resolution, and in the event of its failure, for the amending amendment.

I further recommend as strongly as I can recommend anything, that this convention go on record as being absolutely opposed to the adoption of the tax-dodgers' amendment, which will be submitted to the voters of this State for their approval or disapproval at the next State election; that every local union be requested to take up the matter and arrange that the membership of our movement and all sympathizers are thoroughly informed as to what this proposed shifting of the burden of taxation really means, and see to it that every voter who can be influenced to do so, be out on election day and cast their votes in opposition to that measure.

COMPENSATION LAW.

After many weeks of patient endeavor, a commission, representing employers and the trade union movement of Illinois, selected by the present State Industrial Board, which administers the compensation law, met for the purpose of trying to improve the old measure. During that time the Mine Workers gave us the service of their able chief counsel of their State organization, Mr. A. W. Kerr. We were finally able to agree on a bill of amendments that was substantially the same

as enacted by the last session of the Legislature, except that in spite of everything we could do, amendments were made by the enemies of labor in the House, especially exempting farmers and minimizing the jurisdiction of the bill to some extent with reference to men employed driving teams.

The improvements made, as compared with the old bill, are:

(a) The minimum in death cases was raised from \$1,500 to \$1,650.

(b) Compensation formerly was cut off on the death of primary beneficiaries; it is now continued to other beneficiaries who were participating in the compensation.

(c) The minimum weekly compensation has been raised from \$5.00 to \$6.00. This, in the judgment of those qualified to form judgment, means a betterment of several hundred thousand dollars each year.

(d) Compensation for injury for one more toe than heretofore was provided.

(e) Lump sum compensation may now be secured, in the discretion of the Industrial Board, in case of death and permanent injuries resulting from the loss of members. This was not possible under the old law.

(f) An important change was made affecting surgeons in case the injured employe is likely to die. It is now made the duty of the surgeon treating him, at the instance of the employer, to give an opportunity for the presence of an independent surgeon. This removes a serious difficulty which formerly prevailed in making proof that the employe died as the result of the injuries.

(g) A single arbitrator appointed by the Industrial Board can now hear the cases except in death and permanent injury cases. This relieves the employe of the needless and useless expense of procuring an arbitrator. In practice it was found that the employer usually had, as an arbitrator, an experienced man; the employe, an arbitrator who had sat perhaps for the first time.

(h) A still more favorable amendment was in the provision requiring the State to provide a stenographer at all hearings. This provision relieves the employe of the expense and also assures care in the rendering of decisions.

This is not anything like that which the representatives of labor would like to have the law, or what they hope ultimately that it will be, but in view of the prospective hostility of the Legislature itself, the extreme difficulty that your representatives felt would be encountered in getting these improvements through both Houses in the event they were fighting it alone, they were convinced that the wisest course to pursue was to accept the improvements made possible by this joint agreement, rather than refuse to take the things in the way of progress that this bill meant.

I desire to say that in my opinion, the judgment of your committee was fully vindicated by the experiences we had in attempting to get other measures of importance through the last Assembly. I am thoroughly convinced that had we not reached an agreement on this bill, we would have been unable to procure anything at all that meant progress.

In addition to the improvements in the bill itself, we were able to get the men representing the employers on the commission to agree personally, over their signatures, that in their judgment it was necessary in order to have the law operate equitably and justly to all employers, as well as to the workers themselves, but a compulsory compensation law should be enacted.

There is some question in the minds of able attorneys in our State as to whether or not a compulsory compensation law could be enacted that would be held valid by our courts under the present constitution.

I would, therefore, recommend that the officers of the State Federation of Labor be instructed to get the best legal advice on this matter possible for them to get, and that, if in their judgment, after getting all the information they can, there are good prospects of a law being worded in such a manner as to be compulsory and still stand the test of the courts, they get a bill drafted covering this question on that basis; and in the event the information they get is of a nature to satisfy them that the danger is too great of having it declared unconstitutional by the courts, they again have an amendment introduced to the constitution which will make the enactment of such a law valid.

We sought an amendment to the constitution in the last Legislature, permitting compulsory compensation, but it met the fate of our other amendments.

THE ONE DAY'S REST IN SEVEN BILL.

Surely in our day and time every decent, fair-minded man and woman will agree that it is not only unnecessary that a man or woman should be required to work more than six days per week, but that it adds unnecessarily to the unemployment problem and is inhuman as well; that the monotony of work, work, work all day, every day for weeks, months and years, reduces the being doing it to a mechanical automaton; kills the spirit; dwarfs the mind and stifles or strangles all human aspirations and makes impossible the rest, recreation or pleasure necessary to normal humanity, and to which every human being is entitled.

And, although we failed to get this bill enacted in the last session, we very nearly succeeded. It is such a reasonable measure and appeals so strongly to all who are not entirely dead to human sentiment, and who are brought to understand its meaning, that I do not believe our law-making body can deny the workers of Illinois this measure of justice much longer.

I would, therefore, recommend that the convention again indorse this measure and make it part of the Illinois State Federation of Labor's legislative program for the future, and urge all trade unionists in Illinois to do everything in their power to secure the enactment of the principle embodied in this bill at the earliest moment possible from our future legislative assemblies.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

You will note by the report of the Joint Labor Legislative Board that we secured the enactment of a co-operative law in Illinois during the last session of the Illinois Legislature which is intended to enable those favorable to co-operation to organize co-operative societies and incorporate under the laws of the State of Illinois and operate and protect themselves.

This, in my judgment, was the biggest piece of fundamentally important legislation enacted by the last Assembly in the interest of the working people of our State, and is the culmination of years of effort to that end.

Four years ago the farmers' organizations made an effort to secure the enactment of a similar law, in which effort they failed. Two years ago the Mine Workers' organizations, assisted by the Illinois State Federation of Labor, made a strong effort to secure the enactment of such a law and failed.

By reason of the State Federation's activities along the lines of interesting the farmers in our movement to the end that they work in co-operation with us on matters of mutual interest, an agreement was brought about which resulted in the farmers joining with the Mine Workers and the State Federation in an effort to secure the enactment of this legislation at the last Assembly.

We procured a competent attorney to draft the bill, which embodied in its provisions language that would cover not only the consumers' co-operative organizations, which we were at that time most interested in, but would also cover the producers' co-operative societies, which the farmers were mostly interested in, and, in addition, provided for the organization, incorporation and safe operation of wholesale societies as well.

This made it necessary to have a rather comprehensive measure drawn up, and because of the legal limitations which stood in our way of drafting a measure in just the language we would like to have incorporated in it, it was necessary, in order to overcome the obstacles in our State constitution and in court decisions, to provide for some of the conditions vitally necessary to safeguard the welfare of these different divisions of the co-operative movement by indirection.

This has been accomplished, although it required a great deal of work covering a considerable length of time, during which process numerous conferences were held to consider the proposed measure in detail.

Our conferences were with Attorney A. W. Kerr, who is chief counsel for the United Mine Workers' Union, and who drafted the bill for us, the different representatives of the farmers' organizations, as well as the Mine Workers' Union and the State Federation of Labor.

A bill was completed, however, which, in our judgment, embodies the language that we believe will stand the test of the courts, and which does enable the different phases of the co-operative movement to organize and protect themselves from any vital weaknesses.

Among the prominent features of the bill are the limitation of the number of shares that a member of any society can own, or that a local branch society member of a wholesale organization can own. It limits the value of these shares; provides that only stock ownership representation has the legal right to participate in the management and direction of the societies; provides for safeguarding the transfer, of stock from falling into the hands of enemies, and positively limits the liability of members to just the amount of stock for which they subscribe.

These were the objects which we sought from the inception of the effort to secure the enactment of this law up until the present time.

Since the last convention a co-operative society for the State of Illinois has been organized.

A convention was held at Springfield, Illinois, on March 22nd, beginning at 10:30 a. m., and ending March 25th, at 6 p. m. There were delegates present representing over twenty co-operative societies already established, operating consumers' stores.

The following officers, who serve without pay, were elected for the first year:

President—John H. Walker, Danville, Ill.

Vice-President—E. L. Dare, Chicago, Ill.

Secretary-Treasurer—L. A. Allton, Peoria, Ill.

Board of Directors—T. R. Owens, West Frankfort, Ill.; Robert McKechnan, Gillespie, Ill.; D. L. Thomas, O'Fallon, Ill.; Victor Swanson, Rock Island, Ill.

While all of the societies in the State of Illinois are not members of the State organization at the present time, yet the most friendly kind of a relation exists between them and the State organization, and the prospects are bright that in the near future seeing all will become members of it.

At the present time there are twenty-three farmers' local branch societies operating consumers' stores that are affiliated with and are

part of the Illinois State Farmers' Co-operative and Educational Union of America. They are located in the following places:

Oblong, Altamont, Roseclare, Claremont, Keensburg, Louisville, Elizabethtown, Cave-in-Rock, Junction, Shawneetown, McLeansboro, Springerton, Olmsted, Tamaroa, Mount Vernon, Mason, Willow Hill, Thackeray, Crossville, Olney and Allendale, Illinois.

The following is a list of co-operative societies in Illinois and the names and addresses of their secretaries:

Gillespie—Robt. McKechan.

Sawyerille—B. M. Flarehty.

West Frankfort—T. R. Owens.

Herrin—Two stores; Hugh Willis, 612 South Twenty-second street; one known as the Italian Lombardy.

Harrisburg—James Hindmarsh.

Roanoke.

Kortkamp (Schram City)—C. F. White, Rural Route No. 2, Hillsboro.

Christopher.

Sesser—Earl C. Finley. (Also R. E. Baty.)

Royalton—Adolph Heberer, Box 73.

Benld—Louis Rigoth, Box 567.

Rock Island—Jas. W. Fuller, 528 West Fifth street, Davenport, Iowa.

Danville—E. A. Ogan, 1202 North McKinley avenue.

Glen Carbon—Albt. E. Groetke.

Staunton—Peter Moerth, Manager, Union Fuel & Supply Co.

Mt. Olive—Wm. Lorenz, Box 635.

Rockford.

Farmington—G. Remington, Box 797.

Panama—Temple Donaldson.

Rockford—Allison Steintorf, 1357 Rural street.

Chicago—Prof. Carl D. Sandburg, 2850 Logan boulevard (three stores).

O'Fallon—D. L. Thomas.

Benton—John F. Ranson.

Decatur—Buel T. Davis, 1260 North Jasper street.

Cedar Point—Matt Vitton.

Odin—Manager, Miners' Union Store.

Livingston—J. C. Spencer.

Johnston City—Jos. Hope, Box 835.

Eldorado—Geo. Mathien.

Rock Island—Victor Swanson, Labor Temple.

Assumption—Frank E. Taylor.

The following societies are now being formed:

Riverton—John Glenwright.

Breese—Tony Knies.

Oglesby and Springfield.

There are two societies, one in Linton, Ind., and the other in Clinton, Ind., which should likewise be mentioned, because I gave my assistance to their organization.

While in some places progress has been slow, and in two cases internal weaknesses of the societies has resulted in their quitting business entirely—one in Streator and the other in Danville; and while at Sawyerville and in another case at Danville the original promoters did so well that they changed their co-operative societies into stock companies, still good success has been made nearly everywhere else.

The advantages of this organization in the way of immediate material progress for the membership, and also the great ultimate benefits that will be derived, are so clearly evident, and the value of having the business interests on their own side rather than the employers, in all struggles between the workers and their enemies; as well as getting the best quality of goods, full weight and measure at all times, the largest variety of Union Made goods; as well as the largest measure of strength added to the local labor movement, as a result of the co-operative movement employing union workers; the great educational advantages, the spirit of thrift and saving, the instilling of the home fund idea, that radiates its beneficent influence in the interest of the women and the children and the men themselves where the families are stricken—have appealed so strongly to everybody and has been demonstrated so positively and clearly that I am sure that no weaknesses within ourselves, or opposition outside, can stop the onward progress of this great movement.

Start of Co-operative Wholesaling in the State of Illinois.

When this division of the co-operative movement is thoroughly established, it will mean that the cost in the wholesaling branch of our present commercial system, resulting from unnecessary duplication in plants, equipment, stock and all forms of labor and material, advertising, as well as from the unfair profits that the present owners take above the actual, necessary cost, will be saved to the members of the local branch co-operative societies through their retail consumers' stores, and I am glad to report that seven local societies have joined together and arranged to have their supplies bought by one buyer.

The seven stores are Gillespie, Staunton, Benld, Mt. Olive, Schram City, Panama and Livingston. They have adopted a trademark and the title of "The Central Illinois Co-operative Society." This is a small beginning, but it is in the right direction, and they are to be commended and encouraged in their new venture, and it is to be hoped that all established societies will follow their example, where possible, and thus bring about at the earliest possible moment this added substantial advancement in that movement.

It is with pleasure that I also report that the Harrisburg society has established an undertaking department in connection with their store, where everything used—coffins, hearse and all supplies, as far as they can be obtained—are Union Made throughout.

I recommend that this convention indorse the action of the Illinois State Joint Labor Legislative Board in securing the enactment of the co-operative law at the recent session of the Assembly. That it again commend to the favorable consideration of our membership everywhere in this State an earnest study of this movement, and pledge itself to assist, in so far as it can, the establishment and building up of a great co-operative movement in our State.

COOLEY MEASURE.

You will also note according to the report of the Joint Labor Legislative Board that we were successful in defeating the Cooley, so-called vocational, bill, which in reality was a bill which provided for the establishment of the dual school system, one branch of which would be used for the purpose of training the children in industrial pursuits.

This bill was one of the most deceptive, and at the same time, positively the most vicious thing that was introduced during the last session of the Illinois Legislature. Deceptive, because of the fact that every right-minded man and woman desires that the children shall, in addition to the best general education possible, be given a knowledge of industry that will enable them to become skilled, expert workers, yet this bill, to the uninformed, would leave the impression that it was only meeting this need. ✓

The facts are, however, that the intent on the part of those who introduced it—its real sponsors—was that this bill in its effect actually would **minimize the real education of the children and their development as well informed, highly intelligent men and women**, who would not only be able to give their best in production as skilled workers, but who, at the same time, would be able—intelligently and effectively—to protect, promote and advance their own interests and welfare, so that they themselves would be able to get the benefit of their own skill, knowledge and ability in productive industry.

Dangerous and vicious also, in that the intent and purpose, and, in my judgment, at least temporarily, the real effect would be of having the dual school for the industrial training of our children placed under the complete control of the corporations and the interests that are inimical to the welfare of the common people and the children put in direct charge and under the power of their (the corporation interests) hired men and women, so that not only would the children's chances of a real education be minimized and denied them, but the years in which their minds should be developed in the best and highest sense of intelligent manhood and womanhood and citizenship, would be given to the training of them as mere tools of production; but the children also, while their minds are in that plastic state, would be subject to the influence of these hired tools of the corporations and their young minds trained along the lines that these modern, scientific exploiters of the people would have them trained; so that not only would they get a complete and full supply of cheap skilled labor at their service at all times, but that labor would be trained so that it would serve their purpose abjectly and servilely for the lowest minimum of reward in return for the maximum of skilled service.

In other words, they want to use our schools as a training place for turning out a plentiful supply of the most highly skilled industrial workers with the least possible amount of other knowledge necessary to enable them to protect themselves, and with their minds trained and developed in such a manner as to make of them willing scabs. That the most powerful combination of employing and business interests in the Nation has decided not only that this should be done in Illinois, but that it should be done in the entire Nation, is made evident by such indications as the discharge of Prof. Scott Nearing, from Pennsylvania University; the similar discharges and discriminations and attempted discharges of broad-minded, big-hearted men and women—real educators—who refuse to serve the interests in the training of the children's and the people's minds, who are trying to use the schools to develop the highest types of intelligent men and women, rather than the kind of productions mentioned previously; and latterly in our own State by action of the Chicago School Board, the members of which representing directly the interests, declare for the crushing out of existence of the School Teachers' Union of that city. ✓

And not only that, but in their later declarations in coming out openly and saying that no union men or women would be allowed to act as instructors in the vocational schools already established, makes it all too obvious that they thoroughly understand the difference between the school system being used not only to develop men who can do their best in the way of production, but who will be fully capable of protecting their own interests as well.

They also understand the difference between the kind of graduates who will come from schools where the teachers through the strength of their organization have the right to speak out openly and to exercise their own judgment freely in the right direction on these matters. In other words, the difference between the children who will come from schools where the teachers are union men and women, and the kind of graduates who will come from schools where the teachers are absolutely at the mercy of the interests, where they have got to act, and speak, and think along lines indicated by the employing corporations that are opposed to the labor movement, and where real education is minimized, and in many cases eliminated, and industrial training substituted by the corporation representatives, selected for the propensities towards crushing the labor movement, and their ability to skillfully train children's minds inimical to it; while at the same time developing them in their tender years so that they may take their places in factories and work-shops and the large industrial plants.

And, if I can, I want to have this convention take such action as will arouse the common people of this state, not only to the cunning deception that is being practiced, but to the fearful danger that the enactment of this kind of legislation means to their welfare and to democratic institutions such as our government is supposed to be. Also that they may be organized to fight intelligently and effectively at every opportunity, the introduction of sentiment or action tending in that direction.

I would also further recommend that not only do we pledge every atom of support of every kind that we can muster for the school teachers in Chicago for their magnificent struggle to maintain their rights as citizens, to organize and promote their own interests and welfare peacefully and lawfully; and in addition, to be able to exercise that influence in the interest of the school children and of the public school system, but that every delegate when he goes back home, take the matter up in the locality in which he lives, interest the teachers in their communities to organize similarly, so that they can all stand together for their own common protection, as well as put themselves in a position to intelligently, systematically and in an organized way contribute their share towards the common welfare, along with the rest of the workers of our country who are organized and fighting humanity's battle.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

The question of unemployment as it affects fundamentally the welfare of the workers as a whole is possibly the gravest and most serious in its far-reaching effects of the problems with which we have to contend; and at the same time, could we act upon it as a nation by restricting immigration, the solution would be very much simpler than the ordinary, uninformed person would really believe, were we actuated by an unselfish, real, honest desire to do the thing which would solve the problem.

While this problem is being dealt with in a local way, it is almost impossible of solution. About the only thing that can be done is to ameliorate the evil in a degree, and if there is merit to the thing that we do in the way of a solution locally, we simply get the evil in a larger way later, as the merit of our plan as applied, appeals to the unemployed in the other sections affected by this condition.

To illustrate: If in Illinois we reduced the hours of labor and increased the wages so that between the minimizing of the amount of labor that one man would do as it affected all of the workers, and the increase in wages that was given, enabled a larger purchasing power on the part of the people generally—which of itself would make neces-

sary a greater amount of labor to supply the demand created by the increased purchases—it would absorb nearly all of the unemployed and give them reasonable jobs.

The very fact that the shorter work-day and the higher wages made labor in our state more desirable than where these things had not been done, would militate against us in this problem comparatively, because it would withdraw the workers from everywhere else into our state and the chances are that in the long run, instead of helping us locally in this problem, it would really add to our difficulties here because of it.

At the same time, there can be no question but what these two things are the elements that mainly must be brought about if this problem is ever really solved. And, in so far as we can contribute to improvements in these respects without seriously injuring industry in our own state, under the competitive system, it is only whatever we can do in this direction that really, substantially, makes for the permanent solution of this problem. By eliminating and caring for those who are really unemployable through old age, sickness, physical or mental deficiencies, and if we can arrange for dove-tailing the seasonal industries so that a man or woman engaged in one industry may, when the season is over, find ready access to another whose season begins at the end of the season of industry in which they formerly worked, we may help a little, and in so far as we may be able to arrange for distributing knowledge to the employer who is seeking it as to where he can get labor, and to the worker who is unemployed as to where employers are seeking labor, and furnish means to the workers enabling them to reach the job, and in so far as public works of all descriptions are started that are necessary, lands reclaimed either from swamps or deserts, and places made for men and their families to make a living out of, we may for the time being, in a degree, relieve the actual tension of this condition and the keen suffering because of it. Still, in the long run, if this question is to be solved permanently on a basis that will actually remove it, we will be compelled to reduce the hours of labor and increase the purchasing power of the common people so as to really make a job possible for everyone who finds it necessary to work in order to live, and who is willing to do so.

As the labor movement itself in its different aspects helps to bring about this condition more so than any other movement on earth—in fact, the two of its most fundamental purposes are to bring the very conditions named—in my judgment, all other organizations and every effort being made by them are, even where they are honest and really sincere, in comparison mere outside manifestations of a sympathetic nature, only incidental and temporary in their effect, and in a great many instances, ultimately, really detrimental.

One great evil, which in my judgment, the influences outside of the great labor movement itself are creating, while apparently trying to really minimize and help solve this problem, but in reality adding to the viciousness of it and making it more difficult to solve, is the condition which they create by furnishing unemployed men and women with temporary jobs at long hours for low wages. Wherever this is done, so far as the main problem of the unemployed is concerned, its very influence is to make conditions worse permanently, instead of assisting in its relief, because a man or woman who works long hours for low wages adds to the curse and increases the menace and danger of unemployment immediately, and adds to the difficulties of solving it ultimately by making it harder to get men and women to realize that shorter hours and higher wages are the only real, permanent solution.

My recommendation is that, in season and out of it, at all times, under all circumstances, the labor movement insist that only in the shortening of hours of the laborer and minimizing reasonably the

number of days per week employed, and in the increasing of the purchasing power of the common people, which means the raising of wages of those employed—thus creating a greater demand for labor—lies, the real, permanent, just solution of this problem, and that every influence that lies in our power to exert be bent in the direction of solving it on that basis.

STATE GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS.

I take pleasure in advising you that under the amendments to the state free employment offices law the work of those institutions are under direct observation, with the right to have at least a voice in what is done by them of an advisory committee on which there are two trade unionists, as well as two employers of labor, the chairman of which is one of the finest men in this country.

He has had experience both as a coal miner and a coal operator. He helped work out the solution of the Hart, Schafner & Marx controversy between that concern and the Garment Workers in Chicago; and he is an official arbiter for the Garment Workers with that company at the present time. He also assisted in bringing about a settlement in the garment industry on the same basis in New York, and it was through his efforts, more than all other influences combined, that a favorable settlement was reached in the interest of the widows and orphans and their dependents between the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co., and them, after the late sad disaster at Cherry, Illinois. He is the big, broad-gauged, well informed, able, tactful friend of humanity, Mr. John E. Williams of Streator, Illinois.

There will also be a local advisory committee, supervising the work of each local state free employment office everywhere, where they are located in the State of Illinois; and without question, they are going to be, not only a great advantage to the poor devils who are out of work seeking for jobs, but the vicious features of these state employment offices that existed in the past, both with reference to organized labor and their connection with houses of immorality, will be eliminated permanently.

I desire to report, too, that the unions of the workers in the state institutions are still holding their own and making some progress. During the last year, printed orders were issued officially by the State Board of Administration that those in charge of those institutions must not discriminate against any one because of membership in a labor union,

The pay of the women attendants and nurses was increased to the same basis as the wages of the men in the same capacity; provision was made for an automatic increase in the wages of all employes based on the length of services; that no one shall be forced to work more than eight hours per day, and that this service shall be consecutive with one day's rest in seven.

When the present state administration took charge of the hospitals the employes were not organized; the working day in the hospitals was twelve hours, the attendants and nurses having practically no time away from their duties, except when they were sleeping and eating.

There are now three shifts established in all the hospitals, doing work formerly done by two. The maximum and minimum pay for attendants and nurses being higher than formerly; liberal provisions for time outside the institutions has been made and the order also contained a statement to the effect that where there is a labor union having jurisdiction over work of any kind done around those institutions, that the scale of wages of the union would be paid. The right of petition and the right to seek redress of grievances has been guaranteed, recognized and established to the fullest extent.

The American Federation of Labor, the State Federation of Labor, the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Woman's Trade Union League have contributed a good deal towards bringing this condition about, but even more credit is due to the men and women working in those institutions who took the initiative themselves, who were willing to, and who did make sacrifices and who worked hard to establish their union.

Their organization without question will be an influence that will make for the prevention of the cruelty, abusive or wrong practices on the inmates in any of these institutions in the future; and as opportunity offers, make for better conditions in every way for the men, women and their families who are employed in those places.

PRISON-MADE BROOMS.

As a result of the efforts of Will R. Boyer, secretary-treasurer of the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, in conjunction with the officers of the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Illinois State Federation of Labor, I have been advised by him that Governor Dunne has notified him to the effect that the manufacture of brooms in the Joliet penitentiary will be discontinued just as soon as the present supply of material on hand is exhausted.

This is a satisfactory ending to an effort on the part of the Broom Makers' Union for a considerable number of years to have the manufacture of brooms at the Joliet penitentiary discontinued, and it will be of material assistance in enabling them to build up their organization in our state.

STATE FACTORY INSPECTION.

Under the present state administration, Brother Oscar F. Nelson, who is an official of the Mail Carriers' Union and vice-president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, was appointed chief factory inspector. I wrote his department asking for an official statement of any changes in conditions, policy or in a legislative way made by that department during the last year, believing that it is only by publicity of the facts that our own people will be able to take advantage of the rights they have in matters of law and any other influences at their disposal in connection with this department, and, too, that it is only by that means we may be able to intelligently make the improvements from time to time that suggest themselves to us as being needed or that should be made.

I am appending the statement sent me by the statistician and editor of this department for the information of our membership generally, but would particularly call your attention to the references contained in it to the interpretation of the wash-house law, placed upon it by the factory inspection department after the supreme court had sustained its validity; and on the last page of it where the department had during the last session drafted a bill to compel employers of labor to register at least once a year the name and location of the firm for the purpose of enabling the inspection department to make regular and an equal number of inspections of all establishments, as well as the other bill drafted by the department, providing for compulsory first-aid medical services by hospitals, druggists and doctors.

This was intended to eliminate the present inhumane method of carting an injured employe in an ambulance or police patrol from one hospital to another, because he has no one present to guarantee the expenses involved in the treatment of the case, but particularly do I want to call your attention to the last four lines in the document, in which the hope is expressed that the next Legislature may appropriate sufficient money for the use of that department to enable them to employ enough inspectors to see that the factory inspection, health, safety and comfort laws are rigidly enforced.

This is one of the methods by which the employers in the past who had no regard for human life, or health or safety of limb, have been able to avoid complying with these laws, and in effect operating their establishments on the same basis as if no law existed.

It is a cruel hypocrisy to put laws on the statute books which convey the impression to working men and the public generally that helpless employes will be protected from brutal inhumanities in their work and then by reason of deliberately planning to prevent the enforcement of those laws, leaving weak, unorganized, defenseless men, women and children at the mercy of the beast who has no conception of fairness or humanity and who will grind the life out of them to add to his own profits.

And particularly has this been true of our factory inspection department in the State of Illinois in the past, and even at the present time, because of lack of finances to employ sufficient inspectors and make prosecutions, it is absolutely inadequate to enforce those laws, and I hope that this convention will act in such a manner as to bring home to our people the need of adding to the resources of the factory inspection department sufficient finances to enable them to employ the men and women necessary to see that these laws are enforced.

It is needless for me to add that while we can not expect or have we asked the present factory inspection department to exceed the law in the interest of trade unionists, and even the non-union workers of our state, at the same time, I take a good deal of pleasure in giving that department credit for willingness at all times to do everything that lay in their power to see that these laws were justly enforced.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE FACTORY INSPECTOR'S OFFICE DURING THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF EDWARD F. DUNNE'S GOVERNORSHIP.

On August 1, 1915, Oscar F. Nelson received his commission as chief state factory inspector of this state from the Hon. Edward F. Dunne, Governor.

Immediately upon installation in office, Mr. Nelson scrutinized the operations of this department, familiarized himself with the duties imposed upon him, and studied ways and means of enforcing the labor laws in a manner that would not work a hardship to employers and at the same time permit employes to receive the benefits in the matter of guarding against loss of health, life or limb as were written into our statute books during the past twenty-four years.

In the twenty-first annual report of the chief factory inspector, Mr. Nelson has written a complete history on the subject of factory inspection in this state in which he presents the enactment of each law, the inspections made by the deputies during the year, the number of convictions, the amounts appropriated during each session of the Legislature, and other useful data pertaining to his office.

When Mr. Nelson assumed the duties of chief factory inspector he found a lack of proper administration and proceeded to inject a new spirit into his inspection force, one that would make for co-operation between employers and his office. He opened a complaint bureau to gain the confidence of the vast army of working people, so that they could report their grievances and have them investigated. Mr. Nelson made it conditional, when he opened his complaint bureau, that the names of informants would be kept in strict confidence, because he felt that only under this condition would employes open their hearts and recite in detail their actual grievances. That this method of reporting presumed offenses of the labor laws was taken

advantage of is fully established by the fact that 2,415 complaints were received, of which 56 per cent proved to be meritorious upon investigation.

With what measure of success Mr. Nelson's work has been crowned may be gathered from the appended statistical table which compares the work accomplished during the two years of Mr. Nelson's administration with that of the last two years of his predecessors.

RESULTS—

	Predecessor's administration, July 1, 1911, to June 30, 1913.	Mr. Nelson's administration, July 1, 1913, to June 30, 1915.
Total number of inspections.....	74,266	133,107
Inspections under Child Labor Law	47,072	71,360
Inspections under Ten Hour Law.....	14,525	34,726
Inspections under Health, Safety and Comfort Law	6,458	12,737
Inspections under Garment Law	4,161	6,053
Inspections under Structural Law	868	1,639
Inspections under Blower Law	961	2,600
Inspections under Occupational Disease Law.....	204	1,316
Inspections under Ice Cream Law.....	252	1,836
Inspections under Wash House Law*.....	....	840
Number of cities and towns visited.....	176	431
Number of convictions	733	1,211
Amount of fines and costs.....	\$12,193.45	\$17,794.05
Number of Official Corrective Orders issued to comply with Health, Safety and Comfort Law.....	64,164	88,187
* Effective July 1, 1913.		

A review of the above two columns shows that the number of inspections under Mr. Nelson's administration greatly exceeds in each instance that of his predecessor, a greater number of towns was visited, more convictions were obtained and a greater amount of fines and costs were collected, and lastly the number of corrective orders under the "Health, Safety and Comfort Law" is far in excess of the preceding two-year period.

The comparisons in this table are exceedingly favorable to the present administration, especially in view of the fact that during Mr. Nelson's direction of this department a lesser amount of money by way of appropriations was granted by the General Assembly, although the number of deputy inspectors remained at thirty, the same as in the two preceding years.

Lack of Respect by Employers.

Parallel with the lack of efficient administration Mr. Nelson observed an evident disregard and disrespect for the orders issued by the head of this department. In consequence Mr. Nelson was compelled to take a firm stand against this condition and to impress upon all persons having business with his office that action and results were desired and demanded. That Mr. Nelson refused to countenance the factory inspector's office as a play-toy and that he has succeeded in inspiring a wholesome regard for his department, is due to the knowledge of employers that Mr. Nelson himself stepped from the ranks of the laboring class and has always been an active trades unionist. Inspired by this knowledge old-time offenders discontinued taking chances of violating the labor laws.

This table is short and concise, but contains the results of work accomplished by this department in a nutshell. A point of great importance must be observed, and that is that the number of inspections under such laws as deal with the protection of the health, life and limb of employes was doubled in each instance without impairing the number of inspections under other kinds of laws. The laws to which we refer as protecting the health and life of persons are the "Health, Safety and Comfort Law," the "Blower Law," the "Structural Law," and the "Occupational Disease Law." This goes to show that the mechanic, the man who works about dangerous machinery or the man whose occupation is considered extra hazardous, has been assured better industrial protection, firstly, because more plants have been inspected, and secondly, because a greater number of orders for guards and safer conditions has been issued. The number of inspections under such laws as regard the working hours of women and children, as the "Child Labor Law," the "Ten Hour Law," and the "Garment Law," has not only been equalled, but in the case of the "Ten Hour Law" has been more than doubled.

It would appear that the number of violators at the end of the term of Mr. Nelson's predecessor should have been on the decline, especially after twenty-two years of missionary work by this department, still it is surprising to note that the number of convictions in the first two years of Mr. Nelson's administration greatly exceeds the number obtained during the preceding two years. This condition shows that the laws were being enforced only half-heartedly and that since Mr. Nelson's assumption of duties a wholesome respect has been created among employers for his department and who have come to realize that the factory inspector's office is run on a business basis.

Executive Orders.

During the past two years Mr. Nelson has issued numerous orders beneficial in many ways to the wage-earners of this state. Immediately upon assuming office Mr. Nelson ordered, as a health measure, that all children under 16 years of age must be removed from sewing machines. This action was taken upon Mr. Nelson's interpretation of Section 11 of the "Child Labor Law." For similar reasons Mr. Nelson prohibited railroad gangs, mostly of the foreign class, from employing boys of 12 and 14 years in road work or permitting them to occupy sleeping accommodations with the men in bunk cars. Children from 9 years up found to be working on truck farms before sunrise required a prohibitive ruling from Mr. Nelson. Well diggers and structural iron workers, as well as carpenters and bricklayers, have received new and modern safety equipments and appliances by reason of Mr. Nelson's orders to contractors. Metal polishers and buffers have been surrounded with every legal protection at the command of the chief factory inspector; foundry men and railroad men and others engaged in trades that create perspiration and cause the men to become covered with grease, dust and grime are enjoying modern washing facilities; while men in dusty and lead trades are closely watched with reference to industrial diseases by means of monthly medical examinations and adequate hygienic measures under the direction of this department.

Occupational Disease Clinic.

A free occupational disease clinic has been established by Mr. Nelson in his department. During the past year a large number of members of the Painters' and Decorators' Union have taken advantage of this clinic, as well as printers, furnace men, and employes in other occupations. The number of firms reporting monthly upon the physical condition of their employes is greater than at any time in the

history of the department, and Mr. Nelson has gathered all these records since the law became effective in consecutive and complete form and made them available for public use in his printed reports.

Publications.

When Mr. Nelson assumed the duties of chief of the department of factory inspection no data of any kind was available after 1908. Mr. Nelson immediately set to work to compile the reports from that year down to the present date. In addition to the annual reports Mr. Nelson has issued several illustrated bulletins, numerous drawings and blue prints, the latter primarily for the use of employers in the installation of safety devices and other protective measures. Photographs of actual working conditions, both of the approved and the obnoxious variety, have been reproduced and printed for distribution.

New Legislation.

Of the numerous bills introduced at the two recent sessions of the Legislature for the relief of the wage-earners of this state, only one new law was enacted and placed under the jurisdiction of this department; one law was re-enacted.

We refer in the first instance to the commonly termed "Wash House Law" and in the other instance to the "Health, Safety and Comfort Law." Legislative action in the latter case was necessitated, because the validity of this law was seriously menaced on account of some technical defects at the time of its original passage.

The "Wash House Law" signed by Governor Dunne during the session of the Forty-eighth General Assembly, is acknowledged to be one of the best hygienic laws on our statute books. Prior to the passage of this law many trades failed to provide proper washing facilities for their employes.

The object of this law is to provide washing facilities for employes in such trades where they become covered with grease, smoke, dust, grime and perspiration. This law covers all such places of employment as machine shops, foundries, blacksmith shops, railroad shops and round houses, smelters, steel mills, brick yards, and the like. Employes in all these places of employment find themselves at the end of the day's work in a condition offensive both to themselves as well as to the public with whom they come in contact on their return home from work.

The human side of the effects of this law contains an appealing story. Upon the passage of this law employers attempted to belittle the orders of this department directing the installation of sinks, shower baths, and other washing facilities. Their main argument against it was that the working man would not use the facilities after they were installed. In the case of the large steel mills and foundries, where the bulk of the unskilled labor consisted of foreigners this was found to be true to some extent, because the foreigners were unaccustomed to these facilities in their home countries. On that score this department advised strict shop discipline and education of the modern methods, but even in the case of foreigners it required only one man to tidy up after work and the rest followed. The effects were almost startling. An investigation in the vicinity of several of the largest mills and foundries in Chicago disclosed the fact that the workmen not only used the washing facilities in the shops, but spread the gospel of cleanliness in their homes and neighborhood. The slogan of cleanliness has aroused entire families to strive for a tidy appearance of person and house.

Round house employes and foundry men have termed this law a blessing. In foundries shower baths must be installed in addition to the sinks, in order to give the men an opportunity to remove the fine dust and perspiration on their bodies.

The power to determine what constitutes adequate washing facilities to meet all demands rests with the chief factory inspector, whose orders describe such equipments as the nature of the business calls for.

Another important effect of this law lies in the added amount of work which it has brought about for carpenters, plumbers, electricians, masons, cement workers, etc. In many instances entire buildings have been erected and devoted to washing purposes exclusively, which in some cases have involved the expenditure of forty thousand dollars.

During the past two years 840 orders were issued for the installation of washing facilities and equipments under this law, which in the aggregate have called for a conservatively estimated expenditure of one and a half million dollars.

This law has stood the test before the Supreme Court of Illinois.

Squad Inspections.

By reason of the fact that the inspection force of this department is too inadequate in number to visit even a majority of the manufacturing establishments outside of Cook County, a new system was devised whereby a large number of the inspection force was taken to certain cities, which had practically never received much consideration at the hands of the department. Thus from twelve to fifteen inspectors under the personal direction of the chief visited Springfield, East St. Louis, Quincy and other towns for a period of from two to three weeks. The larger places of employment were covered in this manner and instructed in the laws. In the cities visited wholesale violations of the labor laws were found, resulting in numerous prosecutions. From this circumstance it may be inferred how infrequently factory inspectors had visited these cities in previous years.

Specialized Inspections.

Mr. Nelson has developed a system of inspections of special subjects, to which deputies devote their entire time, thereby becoming specialists in such particular lines. This system has worked out to advantage in inspection work under the "Structural Law" and the "Metal Polishers' Law."

There are innumerable subjects in the "Health, Safety and Comfort Law," such as sanitation, ventilation, fumes, vapors, lighting, guarding of dangerous machinery, building construction, etc., which require specialized knowledge in order to issue orders with any measure of intelligence and correctness.

The subject of proper ventilation, especially in the large Chicago clothing establishments employing immense working forces, has never been given any attention by this department. Mr. Nelson has organized a ventilation squad to supervise the installation of adequate means of artificial ventilation, when necessary. It has been established that a contaminated atmosphere is just as injurious to the health of the employes as poisonous dust and fumes. During the last year 254 workrooms in 178 factories were investigated to determine the adequacy of ventilation. In only nine workrooms was the ventilation up to the requirements.

In a similar manner foundries, woodworking shops, print shops, engraving shops, and other establishments, where fumes, vapors and dust are present in the workrooms, have been ordered to install adequate ventilation and exhaust systems.

Night and Seasonal Inspections.

Night inspections invariably are necessary by reason of the investigation of complaints. During the Christmas and Easter rush seasons night inspections of the large department and smaller retail

stores are required in addition to the regular day inspections. This hardship on the inspectors is due to the small number of deputies permitted by the act creating this department. The cannery and other seasonal trade employers receive special inspections during their rush work.

Conclusion.

The chief factory inspector has co-operated with various organizations to further the interests of the working people of this state. During the recent session of the Forty-ninth General Assembly he was called upon as a witness in several hearings when the "Child Labor Bill" and Women's Nine Hour Bill" were considered before the committees of the House and Senate.

Mr. Nelson drafted and introduced a bill to compel every employer of labor to register at least once a year the name and location of a firm for the purpose of making regular and equal number of inspections of all establishments. At present some establishments, located in out-of-the-way parts of the city or state escape inspection for perhaps a number of years, while other establishments are visited numerous times in the course of one year.

Another bill drafted and introduced by Mr. Nelson provided for compulsory first-aid medical services by hospitals, druggists and doctors to eliminate the present inhumane method of carting an injured employe in an ambulance or police patrol from one hospital to another, because he has no one present to guarantee the expenses involved in the treatment of the case.

Both of these bills, as well as many other good labor bills failed of passage.

It is to be hoped that the next Legislature will see fit to increase the force of inspectors, so that the work of factory inspection in Illinois may be accomplished with greater means of speed and completeness.

DISRUPTIONISTS.

During the past year in a paper called "The Labor Gazette," published by W. S. Bush at Peoria, Ill., which has been sent broadcast throughout the entire country, charges have been made against myself as having organized fake co-operative stores and societies. The statements were also worded in such a manner as to leave the impression that I had drawn large commissions for selling stock; that I was also drawing commissions for supplies sold to these stores; that in some way I had control of them and was mulcting them of all the moneys paid into them; and that I was robbing the stockholders in every way possible.

In one statement, the question was asked of me, What became of the \$35,000 difference between the amount of money paid in and the amount credited for purchasing stock in one so-called co-operative institution in Indianapolis, Ind.? In another issue, the verbatim language of the co-operative law adopted by the last session of the Illinois Assembly was published with big headlines on it: "Gigantic Swindle Exposed—Walker's Dead-Fall," leaving the impression that deception had been practiced by myself; that I had swindled somebody out of something. (The editor depended on his headlines and the lack of knowledge of our people of the co-operative movement to lead them to believe that there was really something wrong.)

Along with that statement was one that if the organization of which I was president would pay what it owed the gentleman who was publishing that paper that he could take care of a mortgage which I had charged a non-union, labor-crushing, union-hating corporation had on that sheet.

The beginning, however, of this thing, according to his own statement published in his sheet, was a caucus which decided that he should be their candidate for president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and the charges of fake co-operative stores and of my swindling and robbing them was made and timed to appear in the public press in Peoria on the day of an evening at which I had agreed to speak before a local union of the Mine Workers there.

Not a scintilla of evidence has been furnished by the men responsible for these charges to show that there was any truth in those statements. The facts are that not a scintilla of truth can be produced by any living human being on this earth which would justify anyone with a particle of conscience, principle or honesty in them in making such charges.

The only money I ever got from any co-operative societies was during the formation of a society in Linton, Ind., at which place I spoke on two separate occasions, each one on Sunday, and friends there insisted that I take ten dollars on each occasion with which to defray my railroad and hotel expenses. From no other co-operative store or society on this earth, at any time or under any circumstances, have I ever received or taken a single penny or any other amount of money.

So far as selling stock is concerned, I want to say that in every store with which I have had anything to do, either in assisting or organizing, and in the first circular on that subject issued by myself as president of this organization, I have always made the statement "that that work should be done free." I have never bought a penny's worth of goods for any co-operative store on the top of this earth, or received any commission for any one else doing it, in any way, shape or form.

These statements were manufactured out of whole cloth, deliberately and maliciously, on the part of the man who made them, for no other purpose than to try to destroy me in the minds of the trade unionists in the State of Illinois.

At the same time, if this attack only involved myself personally, I would much rather settle my difference in a personal way with the gentlemen responsible for it, than to take up your time with it. However, as an official of the trade union movement, and in the interest and for the protection of it and of what, in my judgment, is the next important division of the labor movement itself, the co-operative movement, and because enemies of the labor movement will use these statements, unless they are challenged, to the detriment of labor, I thought it necessary to bring these matters to your attention.

I might say, too, to give you an idea of the nature of the man who is editor of this paper, and W. C. Pomoroy, who is, or was, associated with him, that Mr. Pomoroy in 1896 was charged by Mr. Bush himself, while acting as secretary-treasurer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, with having defrauded or stolen from the Illinois State Federation of Labor the sum of \$388.

Mr. Bush, along with the then president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, preferred those charges against Pomoroy at the American Federation of Labor convention of that year, which was held in Cincinnati, Ohio, and asked that his credentials be rejected until he paid back to the State Federation the \$388 which he had defrauded it of, which lawfully belonged to it (which, in other words, he had stolen from it).

In the same convention Mr. Pomoroy was also charged with having sold the name of labor, while acting as organizer for the American Federation of Labor, and with having sold his name with that official title, and also without his knowledge or consent, had sold the name of

James O'Connell, one of the vice-presidents of the American Federation of Labor, to Mark Hanna for political purposes, for dirty political money—"boodle" is the name used in discussing the matter in the convention.

His credentials were rejected for those reasons in the American Federation of Labor convention, and so far as I can get any information, he still had the \$388 stolen from the Illinois State Federation, while Mr. Bush was secretary-treasurer of it, and has never paid a single penny of it back, even when he was working as an associate of Mr. Bush on that paper.

This same gentleman, W. C. Pomoroy, was expelled from membership of that union by the International Executive Board of the Bartenders' and Waiters' Union, for conduct unbecoming a trade unionist (and my information is that they dealt exceedingly kindly with him in giving it that name).

The action of the Executive Board was later ratified by the international convention by unanimous vote. This same gentleman was also sued for false arrest in Chicago by a gentleman by the name of W. R. A. Mitchell. Judgment in court was rendered against Mr. Pomoroy by Judge Payne of Chicago for wrongs and injuries unlawfully, maliciously and wickedly committed. He was sentenced to pay a \$2,000 fine. Mr. Pomoroy left Chicago at that time and as that sentence is still hanging over him, he has not made his place of abode in Chicago since then.

The mal-odorous career of W. C. Pomoroy is known throughout the country, and as the records show, has been known by Walter S. Bush for twenty years, but in spite of this he has been a confidential business associate of Bush for several years, and not over six months ago Bush in a letter to President Gompers declared that Pomoroy was a "good union man and on the square."

Mr. Bush himself, because he knew that charges were going to be preferred against him, and knowing what they would be and that the chances are he would be deposed from office, resigned as secretary-treasurer of the central body of Peoria in order to head off those charges.

International officials of the Bill Posters' Union sent a representative to Peoria to have him expelled officially from that local union for the work he had done there that made it necessary, in order to protect that organization, but he learned in advance of what they were going to do, and beat them to it by resigning as member from that organization, thus acknowledging his guilt.

For the uses to which the name of labor through the Federal Labor Union that existed in Peoria, of which he was an official, had been put, and for the grafting that had been done in the name of labor through it, and the disrepute the name of labor was getting into as a result of the things done in its name and because there was no real bona fide working men members of it, and because it was being used purely as a means of grafting, blackmailing and hold-up, and was only serving the purposes of crooked politicians and corrupt business interests, charges were preferred by the central body against it to the American Federation of Labor, and a demand made for the revocation of its charter, and as Bush had done in the other instances cited, he beat them to it, by having the charter returned.

The central body took action demanding that the American Federation of Labor revoke Bush's commission as voluntary organizer for the American Federation of Labor for that district. He pursued the same tactics in this case as he did in the others, by sending in his commission before they had time to go through the necessary procedure.

Since that time he has been expelled as a delegate from the central body; his paper has been repudiated by the central body and by the

American Federation of Labor, and the central body was forced to start a labor paper of its own to protect itself from him and his sheet.

Since he was expelled, while loudly proclaiming his love, respect and admiration for, as well as his faith in President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, and the American Federation of Labor itself, its laws, rules, customs and usages, instead of appealing from the action of the central body to President Gompers, the Executive Council or the international conventions, and showing that he was honest in his statements, that he had that feeling towards President Gompers and the American Federation of Labor by being willing to abide by their decisions and be governed by the laws of the American Federation of Labor, he has only resorted to cheap abuse. While loudly proclaiming this sentiment for President Gompers and the American Federation of Labor and what it stands for, he has done the only thing that he could do to make absolutely clear that he was unquestionably guilty or had no faith in the American Federation of Labor; that he could not trust President Gompers or abide by his decisions or the laws governing that union.

Not only this, but he has committed the one crime which the American Federation of Labor has declared to be the only crime that is absolutely unpardonable in their eyes, and that is to secede or favor secession or create a secession movement—he has been responsible for his own local union seceding from the Peoria central body, has urged individually all the other local unions to secede, and through his paper incessantly he has encouraged secession, and has advocated the formation of a dual central body, in an effort to disrupt the local labor movement of the city of Peoria.

He knows (if he knows anything about the American Federation of Labor at all) that if the central body was wrong in any way in their action towards him, or anyone else involved in these disputes, that all he needs to do is to appeal to President Gompers and from there to the Executive Council, and from there to the American Federation of Labor conventions; and that in the event either of these courts rule in his favor, the central body will be required to conform its action to that decision or its charter will be revoked.

There is no doubt in my mind but what if he thought there was any chance of the American Federation of Labor in either of its courts, deciding in his favor, that he would have stayed in the central body and urged all the other organizations to stay in it, and have appealed from the action of the central body to those courts.

And I know that it is because he feels quite sure that there is no chance; that he knows that he is guilty not only of all that has been charged, but much worse crimes against the movement, and that instead of being upheld by the American Federation of Labor, he would be completely exposed to the entire labor movement if he took his case there, that is responsible for his advocating secession and refusing to appeal his case to the higher courts of the labor movement, and for his refusal to abide by the laws of the American Federation of Labor, and take his case up in the regular way.

I have been advised by ex-Secretary-Treasurer J. F. Morris, also, that on a previous occasion he gave the contract for printing the constitution of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to Mr. Bush, and that when they were printed Bush sent in a bill for fifty dollars.

Secretary Morris informed me that he refused to pay fifty dollars, and that he sent him thirty dollars instead, and told him that even then he was getting five dollars more than what he could have gotten that work done for by reputable printers, when he got that price. Bush, however, accepted it without further complaint.

On another occasion when given the contract by the then secretary, J. F. Morris, to print the constitution for the State Federation of Labor, it was on the expressed, positive stipulation that it must be done on union-made paper. Ex-Secretary Morris informed me that the outside cover and the first page were printed on union-made paper and that the rest of it was non-union paper.

These, of course, are things that I have learned since letting the contract for printing the last convention proceedings to Bush in Peoria. They give a line to a person on what the character of the man is, who will do that sort of thing, particularly while claiming to be a union man and posing as a representative of labor and claiming to be working for their interests.

These are only a few of the things which I have learned about this gentleman and his associates, and if the convention cares to investigate, I am satisfied they will learn of much more, and even greater crimes against the labor movement that these gentlemen have been responsible for than what I have cited. And personally I say to you now, that no living human being can furnish any evidence to sustain the charges and insinuations that have been made by them and through their papers against myself, in connection with the organization of the co-operative stores, assisting in framing or helping to get the co-operative law enacted.

In reference to the bills which Mr. Bush claims the Illinois State Federation of Labor owes him, that is a matter which the present secretary-treasurer has been dealing with entirely, except in the making of arrangements to have the work done.

I did not know these things that I have previously mentioned with reference to Mr. Bush, or he never would have gotten a contract to do any printing for the Federation or any other institution, if it was in my power to prevent him from getting any.

But while at Peoria just before our convention began, Secretary-Treasurer Morris advised me that Mr. Bush, who was a delegate to the convention and was supposed to be running a labor paper, wanted to get the contract to print the minutes as well as the printed book-form proceedings for that convention; and, not knowing to the contrary, I thought he was a real trade unionist and honestly running a labor paper in the interest of the labor movement, and because of that, felt disposed to give him any help that I could.

Men had questioned his honesty and character to me in the past, and I was not sure about his absolute honesty; but when he proposed that he would do the work for an amount not exceeding the cost for the same kind of work that had been done for the Decatur convention, I agreed to accept his proposition.

And so that you may know how much truth there is in his charges, I am appending a statement given me by Secretary Olander of the work done by the printer in Decatur and the amount he got paid for it as well as the work done by Bush and the amount he was paid for it; also showing what he is demanding in addition; and because Secretary Olander refused to pay it to him, he assailed me publicly in the manner that he did, although I may add that he did not appeal from the action of the secretary to either myself or the Executive Board, as any honest, decent, fair-minded trade unionist would, where he had disagreed honestly with any officer, and there were higher courts to take the matter up with, if he really wanted it settled peacefully and honestly in the higher courts. His action in this matter, in my judgment, is nothing short of blackmail.

The following is an account of the Decatur printing and the amounts paid for it:

Daily Minutes.

1,100	12 pages—First day	}	
1,100	12 pages—Second day		
1,100	24 pages—Third day		
1,100	16 pages—Fourth day		
1,100	2 pages—Fifth day		\$247.16
1,500	—244 pages and cover at \$2.00 a page.....		\$448.00
	Total minutes and bound book.....		696.16
	Attendance cards		8.25
	Ballots		10.50
	12-page roll call.....		50.00
	Placards		2.27
	Credential cards		3.50
	Total.....		74.71
	Total at Decatur.....		<u>\$769.87</u>

Following are the Peoria printing bills:

Printing Daily Proceedings.

Bill rendered.

First day—47 pages	\$117.50
Second day—34 pages	85.00
Third day—38 pages	95.00
Fourth day—18 pages (night session).....	45.00
Fifth day—62 pages	155.00
Sixth day—26 pages (Executive Board).....	62.50
	<u>\$687.50</u>

(Don't know how many copies. I understand it was 800, but am not sure.)

I paid

Demanded \$2.00 a page additional for 2,500 copies. Came down to \$1.75 per page. I refused to go ahead. Came down to \$300.00 for 1,500 copies, which I paid.....\$ 300.00.

Also paid for roll call, ballots and cards..... 34.75

Total paid to Bush Printing Co.....\$ 834.75

He now demands (in addition)..... 189.54

Which if paid would make a total of.....\$1,024.29

But \$834.75 is what I paid. The additional \$189.54 now demanded is what he asks after the reduction from original figures. The demand is based on the first bill for daily proceedings.

Note the price for the daily verbatim minutes includes the only cost for typesetting, as the same type was understood to be used for the book-form proceedings.

THE LABOR PRESS.

The labor press is one of the strongest influences for the advancement of the organized workers, and where a paper is run honestly for the best interests of the labor movement, by an individual, that paper is entitled to the support of every real unionist in the community in which it is published, and the editor who publishes a paper of that character is entitled to every assistance and consideration that can be given by the members and friends of the labor movement.

However, if an unscrupulous charlatan and mountebank, posing as a friend of labor, publishes a paper ostensibly in the interest of the labor movement, but in reality to serve his own personal, selfish interests, and while masquerading as a champion of labor is in fact selling the interest of the common people wherever he can get a dollar for so doing, then that kind of a labor paper becomes one of the greatest dangers and the most sinister menaces to the progress of the labor movement.

And as these are the well-springs through which the trade unionists get much of their knowledge of men and principles, when these sources of knowledge are poisoned in that manner, it leads to false impressions, to chaos, demoralization and disruption; and, instead of helping the labor movement, it hurts it worse and retards progress more than all other elements of opposition combined, and it is exceedingly necessary that our membership be thoroughly informed and able to distinguish between the good and the bad in this respect, so that they may be able to give the paper that is being published honestly in their interest, every atom of support that lies in their power to give it, and likewise that they may be able to give their enemies, the hypocrites and Judases parading in the guise of friends of labor, the kind of treatment they are entitled to, which is every atom of influence that can be brought to bear to put them out of business.

For purposes of illustration, I desire to point out what is actually being done by a so-called labor paper in Peoria, and one of the same unsavory ilk in Decatur.

It becomes the duty of the president of the State Federation of Labor, after the sessions of the Legislature have adjourned, to give to the members of the labor movement all possible knowledge of the attitude and actions of the enemies of labor, as well as their friends during the sessions, so that in the future they would be able to protect themselves from their enemies as well as support their friends. While in the course of doing that work, I addressed a meeting of a local union in Peoria and informed them of the notorious record made by Thomas N. Gorman of that city in the last session of the Legislature, which not only shows that he was against practically every measure the labor movement sought to enact, but that his actions there and his statements proved conclusively that not only was he an enemy of labor, but that he was without conscience or scruple in serving the interests of the corporations, and against the labor measures.

Mr. Gorman is of the type for whom the corporations themselves generally buy position of power, and they are not averse to spending money in getting the influences of the cheap tools, who publish newspapers in the name of labor, but who serve the bidding of the corruptionists and enemies of labor. Just after the meeting in Peoria, a so-called labor paper of that place—the Gazette—published a statement extolling Mr. Gorman to the skies as one of the greatest friends that labor had and one of the finest of men, whose sympathies were always with the common people.

No more dastardly crimes can be committed against the labor movement than that committed by a so-called friend, deceiving and influencing the workers into believing that their enemies are really their friends. That is the method by which crooked politicians who have been stabbing labor to the heart for years have been able to maintain themselves in position, and the most contemptible cheap traitor that there is in the labor movement is the man who, for a few dirty dollars, will sell himself and his paper to that end; and, so that you may understand what manner of a labor paper this Peoria Labor Gazette really is, and, too, that you may also understand what manner of a friend Mr. Gorman is to labor, I am appending a number of communications from the accredited and duly elected representatives of the different labor organizations of this state, who served their unions

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during the last session of the Legislature, trying to secure the enactment of the laws for which labor contended. They are as follows:

Chicago, Illinois, September 21, 1915.

Mr. John H. Walker, President Illinois State Federation of Labor,
304 Pierik Building, Springfield, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: In response to your letter of recent date, I can advise you that in my judgment, Representative Thos. N. Gorman of Peoria, was one of the most dangerous enemies that labor had to contend with in the recent session of the Illinois Legislature. He is one of the type, of which there are several, who seeks to gain some profit for himself from laboring people by pretending friendliness to labor bills, when he knows that they will not be enacted, and who takes a stand directly against the interests of labor when there is any chance to get results. For instance: He, more than anyone else, was responsible for the chloroforming of the street car men's ten-hour bill. He never even let it get out of committee.

When the attempt was made to bring labor's anti-injunction bill up for consideration, undoubtedly the most important labor measure pending in the House, Representative Gorman's vote was one of the "silent" votes that prevented the bill from being brought up.

As the close of the session drew near, he did not even continue to pretend friendship to labor, and how anybody connected with the labor movement in this state can now dare to say that Representative Thos. N. Gorman of Peoria was a friend of labor in any sense, is something that I cannot understand. He was the very reverse, and everybody who had anything to do with legislative matters at Springfield knows it.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) WM. A. CHRISTIANSON,
Legislative Representative, Chicago Federation of Labor.

Chicago, Illinois, September 29, 1915.

Mr. John H. Walker, President, State Federation of Labor,
Pierik Building, Springfield, Illinois.

Dear Sir and Brother: In reply to your communication of September 11, asking for my views of Thomas N. Gorman of Peoria, posing as a friend of labor, I must say that I am not surprised at anything I hear about this monster.

I watched his work at the last session of the Illinois Legislature, and I think he was the most bitter enemy the working class had in the Legislature.

I was interested in House Bill No. 55, which was referred to the Committee of Industrial Affairs, of which Representative McCormick was chairman. We had four hearings on this bill. Chairman McCormick ruled that the fifth hearing would be the last. At that hearing, to the surprise of every fair-minded person, Tom Gorman presented a resolution to refer this bill to a sub-committee of nine, naming the nine in his resolution, also appointing himself as chairman.

He stated that everyone concerned would get a square deal; the sub-committee would report back to the full committee as soon as possible.

For five weeks following we returned to Springfield for hearings on Bill No. 55. The hearings finally ceased and the bill died in sub-committee.

I have been attending the convention at Rochester, N. Y., and just returned, hence the delay in answering your letter.

Hoping that all will be satisfactory and with best wishes, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) JOHN J. BRUCE,
President, Division No. 308, A. A. of S. and E. R. E. of A.

Danville, Illinois, September 15, 1915.

Mr. J. H. Walker, President, State Federation of Labor,
Workman Building, Springfield, Illinois.

Dear Sir and Brother: It has recently come to my notice that one Representative Thos. N. Gorman of Peoria is again seeking public favor through organized labor. Anything that we can do to post any and all laboring people relative to the true attitude of this man while a member of the Forty-ninth General Assembly should be done at once.

I myself, in the presence of the entire Forty-ninth General Assembly, did hear one Thos. N. Gorman say that he had on previous occasions been more or less friendly to labor, but now it has come to the PARTING OF WAYS as far as he was concerned in regard to labor; that he then and there in the presence of the General Assembly, wished to go on record as to making this statement; and his attitude toward us during the remainder of the session proved that he meant what he said, for he was the most deadly enemy that we had.

He was arrayed at all times with the railroad and the manufacturers' interests. Any man carrying a union card that works in the interest of Thos. N. Gorman is not loyal to his organization, and should be deprived of the privileges due an honorable member of such an organization. After such a brother has been made acquainted with Gorman's attitude toward labor during the Forty-ninth General Assembly, I ask as a personal favor of you, Brother Walker, that you will use your personal influence with all members of the railroad brotherhoods that they may know that this man Gorman is their deadly enemy.

I am yours for the honest cause of labor.

(Signed) H. D. LAWRENCE,
Legislative Representative, Order of Railway Conductors.

Blue Island, Illinois, September 17, 1915.

Mr. John H. Walker, President, Illinois State Federation of Labor,
Springfield, Illinois.

Dear Sir and Brother: In reply to yours of the 13th, I heartily concur in your opinion of the Hon. Thomas N. Gorman of Peoria. I consider him to have been the worst of them all, in so far as our legislation was concerned in the Forty-ninth General Assembly.

In the Forty-eighth he was a member of the railroad committee, and the only thing we can say in his favor was he attended committee meetings, thereby helping us to secure a quorum, but when the Headlight Bill came to a vote, there were sixteen members of the committee present; eight voted to send the bill out with a recommendation that "it do pass," Gorman was one of the four who did not vote, four voted against it, and we cannot consider a man a friend who would not vote for the bill, when we needed it. Of course, Gorman voted for the measure in the House; all but two did that, because they knew it was going to pass, but Tom Gorman had promised the railroad men of Peoria that he would vote for their bill, but the only credit that could be given him was he attended the committee meetings—that's all.

I am sending you under separate cover copy of our two reports. In looking over the House debates and Journal, which you will find published just as they appear therein, and reading Gorman's arguments against the car limit bill, I do not know how any sane man could consider him a friend of labor, and his work in committee was even worse, as he was not on record there.

Tom Gorman wrote several letters to us, asking us to give him a letter regarding his work in the Forty-eighth General Assembly, and he had same published. A careful reading of that letter will show the

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facts as stated above, and by referring to the marked passages in our report for the Forty-eighth, you can see his record, which I think will convince you that he is not what he tries to pose to be.

Tom Gorman a friend of labor? Well, I should say not!

Trusting this will answer your letter, and that we shall be able to leave this man at home—where he belongs—I remain,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) J. A. CULP,

Chairman, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Chicago, Illinois, September 15, 1915.

Mr. John H. Walker, President,
304 Workman Building, Springfield, Illinois.

Dear Sir and Brother: My recollection as to the action of Representative Thos. N. Gorman at the last session of the Illinois Legislature is that he was one of the worst enemies that labor had to contend with, and that he opposed almost every labor measure that was before the House, or that came up in any committee that he was a member of.

Apparently, his ambition was to see how well he could champion the cause of the corporations in opposition to the requests of labor, regardless of the merits of the bills.

He showed by his every action that he is no friend of the working people; he fought the car limit bill both in the committee and on the floor of the House, and if my memory serves me right—and I am quite sure that it does—he was the one who had the street car men's bill sent to the sub-committee, where it was killed, and he had himself appointed chairman of that sub-committee.

There was no member of either House or Senate who fought labor harder than did Thos. N. Gorman during the Forty-ninth General Assembly, and showed himself to be one of the worst labor haters of the last session of the Legislature.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) D. McCARTHY, Chairman.

Marissa, Illinois, October 2, 1915.

Mr. John H. Walker, President, Illinois State Federation of Labor,
Springfield, Illinois.

Dear Sir and Brother—Responding to your letter of recent date, in which you ask me to give you my opinion as to the attitude of Representative Thos. N. Gorman of Peoria, to labor measures, during the last session of the Legislature.

In reply, and to be plain about it, and judging by the way he voted, he is one of the worst enemies labor had to contend with during the last session.

The record shows he did not vote at all on some of our most important measures, which is the most cowardly record that any man can make.

He is not only considered unfavorable to labor by the Miners' Legislative Committee, but the railroad men as well, as he not only voted against their train limit bill, but got the floor and talked against it; and I see by the report that the railroad men are sending out, they print in full just what he said against their bill, and just as it appears in the House Journal.

I feel satisfied when the laboring men of Peoria find out how Representative Gorman voted on labor measures, they will not only be willing, but glad, to leave him at home, and send a good man in his place.

Personally, I do not care what politics a man has, but an industrial center like Peoria should send men to the Legislature by all means who are friendly to organized labor, instead of men like Representative Gorman.

Trusting this will be a satisfactory explanation on this matter, I am,
Fraternally yours,

(Signed) R. J. WILSON,

Secretary Legislative Committee, District No. 12, U. M. W. of A.

Springfield, Illinois, September 20th, 1915.

Mr. J. H. Walker,
Springfield, Illinois.

Dear Sir and Brother: I am in receipt of your letter inquiring into the conduct, record, etc., of Thos. N. Gorman, representative of the Eighteenth Senatorial District of the Forty-ninth General Assembly.

My recollection of the gentleman's record, insofar as legislation for organized labor is concerned, was that it was not very good. If so-called labor men are eulogizing and lauding Mr. Gorman as the greatest friend that labor had in the Forty-ninth General Assembly, they had better consult some one who knows, so that Mr. Gorman may get "justice."

I was on the job making notes and know whereof I speak. If those so-called labor men who are lauding Mr. Gorman had been on the job when the real work was accomplished, they certainly could not conscientiously laud Mr. Gorman; quite contrary, would have condemned.

I certainly was surprised at Mr. Gorman. I had made up my mind to the effect that he had no intentions of coming back, otherwise he would for his own preservation have acted more wisely. In fact, there were so few staunch friends of organized labor, that they could be counted on the fingers of your hand. If Mr. Gorman had been what some people are claiming for him, I would have been among the first to commend him for his work.

You will notice by our report that Mr. Gorman did not answer roll call on the seventy-five car limit or anti-injunction bills, but voted for increase in salary.

With best wishes I remain,

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) WM. HALL,

Chairman, Legislative Committee, District No. 12, U. M. W. of A.

I have received many other letters from representatives of labor who have had experience with Gorman during the last session, and all of them strongly condemn his vicious attitude towards labor legislation.

James B. Connors, assistant international president of the Switchmen's Union of North America, characterizes Gorman as "rotten" and in his judgment classes him as "a buccaneer who sold the people into the hands of the privileged few."

Matthew Keefe, business agent of the Stationary Engineers of Chicago, criticises Gorman in the strongest terms as an enemy of labor.

In the debate on the car limit bill in the House on June 1, 1915, Gorman is quoted in the report of the Brotherhoods Joint Labor Legislative Board recently issued as having said: "I understand that an amendment would be presented by the proponents of the bill, naming seventy-five cars. Now I can say to you that any limitation is not agreed nor an agreeable proposition to the railroad interests."

The Legislative Board follows this statement with a question as to who Gorman was representing. His own statement clearly answers that question.

The following is given from our own, direct, personal experience with Mr. Gorman:

During the time that the Mine Workers of Illinois were trying to get enacted the amendment to the qualification law, which limited the number of apprentices from an unlimited number which the law then provided for, to one, which in the event of a strike would prevent the coal companies from putting but one practical coal miner in the mine and then filling up the coal mine with scabs as apprentices to him. The amendment to that law provided for a practical miner having a certificate being permitted to have only one apprentice.

There was a strike imminent in Illinois between the coal operators and the coal miners' union at that time and which took place in the year 1910. On the success or failure of this strike depended even the life of the miners' organization itself, and everything that has been accomplished by it for the miners. Tom Gorman was from a mining district. A big majority of his constituents were working men, and if he had been honest he would have served their interests in this matter.

So as president of the miners' union of the State of Illinois, representing them, I sought an interview with Mr. Gorman, explained the situation as it really was and asked him to support our measure. He said he would refuse to commit himself. I repeatedly asked him on a number of different occasions, told him that it was a life or death measure with us, and the man who was not with us for that measure must be our enemy, and we would so regard him.

Mr. Gorman made it clear that he was opposed to that amendment, that he was lined up with the coal operators with whom I saw him associate in the most friendly manner during the sessions of the Legislature, while holding aloof from the representatives of labor, and treating them with scant courtesy. Later, as a result of an arrangement made between the mine workers and the coal operators that amendment was agreed to as an agreed measure on the condition that all other pending mining legislation be referred to the Miners Investigation Commission. Then Mr. Gorman came to me and notified me that now he was willing to support our bill. I told him then that I considered him one of the most cowardly of men, and the most dangerous enemies that we had in the Legislature, and from then on, we would treat him as such.

Mr. Gorman was afterwards a candidate for mayor of the city of Peoria, and on the strength of the information we conveyed, we have been informed he was defeated more overwhelmingly than any candidate for that position has ever been.

Immediately after that defeat, he came to me again and said that he did not want me to oppose him as candidate for the Legislature; that he would agree if elected, to be governed by the mine workers and myself personally in his voting on labor measures. I told him that we did not want anything from him but what was right; that if he would agree to this, personally I would agree not to make any active campaign against him. Since that time, Mr. Gorman up until the last session, consistently voted for practically every labor measure that came up.

During the last session, however, which has been notorious because of whispered stories that the biggest jack-pot of boodle and dirty money had been distributed amongst the members who were enemies of the labor movement during this session that was ever known in the history of the State of Illinois, and in addition that good jobs would be found for the men who would lend themselves to the desires of the corporate interests from the beginning of this session, it was noised about that Gorman was going to get a good political job, or one with a large corporation, and that he was going to oppose labor from beginning to end. And Mr. Gorman certainly was against the working people from begin-

ning to end, not only in voting against them, but he sneered at them and treated them with contempt from the first day of the session until adjournment; but in the face of his notorious enmity to labor and in spite of the unanimous condemnation he received from organized labor all over the State, the Peoria Labor Gazette unqualifiedly endorsed him as a friend of labor.

The Decatur "Friend."

Another illustration of what these kind of labor papers mean to the movement exists in Decatur and is published by a labor editor of the same malodorous type as Bush of the Gazette.

Because the business interests are opposed to the co-operative movement, they discontinue their advertising in any labor paper that favors it. A real, honest labor editor, conducting a real, honest labor paper is not swerved from the path of duty by that kind of indirect bribery, but wherever any movement for the interest of the workers is inaugurated, he gives it the best support there is in him, but the crook, the cheap hireling, who can be influenced by indirect or direct bribery to serve the enemies of labor, the business and employing interests, can generally find some alibi for himself to take their money and oppose these movements. And this, in my judgment, is the situation in Decatur.

So that the workers in Decatur may know what kind of champions of labor Mr. John H. Ryan, who publishes the Labor World, and his so-called labor paper, really are, I am appending the following statement of mine as published in the Galesburg Labor News of August 13, 1915, together with the correspondence relative to the matter, which ought to convince any one that Mr. Ryan deliberately mis-stated the facts or did not know what he was talking about, which is equally as reprehensible in libelous statements such as he had made.

Ryan had asserted in his paper that I had endorsed Mr. Buel T. Davis of Decatur as an organizer for the co-operative movement, which act influenced the Decatur central body to give its endorsement without investigating Davis' proposition. You will find that the copy of the letter from the Decatur central body, signed by its secretary, giving the day and date, and the copy of my reply, together with the copy of the credentials which was issued, makes clear that the assertion of Ryan was manufactured absolutely out of whole cloth, and could have been done for no other purpose than to place me in a false light. The facts are that the ex-secretary of the Decatur Council, H. A. Wright, asked me to give Mr. Davis a credential BEFORE I received an official endorsement of him by the central body, and I refused to give it until they themselves endorsed him officially, and requested me to do so.

No one who ever went to Mr. Ryan claiming to represent me, speaking for me in behalf of the co-operative movement, had any right to do so, that I have any knowledge of, at any time during my connection with the labor movement. The only time I ever had any connection with Mr. Ryan was some time previous to the last Peoria convention, when I asked him to print the official verbatim record of the investigation by the State of Iowa in an attempt to bring about a settlement of the street railway strike in Des Moines between the Street Car Workers' Union and W. B. McKinley, who owns the street railway system of that city as well as the street railway system of Decatur. This was just before the last congressional election in which Mr. McKinley was a candidate for Congress from the Congressional district in which Decatur is located.

The Street Car Workers had requested that I give the matter publicity, and I asked Mr. Ryan as he pretended to be publishing a labor paper there, to publish it, so that the workers might understand what an enemy to organized labor Mr. McKinley was.

Ryan agreed to do it, and thanked me for calling on him and giving him the opportunity to do it. He has never published it up to the present time, but did, however, publish some statements attempting to anticipate that I would try to put McKinley on the unfair list at the Peoria convention just before the election. However, if you have any knowledge of how the interests elect their hirelings to political office, you can draw your own conclusions as to the reason for Mr. Ryan's attitude in that matter at that time.

Since then I have not considered Ryan a friend of labor, or as running a labor paper in the interest of organized labor and have had absolutely nothing to do with him whatever.

As I said previously, the business interests who are exploiting the people by charging unreasonably high prices for the necessities of life are opposed to the co-operative movement; they, however, advertise in the labor papers, and where the paper is owned by an individual and he depends on their advertising for the money he gets, they influence the attitude of the paper if the editor desires the continuance of their patronage. A good illustration of this is the experience of Peter Christenson, who until recently was editor of the Danville Labor Leader. He was waited upon some months ago by a committee representing the Business Men's Association and Chamber of Commerce of that city, and was notified that if he carried statements in his paper favorable to the co-operative movement, they would discontinue to advertise with him. Pete was a real union man—on the square—and he told them that as long as he conducted that paper he was going to publish the things that were of benefit to the labor movement, regardless of what they did with their advertising, and if he could not make a living out of his paper on that basis, he would go back to work in the mines.

I suppose that all individually owned labor papers are similarly situated at times, and have to face the same proposition, and it may be that some individuals who own labor papers are not willing to go back to the mines to earn a living, and consequently, will accede to the employing and business interests' demands and refuse to carry anything favorable to the co-operative movement, rather than lose the ads, and I presume that if one of them happened to be dishonest, the employing and business interests might actually be able to buy him for a price, or by giving him a few more ads, influence him to oppose the co-operative movement, just the same as crooked politicians are able to buy some crooked, so-called labor editors and secure space in their columns for favorable advertising and fulsome praise.

I consider such individuals as among the most dangerous of all enemies that the labor movement has, and I expect so far as I can, to minimize their evil-doing to the cause of labor as much as possible, even if I have to run counter to their wishes in order to do so.

The following letters speak for themselves and prove that Ryan's statements were absolutely false:

Decatur, Illinois, March 29, 1915.

Mr. John H. Walker, President, Illinois State Federation of Labor,
Springfield, Illinois.

Dear Sir and Brother:—At our regular meeting of March 25, Buel T. Davis, 1260 North Jasper street, Decatur, Illinois, was endorsed by this body to take up the co-operative proposition in this city and the secretary was instructed to write for credentials for him.

Trusting that you will give this your consideration at as early a date as possible, I am,

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) E. H. BLACK, Secretary-Treasurer,
Decatur Trades and Labor Assembly, Decatur, Illinois.

Springfield, Illinois, March 30, 1915.

Mr. E. H. Black, Secretary, Trades and Labor Assembly,
739 East Lawrence Avenue, Decatur, Illinois.

Dear Sir and Brother:—Yours of the 29th received and noted. In reply desire to say that enclosed you will find credential as requested.

Yours truly,

(Signed) JOHN H. WALKER, President,
Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Springfield, Illinois, March 30, 1915.

To Whom It May Concern:—

This is to advise you that on the recommendation of Thos. R. Downey, Chas. Wright and the endorsement of the Decatur Trades and Labor Assembly, as well as the information gotten through personal connection with him at the recent co-operative convention, I hereby issue credential to Buel T. Davis, 1260 North Jasper street, Decatur, Illinois, authorizing him to organize the co-operative movement locally in Decatur and vicinity until further notice.

Yours truly,

(Signed) JOHN H. WALKER, President,
Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Since the date this statement was published in the Galesburg Labor News, Mr. Ryan has acknowledged that I took the communication of the Street Railway Workers' Union to him and asked him to publish it, but he said his reason for not publishing it was that it was too long and that he could not afford to put that sort of thing in his paper, and followed with some other slighting remarks, with reference to the statement and myself.

Again Mr. Ryan misstated the facts, for I took the letter up into his office myself personally, and told him what I wanted. I told him to read it through before he gave me his decision, and he sat down and read every word of it, so he knew before he agreed with me to publish it, just what it was and how long it was, and he thanked me for giving him the honor of representing us in that district in permitting him to publish the letter.

The following is a letter from Mr. Downie, the man Ryan referred to, who called on him as representing me. This letter was written to me by Mr. Downie voluntarily, as a result of someone sending him a copy of Ryan's paper in which he attacked me, because of Mr. Downie's visit to him.

Ottumwa, Iowa, August 23, 1915.

Mr. J. H. Walker, President, Illinois State Federation of Labor,
Springfield, Illinois.

Dear Friend John: I have just received a clipping of the Decatur World in which my name is used frequently in connection with my work in the co-operative movement, during my visit in Decatur. I am not connected with the movement now other than being a member of the Gillespie Society, but I feel that I should write and tell you the facts in regard to my visit with Mr. John H. Ryan.

When I arrived in Decatur, I met Mr. H. A. Wright, president of the Trades Assembly, and during our general conversation he mentioned the labor paper, and he took me over to the office to meet the editor. He introduced me as a union man who was a member of the State Federation of Labor of Illinois, also a representative of the co-

operative movement. I told him I was working for the Universal Trading and Supply Company of Chicago and had your endorsement to go before labor unions. I never claimed to be your representative, but only mentioned you with other labor men, who were advocating the co-operative movement. I did not even solicit the aid of the paper, because during our convention in regard to the movement Mr. Ryan said he was not in sympathy with the movement. I did not hear him say he would use his influence against it; however, he was against it.

Now, John, Mr. Wright will bear me out in this statement, because he was with me all the time during my call on Mr. Ryan. This trouble has started since I left the labor and co-operative movements, and I am not in the position to go into a long drawn-out controversy. My work does not allow me to do so, but I can honestly say that I never, in a meeting or to an individual, represented myself as your agent. The credentials you gave were always presented at meetings and I had cards showing for whom I was working. I am very sorry this fight is going on in the labor movement, especially as a result of co-operative activity, but as I am in the dark as to the cause, and not working in the ranks, I can not be of much help. I sincerely hope that the cause of labor and co-operation will go on to success in spite of the bitter fights on, within its own councils.

Yours truly,

(Signed) THOS. R. DOWNIE.

LEGISLATION AND INFLUENCES AT WORK.

During the last year after the Legislature had broken the so-called deadlock in the election of a speaker, which delayed them for six weeks, and after electing the man they wanted in that position, the business and employing interests held a convention and drafted and had printed the following statement, which I believe is so vitally necessary that the workers in Illinois get to understand its real significance, that although printed in the proceedings of the Special Legislative Convention, I am bringing it to the attention of our movement again for the purpose of having it printed in our regular convention proceedings for future reference:

Business Regulation Opposed.

The manufacturers, merchants and employers of labor in Illinois and representatives of commercial and employers organizations, assembled in Springfield, March 30, 1915, under the auspices of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, make the following presentation to the members of the Forty-ninth General Assembly:

Never has business been subjected to severer stress than during the past year; never has the present record of unemployment been surpassed; never have the charitable organizations been so burdened with cases of real want and distress. Industry is working at half time or less; wages are reduced or cut off entirely, and the most stringent economy is being practiced in countless homes. Everywhere the effects of lack of business manifests itself. This is essentially a time when every possible encouragement should be given to revive business; where no extra burden should be placed upon it; when every possible restriction that would hamper its growth should be removed, and when every opportunity for increasing employment should be offered.

There are before the legislature at this time several hundred bills that have some direct or indirect bearing on business. Among them are bills like the Woman's Eight Hour Bill and the Minimum Wage Bill which are of the most far reaching importance. Both of them will, if enacted, mean heavy wage increases; for even the eight hour bill has underlying it the thought that it will carry with it nine or ten hours' wages for eight hours' work.

Has any investigation been made as to how these measures will affect the industries and the commercial activities of the State? Is any suggestion offered by the proponents of these measures as to how industry and commerce can adjust themselves to these burdens at such a time as this? Has any determination been yet reached that woman's work in the world can be accomplished in eight hours out of twenty-four? Is it not a fact that the great majority of woman's activities are not and cannot be restricted to eight hours? Has thought yet been given to the question as to how the increased costs imposed by these bills will affect the large body of women who will remain outside the provisions of these measures?

Let us squarely face the fact that business today is suffering not so much from the war as it is from its enforced readjustment to serious federal and state legislative changes. This readjustment had but begun when the European war brought in its train the most serious stress that business has ever weathered. And the near future holds out not a single promise of a favorable change.

We submit that under such conditions radical experiments should not be indulged in by the state to further distress and strangle such activity as today exists in business. If any real need for such legislation is shown for any industry or class of business, let that industry or class of business be singled out for special remedial legislation. But do not give application of these bills to the many employments in which the labor is less severe than it is in the ordinary household in which conditions are both more attractive and more sanitary.

We have no fault to find with the motives behind these bills, for they have grown out of woman's sympathy for her working sisters, but we submit that relief for the industrial ills of women does not lie along legislative channels. It lies in a proper industrial education of girls, which by opening up greater opportunities for employment, will relieve the pressure on the unskilled trades and will thereby bring its own remedy in shorter hours and higher wages.

We are in favor of constructive legislation that will attack the roots and not merely the surface indications of industrial ills. We are opposed to legislation that is based on zeal rather than on careful investigation and intelligent consideration. We are opposed, with business in its present condition, to all new legislation. We ask for a period of rest from further restrictions so that business may be brought back to full health and strength.

We believe that all legislation affecting manufacturers who compete with manufacturers in other states should have federal rather than state origin, so that manufacturers everywhere may be placed on an equally competitive basis.

Organizations represented:

Illinois Manufacturers' Association.
Decatur Association of Commerce.
Laundrymen's Association of Illinois.
Chicago Laundrymen's Association.
Retail Grocers' Association of Illinois.
Associated Employers of Illinois.
Illinois Coal Operators' Association.
Illinois Retail Dry Goods Association.
Committee Representing Illinois Railroads.
Rockford Manufacturers' and Shippers' Association.
Fox River Valley Manufacturers' Association.
Corset Industry of Illinois.
Tri-City Manufacturers' Association.
Peoria Association of Commerce.

It demonstrates the vast combination of every character of employing and business interests that are uniting and working harmoniously, like well oiled machinery, to defeat every particle of legislation that makes for the progress of the workers, no matter where they work or what industry they work in, and it seems to me that the effectiveness of this great machine of corporate interests and the control it exercises in political affairs, as well as the defeats it has inflicted upon the working people because of their failure to organize politically, must surely impress every sincere trade unionist that no permanent improvement in the condition of the workers can ever be secured through any political party dominated by that machine.

The growing influence and success of these great interests working consistently and constantly to strengthen their power over the people, as well as to prevent labor from having a voice in governmental affairs, presents to the workers a lesson that cannot be ignored if true, permanent progress is to be made.

I fail to see how any working man can honestly expect to secure the things he has a right to expect from any political party or leaders under the domination of the combined corporate interests who issued the above statement.

I want this driven home to the minds of our people, so that they might awaken to the pitiable weakness of our condition while we remain divided on these matters which so vitally affect us and ours in every phase of our lives, not only now, but in the future.

I want to point out the imperative need for every organization in the workers' ranks and every element of the workers themselves to combine. They should inform themselves on what the best methods of securing legislation really are, and organize so solidly that they may be able to use their greatest strength to that end.

In all this they must never lose sight of this one truth: that it depends on what we do politically—depends entirely on what we do politically—what measures of success we will have in seeking remedial legislation.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

According to the report of the Legislative Committee, you will note that out of the two hundred and four men who were elected to positions as representatives and state senators in Illinois in the last election, there were six that carried union cards; five in the House and one in the Senate, and our information is that Mr. Madsen of Chicago was the only one of them who was actually working at his trade. Mr. Morris of the Mine Workers, was, however, working in connection with that industry.

The others were working in some other line of endeavor, making their living in business as business men or employers; thus, in reality, there were not more than two real bona fide union men out of the entire two hundred and four.

At the same time there were twenty-two farmers, most of whom were farming by proxy, and who were, more than anything else, politicians, who registered as farmers for political purposes only. There were sixty-two lawyers; the rest were business men, professional men and employers, nearly everyone of whom was elected to office by workmen's votes.

There are over three-quarters of a million trade unionists in the State of Illinois who, if properly organized politically and kept thoroughly informed, could themselves have elected at least a third of all of the members in both Houses; and were they working in harmony and in intelligent, close co-operation with the farmers of our state, we could have elected a majority of real farmers and actual, bona fide trade unionists to those positions; and then labor—without begging or cringing, without being humiliated, publicly scorned, insulted and belittled

by professional, crooked politicians, and hostile employing and business interests, whose only interest on earth is the selfish interest of the seeker after dollars, with no regard for humanity, who apparently have no conscience and will let no scruples stand in the way of accomplishing their purpose—could have gotten every law which we could convince the majority of those men was honest and just, and which should be enacted in the interest of the common people of our great commonwealth.

I do sincerely hope that every delegate here will take this matter up earnestly, consider it fully, and will use his influence when he goes back home with all other trade unionists to see that such a political organization of the trade unionists and farmers and other sympathetic workers in our great state is brought about. But whether or not they do this now for their own immediate personal benefit, for the welfare of their own children, for the perpetuation of democratic government, at least, I hope they will see to it that they are so informed themselves as to the personal attitude and connections of every individual who appears before them, seeking their votes to put them in any office in our lawmaking or other governmental positions; that they will not make the mistake again of voting for the direct representative of their enemies, who are personally and by connections with the interests the most bitter enemies of the unions on earth, and the greatest obstacles in the way of progress for common humanity.

In connection with this matter, I desire to say that there is a widespread, systematic effort being made by the organized employers in conjunction with the organized hostile business interests working all the time, but particularly active just before the primaries in which the nominees are selected, and then immediately preceding the election, to secure the election of men who are hostile to the trade union movement, and to the progress of common workers, and who can be relied upon to respond to the desires and wishes of the employing and business interests in all legislative matters.

They interview every prospective candidate, get an expression from him; and then, at their own meetings, consider what the chances are of the different candidates, what the chances are of their being with them on all matters of interest to them; and then they agree amongst themselves to support in the most effective manner the candidates that they want most, that they think have the best chance to secure the nomination, and then the election; and at the same time leave the impression with the other candidates that they are also giving them their support so they will have the benefit of doing everything they can intelligently to get the men they really want. And then in the event of failure, they will be on friendly terms even with the men whom they, in fighting for the opposing candidates, were in reality fighting against.

I have information from reliable sources in connection with this movement that because of the increasing activities on the part of the labor movement in this direction and the greater dissemination by them of information with reference to individual legislators and their records, that they (the employers and business interests) are going to make a special effort to secure the election of men that they can be absolutely sure of; whom they can depend upon to do their bidding at all times; who in the past have not taken any active part either way; whose public records are clean, so that by keeping their relations with them hidden, they can go even before the union men themselves and under pretense of being friends of the labor movement with no records directly bearing on the subject to the contrary being available, making their chances the most favorable to be elected and making it almost impossible to deal with the candidates as individuals and get anything before election to prove that they are not friends of the labor movement and the common people.

Thus it is going to be more difficult than ever before to be sure that we are right. My judgment is that we will never be quite sure until we have our own organization that we control entirely ourselves, the nominees of which we select ourselves. But until the time comes, when we have that kind of an organization, we must deal with conditions as they are, in an effort to get the best results possible now.

So I again earnestly request that every trade unionist take an active interest in this matter; that they investigate carefully the facts in connection with the attitude towards the labor movement of every individual candidate—what they have done in the past and what they are likely to do in the future—so that we can do the best we can now for ourselves, our families and those that are to come.

In the meantime we are getting the experience which will crystallize the sentiment that will later bring better methods of dealing with this matter, which will enable us to give our last atom of strength intelligently along lines that will leave no room to doubt the results, in the event that we succeed.

Members of the Legislature are, or should be, our representatives—not the representatives of property interests alone. This is a representative form of government. No trade unionist is doing his full duty either as a member of organized labor or as a citizen unless he knows how his representatives, as a law-making body, are going to vote. You have a right to demand of them in advance their stand upon public questions.

LABOR TEMPLE.

At the last convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, I recommended in my report that steps be taken towards the building of a labor temple by the Illinois State Federation of Labor. The convention, acting on the report of the committee on officers' reports, favored the project, and instructed the incoming president to report on the matter at the Alton convention, setting forth in what manner it was expected to raise the funds to carry that recommendation into effect.

I still believe that we should have a labor temple. I believe it should be built in Springfield as near the Capitol Building as circumstances will enable us to locate it. The best method that suggests itself to me, of providing for this work being done, is to have an attorney draw the plan whereby a temple can be built for the State Federation of Labor on a basis that will insure its perpetuity in control of our organization.

I have talked the matter over with Mr. Kerr, chief counsel for the United Mine Workers of Illinois, who has also rendered the State Federation a great deal of valuable assistance on a great many other legal matters during the past year, and he has advised me of a plan of that kind, which I believe will make the project feasible for the Federation and its affiliated bodies.

I believe the State Executive Board should be authorized to canvass the different labor organizations in the state who are to buy stock, and to accept donations from individual members, who care to contribute, and be authorized to use whatever of the general fund that may be available for that purpose, and that the question of the other details should be referred to the Executive Board for definite action, and that authority be committed to the Executive Board to proceed with the building.

LEGAL DEPARTMENT.

I believe the time has arrived, too, when for the best interests of our movement in the state, there should be some reliable and authoritative source where our membership generally can get information and advice of a legal character in the many different lines of endeavor

through which we are working out our problems, and in matters that affect them in so many different ways from time to time.

And, while I do not mean by this that we should at the present time create a department that will take up each case in court for every individual or organization, the cost of which would be so great that it is entirely out of the question at the present time, yet I do believe this department should be created and the Executive Board be authorized to do so to the end that we may get advice from a trained and experienced source.

For the present, the work of this department should be confined to services to the organization and to affiliated bodies. This would secure to us the services of an attorney who has personal interest in our welfare, and also special ability because of experience. We believe, also, that opinions given by such a department or its head, would be accorded added weight, and more readily acceded to because he spoke on legal matters as an official of our organization.

UNION LABEL.

Without question it is necessary that every man and woman who works for a living must be organized, and a part of the real labor movement, before that movement will ever be able to get for its members and humanity the things for which they are striving and to which they are entitled. It is therefore necessary that we, not particularly for the sake of others, but for our own sake, utilize every avenue of influence that we have to bring about the organization of all other working men and women, and in that connection, there is no influence that could be used with much greater results by the union men and women who are already organized and part of the labor movement, than to see to it when they employ anyone to work for them that it is a union man or woman.

Whenever a person buys any article for use that some other man or woman's labor had to be given in the production of, then that person becomes an employer of labor, and when they buy a union-made piece of goods they are hiring union men and women to work for them and contributing to the upbuilding and strengthening of their own movement; and when they buy a non-union made piece of goods, they are hiring non-union men or women, or scabs, to work for them and contributing to the weakening and demoralization of the labor movement of which they are a part.

A brief glimpse of what would be the result of using all of our influence in this direction, may be obtained by considering the fact that there are something like three million union men and women in our country; that, according to the Federal Census Bureau, the average worker gets wages something like \$618 per year for their labor, and as we know that the union men and women at least get the average (the chances are, a little above it) this means that they receive in wages as a whole at least \$1,854,000,000 a year.

It can be readily understood what an enormous influence this would be towards unionizing every industry in the country, if all of that money was spent every year in buying union-made goods, rather than as it is at the present time, a goodly portion of it being spent for non-union articles.

My judgment is that if every union man and women in the country were to refuse to spend their money for anything but union-made products and the newly organized union men and women would do likewise, at the end of a year there would be very few non-union working men or women in our country, and our movement would be so strong and have such influence that without at least the strife we have at the present time, we could get the things we are justly entitled to. We can use the union label to bring about this condition without any hardship

or suffering on the part of ourselves or our families, or without risking or jeopardizing the organizations already established. I believe everything that lies in our power, to influence our members to patronize the label in all their purchases, should be done. I would recommend that this convention take any steps necessary that it is within their power to take to bring about this end.

BRICKLAYERS.

During the past year, as in the previous one, on invitation from their officials, I visited the convention of the Illinois State organization of the Brick Layers' Union. And, in the course of my remarks to them, I tried to show them not only the advantage it would be to themselves were they a part of the great labor movement of our country and of the state, but indicated what it meant in the way of opportunity for them to help the workers in other industries struggling to better their conditions and to contribute their influence in an intelligent, systematic manner in the work of the labor movement as a whole in the cause of humanity.

The delegates to that convention discussed the matter thoroughly amongst themselves, and after mature deliberation, decided by unanimous vote to make application for affiliation on the same basis as a central body with the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

I pointed out to them that I thought there was an obstacle in the way of our having the right to officially accept their application, but that I believed that if they expressed that sentiment that it might help us clear the way, so they could at an early date be officially affiliated in accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

I advised them that I would take the matter up with President Gompers, and if he or the Executive Council would agree to share responsibility with us, that we would accept them officially in affiliation, until the matter could be acted upon by the San Francisco convention.

After they had acted, I wrote President Gompers on the subject, stating that if he would share responsibility that we would agree to take a chance and accept their application and take them in officially as an affiliated organization in the Illinois State Federation of Labor, but I regret to say that President Gompers, on taking it up with the Executive Council, felt unable to agree with me.

I am not complaining about their action, because Section 11 of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor makes it clear that for them to have agreed with me would have meant their setting aside the law laid down to govern them by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. However, I am persuaded that President Gompers and the Executive Council would like very much to see the time come (and the sooner the better) when the Brick Layers' Union are a part of the American Federation of Labor, because they know that not until every organization in our entire country is working together, and co-operating intelligently with each other, to help solve the problems that are common to the labor movement, and in which the interests of every worker are involved, will we ever be able to get from our labor movement the good that it can accomplish.

I know, too, that the best course to pursue in order to bring that condition about is the one which will make the greatest number of friends for the labor movement in the organizations that are outside, and which will make for their better understanding of our problems, our methods and each other.

In my judgment, that course is for us to accept in affiliation those local unions or state organizations of the outside unions which show a disposition to become affiliated with us. By this means we will be brought in close contact with each other; we will be able to help them intelligently in their times of trouble; and in those localities their

members will become interested in the general work of the movement, and they will realize the advantage that even that work being successfully accomplished, means to them.

They will, in turn, inform their membership elsewhere that they come in contact with, and thus in the quickest possible time bring about that understanding which will result in their general affiliation.

While I feel quite sure that the Brick Layers of Illinois will understand and that it will not create any ill feeling on their part, did we advise them of this decision and comply with the law at this time, still I feel so strongly on the subject that I believe the better way would be to hold action on their application in abeyance until the San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor has acted on this matter. Our delegate should be instructed to introduce a resolution in that convention asking that Section 11 of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended so as to admit to membership in the central bodies, building trades councils or state federations of labor those organizations which, while not directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, we are desirous of having affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, when such affiliations are satisfactory to the organizations affected.

This in no manner is to be construed as meaning that any central body, building trades council or state federation would have the right to accept an application from any organization inimical to the American Federation of Labor, or that was under suspension or expulsion from that body, or that was dual to any other organization affiliated with it. In the meantime I would recommend that this convention seat them as fraternal delegates with every right and privilege on the floor of the convention that the regular delegates have except a vote. Also, while they are with us, that the delegates take advantage of the opportunity, not only to make clear our friendship and desire for their affiliation, but also to reason out the mutual advantages that such an affiliation would bring to us, so that in so far as it can be done, the understanding will be created that will bring us together as one organization at the earliest possible date.

COLORADO—THE LAWSON CASE.

Possibly there is nothing that has occurred in recent years that has so stirred the working people of our country, and every citizen who desires that civilization should continue in the ascendancy, and that democratic institutions should endure, as the action of the Standard Oil Corporation, through their subsidiaries—the state government, the law-making branches, the state courts, county officers, township, village and city officials in Colorado—during the state strike of the United Mine Workers in that state.

The disclosures have been so startling, their actions so inhuman and barbarous, the atrocities they have committed so fiendish, their disregard for all human rights, of the laws of our nation and of the state, of human misery and suffering, or even human life itself, so complete, and their open and wanton rebuffing and insulting of the President of our country, has so affronted the nation that it has almost stunned our people into a dazed condition.

However, the people in our country are rapidly recovering from the state in which the action of this octopus, through these subsidiary instrumentalities of theirs, placed them in.

They are beginning to realize that to allow this condition to obtain and continue means endangering the very basic and fundamental conditions upon which the progress of humanity rests. The indications are that in the near future they are going to act in such a manner as to protect themselves from the avariciousness, the rapacity and greed of inhuman people of this character, whether in corporate or individual form.

In none of the things that they have done does their action strike deeper or hold a greater menace to the liberties of American people than their attempt to condemn John R. Lawson to a living death for the alleged murder of John Nimmo, on the basis of charges that were conceived in perjury, countenanced by venal courts, and trumped up by prostituted public officials whose positions were bought for them by Standard Oil agents, seeking to put into effect that dictum of their former public hireling and present judicial tool, Judge Granby Hillier.

The mask has been drawn from their faces, however, and they have been compelled to admit that there is no evidence that would in any way connect Brother Lawson with that crime; that, in fact, he was miles away when Nimmo was killed.

This malevolent influence is so spreading its tentacles everywhere in our nation through the influence of money in the administration of justice that, if this precedent is allowed to stand in legal procedure, there is now no organization of the toilers whose existence is not jeopardized; likewise, there is no able, conscientious, trustworthy, honest, active official or member but whose life rests entirely in their hands.

I recommend that this convention take such action as will make clear in the most positive terms our abhorrence of this type of court, and of this particular court responsible for the great crime against our colleague and brother, John R. Lawson, and our great nation; that we demand of the President of the United States that he use the powers of his office in whatever manner is necessary to secure not only the reversal of this conviction and assure a fair trial in a just court for our fellow citizens, but that the REAL criminals be apprehended, and that they be forced to go into court, stand a fair trial and be made to pay the penalty for their crimes.

The courts of the land ought to have the respect and confidence of all the people. Their decrees and orders should be so just and so above suspicion that in themselves they would command that respect and confidence. Courts and judges must learn that human beings have rights even superior to property rights.

No authority can be found in any fundamental law of our country for the action of courts who, with tyrannical hand, build up or assist in building up property rights of illegal combinations of capital. The state is the people—not property. This government is a union of people—not of property.

We must say to venal judges when they seek to invade our rights: "Thus far, and no farther!"

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, I want to express my appreciation for the co-operation and assistance rendered me by the officers of the international, state and local unions, as well as the central bodies, and to the many active men in the different local unions in the labor movement in the different localities in the state; and particularly do I want to express my appreciation of the treatment accorded me by my colleagues and associates in our own state organization.

I believe that everyone associated with our movement in an official capacity or as an employe, from the highest official down to the workers in the office, have voluntarily rendered unselfishly the best service they were capable of in the interest of our movement in this state, and I want to express to the membership through you—their representatives—my sincere appreciation of the many kindly acts personally, as well as the assistance rendered, which made it possible for us to accomplish what we have. I trust that no matter who the officials may be in the future, that the same pleasant relationship between them and the rank and file may continue, and that our movement may continue to grow and expand, and its work of education continue un-

til every man and woman who works for a living in Illinois are embraced in its folds, and that they have grasped that understanding of the conditions we have to meet and overcome, as well as the purposes of the labor movement, that will enable us to get for all the best that our resources and our own capacity developed to its greatest can give in the way of opportunity to every human being to make out of themselves the highest and best that they can be, and to bring into their lives the fullest measure of the things that are essential, and that they are entitled to in the way of happiness.

ROLL CALL.

Forty-ninth General Assembly of the Illinois Legislature.

The following is the vote by districts, which we deem is a fair test to show the friendliness or unfriendliness of the Senators and Representatives of the Forty-ninth General Assembly, towards labor measures.

The vote on the bill to raise the salaries of Senators and Representatives is also shown, so that the vote on a measure to improve the conditions of the members of the Legislature may be compared with their vote on measures necessary for the welfare of the working people.

FIRST DISTRICT—Most of the First Ward, Part of the Second Ward, and Small Part of the Fourth Ward, in the City of Chicago.

Senator.

GEORGE F. HARDING, JR.—Absent or not voting on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.
Voted favorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
Voted favorable on the I. and R.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Representatives.

JOHN GRIFFIN—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

WM. M. BRINKMAN—Voted against H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

SHEADRICK B. TURNER—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

**SECOND DISTRICT—The Western Part of Eighteenth Ward and
Parts of Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth and Nineteenth
Wards in the City of Chicago.**

Senator.

FRANCIS A. HURLEY—Voted favorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary bill.
Absent or not voting I. & R.

Representatives.

GEO. U. LIPSHULCH—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent on account of serious illness in his family on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

FRANK RYAN—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

JOHN J. GARDNER—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

**THIRD DISTRICT—Parts of the First, Second, Third, Fourth and
Fifth Wards in the City of Chicago.**

Senator.

SAMUEL A. ETTTELSON—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.
Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
Voted favorable on I. & R.

Representatives.

JOHN P. WALSH—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 195 Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Salary Increasing.

EDW. M. SANTRY—Absent or not voting on H. B. 249, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

ROBERT R. JACKSON—Absent or not voting on H. B. 249, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

FOURTH DISTRICT—The Thirtieth Ward and Parts of the Third, Fifth and Twenty-ninth Wards and One Precinct of the Thirty-first Ward in the City of Chicago.

Senator.

AL F. GORMAN—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Voted favorable on H. B. 842, One Day Rest in Seven.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for I. & R.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

GEO. C. HILTON—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increase in Salary.

HERBERT KILENS—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

THOS. A. BOYER—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction.

Voted unfavorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

FIFTH DISTRICT—The Sixth and Parts of the Third and Seventh Wards in the City of Chicago.

Senator.

MORTON D. HULL—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted unfavorable on I. & R.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

MICHAEL L. IGOE—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

ISAAC S. ROTHSCHILD—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

JOHN H. HELWIG—Absent or not voting on H. B. 249, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

SIXTH DISTRICT—The Twenty-fourth Ward, Most of the Twenty-sixth Ward, and Parts of the Twenty-second, Twenty-third and Twenty-fifth Wards, in the City of Chicago, and the Towns of Evanston, Ridgeville and Parts of New Trier and Niles, All in the County of Cook.

Senator.

GEO. W. HARRIS—Absent or not voting on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for the I. & R.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

JOS. A. WEBER—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

ROBT. E. WILSON—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

WM. M. BROWN—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted unfavorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted unfavorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

SEVENTH DISTRICT—The Towns of Thornton, Bloom, Rich, Bremen, Orland, Lemont, Palos, Worth, Lyons, Proviso, Leyden, Elk Grove, Schaumberg, Hanover, Barrington, Palatine, Wheeling, Northfield, Norwood Park, Maine, Nearly all of the Towns of Stickney, New Trier and Niles, all in the County of Cook; also a Small Part of the Twenty-Seventh Ward (extreme northwest), in the City of Chicago.

Senator.

FREDERICK B. ROOS—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted against I. & R.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

J. J. O'ROURKE—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

LOUIS J. PIERSON—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

FREDERICK R. DE YOUNG—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

EIGHTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Boone, Lake and McHenry.

Senator.

ALBERT J. OLSON—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven.
Voted unfavorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted against the I. & R.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

THOS. E. GRAHAM—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted against H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

EDW. D. SHURTLEFF—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

JAS. H. VICKERS—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not noting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

NINTH DISTRICT—Most of the Twelfth Ward, and Parts of the Fourth, Fifth and Eleventh Wards, in the City of Chicago.

Senator.

PATRICK J. CARROLL—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.
 Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.
 Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
 Absent or not voting on the I. & R.
 Voted for B. H. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

ROBT. J. MULCAHY—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
 Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
JOS. PLACEK—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
 Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
 Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
DAVID E. SHANAHAN—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
 Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
 Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
 Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

TENTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Ogle and Winnebago.

Senator.

HENRY ANDRUS—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.
 Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
 Present, not voting on the I. & R.
 Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

H. S. HICKS—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
 Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
 Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
JOHN A. ATWOOD—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
 Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
 Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
 Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
E. A. FESTERLING—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
 Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
 Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
 Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

ELEVENTH DISTRICT—Most of the Thirty-first and Thirty-second
Wards and Parts of the Twenty-ninth, Seventh and Ninth
Wards, in the City of Chicago.

Senator.

PERCIVAL G. BALDWIN—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County
Uniformity of School Text-Books.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted against the I. & R.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

FRANK J. RYAN—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car
Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted against H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

HENRY F. SCHUBERTH—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-
five Car Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

JOHN H. LYLE—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car
Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing salary.
Lyle said he would vote to bring up 239 and 195, but would vote
against them passing.

TWELFTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Carroll, Jo Daviess and
Stephenson.

Senator.

MICHAEL H. CLEARY—Voted favorable on H. B. 697, County
Uniformity of School Text-Books.
Voted favorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Absent or not voting on the I. & R.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

CHAS. F. FRANZ—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five
Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

R. R. THOMPSON—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five
Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

JOHN D. TURNBAUGH—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT—The Eighth Ward, Most of the Ninth Ward and Part of the Seventh and Thirty-second Wards in the City of Chicago, and the Town of Calumet, all in the County of Cook.

Senator.

JOHN A. SWANSON—Voted against H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.
Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Absent or not voting on I. & R.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

JAS. W. RYAN—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

GATHARD A. DAHLBERG—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

C. A. YOUNG—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

FOURTEENTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Kane and Kendall.

Senator.

THOS. B. STEWART—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Absent or not voting on I. & R.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

FRANK R. DALTON—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

DE GOY B. ELLIS—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

HAROLD C. KESSINGER—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

**FIFTEENTH DISTRICT—Parts of Tenth, Eleventh and Twentieth
Wards in the City of Chicago.**

Senator.

JOHN J. BOEHN—Voted favorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted favorable on the I. & R. bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

JOS. O. HRUBY—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

PETER F. SMITH—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

THOS. CURRAN—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

**SIXTEENTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Livingston, Marshall,
Putnam and Woodford.**

Senator.

CHRISTIAN HASSE—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for I. & R. bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

MICHAEL FAHY—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

SIMON E. LANTZ—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted unfavorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

WM. H. BENTLY—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted unfavorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

SEVENTEENTH DISTRICT—Parts of the Tenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Wards in the City of Chicago.

Senator.

EDW. J. GLACKIN—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted favorable on the I. & R.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

JOHN S. BURNS—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

JOS. W. EPSTEIN—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

EDW. J. SMEJKAL—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

On account of being chairman of the Appropriation Committee, was unable to be present when many of the bills were voted upon.

EIGHTEENTH DISTRICT—The County of Peoria.

Senator.

JOHN DAILEY—Voted against H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted favorable on the I. & R. bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

THOS. N. GORMAN—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

ROBT. SCHOLÉS—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

JOHN F. LYNCH—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

NINETEENTH DISTRICT—The Thirty-fourth Ward, Most of the Thirteenth Ward, and Parts of the Twelfth, Fourteenth and Thirty-fifth Wards in the City of Chicago, the Towns of Riverside, Berwyn and Most of the Town of Cicero, all in the County of Cook.

Senator.

JOHN T. DENVIR—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Voted favorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted favorable on the I. & R.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

JAS. T. PRENDERGAST—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

JAS. C. MCGLOON—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

SOLOMON P. RODERICK—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

TWENTIETH DISTRICT—The Counties of Grundy, Iroquois and Kankakee.

Senator.

EDW. C. CURTIS—Absent or not voting on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Absent or not voting on the I. & R.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

On account of being chairman of the Appropriation Committee, was unable to be present when many of the bills were voted upon.

Representatives.

DANIEL O'CONNELL—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

RICHARD R. MEENTS—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

ISRAEL DUDGEON—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

TWENTY-FIRST DISTRICT—Most of the Fourteenth Ward and parts of the Seventeenth, Thirty-third and Thirty-fifth Wards in the City of Chicago.

Senator.

EDW. J. HUGHES—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Absent or not voting on the I. & R.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

BENJ. M. MITCHELL—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

FREDERICK J. BIPPUS—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

THOS. P. DEVEREUX—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

TWENTY-SECOND DISTRICT—The Counties of Edgar and Vermilion.

Senator.

MARTIN B. BAILEY—Voted favorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Absent or not voting on the I. & R.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

G. A. RAY—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 315, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

WM. T. HOLLADAY—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted to pass H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

ABRAHAM L. STANFIELD—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted against H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

TWENTY-THIRD DISTRICT—The Fifteenth Ward and parts of the Sixteenth, Thirty-third and Thirty-fifth Wards in the City of Chicago, and the Town of Oak Park, all in the County of Cook.

Senator.

HENRY W. AUSTIN—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Voted favorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against I. & R.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

GEO. R. BRUCE—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

WM. G. THON—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

C. M. MADSEN—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

**TWENTY-FOURTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Champaign,
Moultrie and Piatt.**

Senator.

RAYMOND D. MEEKER—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Voted favorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Absent or not voting on I. & R.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

FRANCIS E. WILLIAMSON—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

WM. F. BURREN—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

CHAS. A. GREGORY—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

**TWENTY-FIFTH DISTRICT—The Twenty-eighth Ward, nearly all
of the Twenty-seventh Ward, most of the Thirty-third
Ward, parts of the Thirty-fifth and Twenty-
sixth Wards in the City of Chicago.**

Senator.

DANIEL HERLIHY—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for the I. & R.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

JOHN G. JACOBSON—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

CHAS. L. FIELDSTACK—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

JOS. M. MASON—Voted favorably on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

TWENTY-SIXTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Ford and McLean.**Senator.**

NOAH ELMO FRANKLIN—Voted favorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Absent or not voting on the I. & R.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

DANIEL D. DONAHUE—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour Bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

WM. ROWE—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

JAS. C. HARVEY—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

TWENTY-SEVENTH DISTRICT—Parts of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Wards in the City of Chicago.**Senator.**

JOHN BRODERICK—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against the I. & R.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

JOS. A. G. TRANDEL—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

JAS. M. DONLAN—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

ALBERT ROSTENKOWSKI—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

TWENTY-EIGHTH DISTRICT—The Counties of DeWitt, Logan and Macon.

Senator.

WILLIS R. SHAW—Absent or not voting on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

CLIFFORD QUISENBERRY—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

EDW. E. PERKINS—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

R. C. BUXTON—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

TWENTY-NINTH DISTRICT—Parts of the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Wards in the City of Chicago.

Senator.

PATRICK J. SULLIVAN—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Absent or not voting for the I. & R.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

JAS. H. FARRELL—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

BERNARD J. CONLON—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

MEDILL McCORMICK—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

**THIRTIETH DISTRICT—The Counties of Brown, Cass, Mason,
Menard, Schuyler and Tazewell.**

Senator.

WALTER I. MANNY—Voted favorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for the I. & R.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

A. M. FOSTER—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

WM. M. GROVES—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

HOMER J. TICE—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

THIRTY-FIRST DISTRICT—Parts of the Twenty-first, Twenty-second, Twenty-third and Twenty-fifth Wards
in the City of Chicago.

Senator.

WILLET H. CORNWELL—Absent or not voting on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.
Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted against the I. & R.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

FRANK J. SEIF, JR.—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
HARRY F. HAMLIN—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
E. I. FRANKHOUSER—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

THIRTY-SECOND DISTRICT—The Counties of Hancock, McDonough and Warren.

Senator.

WM. A. COMPTON—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for the I. & R.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

JOHN HUSTON—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
ROBT. A. ELLIOT—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
JAS. M. PACE—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

THIRTY-THIRD DISTRICT—The Counties of Henderson, Mercer and Rock Island.**Senator.**

FRANK A. LANDEE—Absent or not voting on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.
Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Absent or not voting on I. & R.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

WM. C. MAUCKER—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
THOS. CAMPBELL—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 196, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
WM. J. GRAHAM—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 196, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorably on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

THIRTY-FOURTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Clark, Coles and Douglas.**Senator.**

JOHN R. HAMILTON—Absent or not voting on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.
Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Absent or not voting on I. & R.
Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

C. A. PURDUNN—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
HARRY W. DRAKE—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted unfavorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
E. WALTER GREEN—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted unfavorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

THIRTY-FIFTH DISTRICT—The Counties of DeKalb, Lee and Whiteside.

Senator.

ADAM C. CLIFFE—Voted favorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted unfavorable on I. & R.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

JOHN P. DEVINE—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

WM. L. LEECH—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

F. A. BREWER—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

THIRTY-SIXTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Adams, Calhoun, Pike and Scott.

Senator.

CHAS. R. McNAY—Voted favorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted favorable on the I. & R.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

WM. H. HOFFMAN—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Present, not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

EDWIN THOMAS STRUBINGER—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

GEO. H. WILSON—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

THIRTY-SEVENTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Bureau, Henry and Stark.**Senator.**

CLAYTON C. PERVIER—Voted favorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted unfavorable on the I. & R.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

FRANK W. MORRASY—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

RANDOLPH BOYD—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

JOHN ROBT. MOORE—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 196, Anti-Injunction bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

THIRTY-EIGHTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Greene, Jersey, Macoupin and Montgomery.**Senator.**

STEPHEN D. CANADY—Voted favorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Voted favorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted favorable on the I. & R.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

WM. A. HUBBARD—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

H. A. SHEPHARD—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

OTTO C. SONNEMAN—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

THIRTY-NINTH DISTRICT—The County of LaSalle.**Senator.**

PETER E. COLEMAN—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted favorable on the I. & R.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

LEE O'NEIL BROWNE—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

OLE E. BENSON—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

WM. M. SCANLON—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

FORTIETH DISTRICT—Counties of Christian, Cumberland, Fayette and Shelby.**Senator.**

F. JEFF TOSSEY—Voted favorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.
Voted favorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted favorable on the I. & R.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

ARTHUR ROE—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

JOHN C. RICHARDSON—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

WALTER M. PROVINCE—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

FORTY-FIRST DISTRICT—The Counties of DuPage and Will.**Senator.**

RICHARD J. BARR—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted favorable on the I. & R.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

MICHAEL F. HENNEBRY—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

WM. R. McCABE—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

SQUIRE F. TOMPKINS—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

FORTY-SECOND DISTRICT—The Counties of Clay, Clinton, Effingham and Marion.**Senator.**

F. C. CAMPBELL—Voted favorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Voted favorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted favorable on the I. & R.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

WALTER E. RINEHART—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

JOHN W. THOMASON—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

CHAS. W. VURSELL—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

FORTY-THIRD DISTRICT—The Counties of Fulton and Knox.**Senator.**

- W. C. JEWELL—Absent or not voting on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.
 Absent or not voting on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
 Voted favorable on the I. & R.
 Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

- WM. H. BASIL—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
 Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
 Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
 Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
 Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
- OWEN B. WEST—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
 Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
- JAS. E. DAVIS—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour Bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
 Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

FORTY-FOURTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Jackson, Monroe, Perry, Randolph and Washington.**Senator.**

- KENT E. KELLER—Voted favorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
 Voted favorable on the I. & R.
 Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

- WM. T. MORRIS—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
 Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
- HARRY WILSON—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
 Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.
- HAWKINS O. MURPHY—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
 Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
 Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
 Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

**FORTY-FIFTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Morgan and Sangamon.
Senator.**

ELBERT S. SMITH—Voted favorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.
Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Absent or not voting on the I. & R.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

EDW. L. MERRITT—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

WM. J. BUTLER—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

THOS. E. LYON—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

**FORTY-SIXTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Jasper, Jefferson,
Richland and Wayne.**

Senator.

W. DUFF PIERCY—Voted favorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.
Voted favorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted favorable on the I. & R.
Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

JOHN KASSERMAN—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

JOHN J. COOPER—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

CHAS. L. WOOD—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

FORTY-SEVENTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Bond and Madison.**Senator.**

J. G. BARDILL—Absent or not voting on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Absent or not voting on the I. & R.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

FERDINAND A. GARESCHE—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

NORMAN G. FLAGG—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

CHRIS RETHMEIR—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

FORTY-EIGHTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Crawford, Edwards, Gallatin, Hardin, Lawrence, Wabash and White.**Senator.**

J. A. WOMACK—Absent or not voting on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Absent or not voting on the I. & R.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

CARL GREEN—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

RICHARD F. TAYLOR—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

JAS. A. WATSON—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

FORTY-NINTH DISTRICT—The County of St. Clair.**Senator.**

PAUL W. ABT—Voted unfavorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.
Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted unfavorable on the I. & R.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

JOHN T. DESMOND—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

STEPHEN T. LE PAGE—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

JAS. W. RENTCHLER—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 194, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

FIFTIETH DISTRICT—The Counties of Alexander, Franklin, Pulaski, Union and Williamson.**Senator.**

D. T. WOODWARD—Voted favorable on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.
Voted favorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted unfavorable on the I. & R.
Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

JAS. H. FELTS—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

CHAS. CURREN—Absent or not voting on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted against H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

C. A. STEWART—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.
Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.
Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.
Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

**FIFTY-FIRST DISTRICT—The Counties of Hamilton, Johnson,
Massac, Pope and Saline.**

Senator.

SAM W. LATHAM—Absent or not voting on H. B. 697, County Uniformity of School Text-Books.

Voted unfavorable on H. B. 832, One Day Rest in Seven bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Absent or not voting on the I. & R.

Voted for H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

Representatives.

W. C. KANE—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

ELWOOD BARKER—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Absent or not voting on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

ORAL P. TUTTLE—Voted favorable on H. B. 239, Seventy-five Car Limit bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 195, Anti-Injunction bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 207, Woman's Nine Hour bill.

Voted favorable on H. B. 314, Co-operative bill.

Voted against H. B. 386, Increasing Salary.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

Alton, Illinois, October 18, 1915.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-Third Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

Greeting:

I have the honor to submit a report to you of the receipts and expenditures of the twelve months beginning October 1, 1914, and ending September 30th, 1915. On November 1, 1914, I began my duties as secretary-treasurer. The retiring secretary, Brother J. F. Morris, turned over to my care on that date the balance on hand in the treasury, amounting to \$3,136.71, after his books had been examined by the auditors. Following is the statement of the auditors showing the total receipts and expenditures during the month of October, 1914, while Brother Morris had charge:

Balance in treasury, September 30, 1914.....	\$3,326.37
Receipts for October, 1914.....	2,277.53

Total	\$5,603.90
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Disbursements, October, 1914.....	\$2,467.19
Balance in treasury, October 31.....	3,136.71

Total	\$5,603.90
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In the financial report for the year I have included the transactions for the month of October, 1914, so that you will have before you a complete account for the entire twelve months ending September 30, 1915, as follows:

RECEIPTS.

Balance in treasury, October 1, 1914.....	\$ 3,326.37
Per capita tax and fees.....	\$16,259.99
Co-operative constitution, Sale of.....	5.00
Refund from Post Office on Weekly News Letter deposit.....	34.19
Legislative Reports, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.....	11.36
	<hr/>
Total	\$19,636.91

DISBURSEMENTS.

Peoria Convention, including printing proceedings and reports, attendance expense, etc.....	\$ 2,672.43
Special Convention	494.72
Office supplies and miscellaneous.....	362.94
Rent	300.00
Office stenographers and clerical expense.....	1,472.00
Telegraphing and expressage.....	152.97
Postage	799.87
Printing, exclusive of Convention and News Letter.....	1,332.58
Weekly News Letter, printing and mailing.....	520.50
President, salary	2,148.00
President, expense, railroad fare, hotel, etc.....	1,482.60
1st Vice President, per diem and expense, exclusive of Convention	553.10
Executive Board members, organizers' fees, committees, etc., exclusive of Convention.....	321.00
Secretary-Treasurer, salary	1,925.00
Secretary-Treasurer, travelling expense	403.90
Donations	610.00
Attorney fees	593.00
Delegate, A. F. of L. Convention.....	216.37
Joint Labor Legislative Board, dues.....	10.00
Engrossing and framing resolution presented to J. F. Morris	100.00
Bond for Secretary-Treasurer.....	25.00
Per capita tax, American Federation of Labor.....	10.00
Post Office deposit on Weekly News Letter.....	35.00
	<hr/>
Total expenditures	\$16,540.99
President's office, on hand for expense.....	100.00
Balance in treasury, September 30, 1915.....	2,995.92
	<hr/>
Total	\$19,636.91

RECAPITULATION.

Balance in treasury October 1, 1914.....	\$ 3,326.37
Total receipts	16,310.54
	<hr/>
Total	\$19,636.91
Total disbursements	\$16,540.99
President's office on hand for expenses.....	100.00
Balance in treasury September 30, 1915.....	2,995.92
	<hr/>
Total	\$19,636.91

The usual statement of all items of receipts and expenditure has also been prepared and is submitted as an appendix to this report. It is recommended that hereafter reports of such items be printed in the Weekly News Letter, or in circular letter form, and sent to affiliated organizations at regular intervals during the year instead of being presented at the annual convention.

During the period of eleven months beginning November 1, 1914, and ending September 30, 1915, in addition to the regular correspondence of the office which has been steadily increasing, a total of 41 circular letters were sent out, some of these going to every local union and central body in the state, some to affiliated organizations only, and others to particular districts or groups of organizations. From the latter part of December, 1914, until about the middle of April, this year, a mimeograph news letter was issued, which at first was sent only to the labor press of the state, but the demand for it grew from week to week until about 150 copies of from two up to six mimeograph pages each were being mailed weekly.

This was followed by the publication in printed form of the Illinois State Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter, beginning on April 24, 1915. Later it was entered as second class mail in the postoffice, thus materially reducing the postage cost, and it has since been issued regularly each week, the duty of editing and publishing the paper being taken care of by the secretary-treasurer's office.

A total of 93 local unions and central bodies have been added to the membership of the federation since the last convention, the following having become affiliated during that period:

Alton	Musicians, No. 282.
"	Theatrical Stage Employees, No. 268.
"	Barbers, No. 81.
"	Plumbers & Steam Fitters, No. 163.
"	Sheet Metal Workers, No. 169.
Aurora	Carpenters & Joiners, No. 916.
Batavia	Painters & Decorators, No. 105.
Belleville	Machinists, No. 353.
"	Metal Polishers & Buffers, No. 138.
"	Electrical Workers, No. 50.
Centralia	Trades & Labor Assembly.
Champaign-Urbana ..	Painters & Decorators, No. 363.
"	Plumbers & Steam Fitters, No. 149.
Chicago	Journeymen Stone Cutters.
"	Switchmen, No. 79.
"	Moving Picture Machine Operators, No. 2.
"	Theatrical Protective, No. 2.
"	Meat Cutters, No. 546.
"	Asphalt Pavers & Helpers, No. 25.
"	Machinists, No. 229.
"	Musicians, No. 208.
"	Teamsters, No. 721.
"	Wall Paper Printers, No. 8.

Chicago	Meat, Food & Sanitary Science Inspectors, No. 12,912.
"	Commercial Portrait Artists, No. 14,286.
"	Federation of Musicians, No. 10.
"	Marine Cooks & Stewards.
"	Truck Drivers, No. 705.
"	Carriage, Wagon & Auto Workers, No. 174.
"	Railroad Telegraphers, System Division No. 126.
"	Engineers, No. 390.
"	Meat Cutters, No. 554.
"	Switchmen, No. 83.
"	Painters & Decorators, No. 275.
"	Cooks & Pastry Cooks, No. 865.
"	Journeyman Tailors, No. 5.
"	Bakery Drivers, No. 734.
"	Bill Posters & Billers, No. 1.
"	Switchmen, No. 117.
Danville	Railway Carmen, No. 444.
"	Blacksmiths & Helpers, No. 113.
"	Railway Carmen, No. 561.
Decatur	Machinists, No. 833.
E. St. Louis	Bakery & Confectionery Workers, No. 5.
"	Moving Picture Machine Operators, No. 288.
"	Sheet Metal Workers, No. 267.
Elgin	Hospital Nurses & Attendants, No. 14,715.
Galesburg	Teamsters, No. 203.
Gillespie	Trades & Labor Assembly.
Granite City	Iron, Steel & Tin Workers, No. 26.
"	Iron, Steel & Tin Workers, No. 11.
"	Machinists, No. 572.
Herrin	Bakery & Confectionery Workers, No. 199.
"	Teamsters, No. 268.
"	Hotel & Restaurant Employees, No. 839.
Jacksonville	Hospital Nurses & Attendants, No. 14,742.
"	Painters & Decorators, No. 525.
Joliet	Plumbers & Steamfitters, No. 422.
"	Carpenters & Joiners, No. 275.
"	Sheet Metal Workers, No. 50.
"	Building Trades Council.
"	Musicians, No. 37.
"	Cigar Makers, No. 174.
"	Molders, No. 221.
"	Journeyman Tailors, No. 115.
"	Hod Carriers & Laborers, No. 75.
"	Bartenders, No. 714.
"	Federal Labor, No. 14,785.
"	Typographical, No. 194.
Kankakee	Stationary Firemen, No. 324.
LaSalle	Switchmen, No. 173.
Lincoln	Cigar Makers, No. 154.
"	Nurses & Attendants, No. 14,779.
Moline	Boilermakers & Helpers, No. 377.
Mt. Carmel	Machinists, No. 237.
Mt. Vernon	Trades & Labor Council.
Oglesby	Trades & Labor Council.
Pekin	Trades & Labor Assembly.
"	Painters & Decorators, No. 385.
Peoria	Painters & Decorators, No. 157.
"	Moving Picture Operators, No. 75.
"	Meat Cutters, No. 543.
Quincy	Teamsters, No. 188.
Rock Island	Central Illinois Molders Conference Board.

Sesser	Trades Council.
Springfield	Bridge & Structural Iron Workers, No. 46.
Streator	Machinists, No. 650.
Sycamore	Cigarmakers, No. 394.
W. Frankfort	Federal Labor Union, No. 14,628.
Westville	Bartenders.
"	Teamsters, No. 350.
"	Central Labor Union.
Zion City	Lace Operatives, Branch 18.

The long delay in issuing the printed proceedings of the Peoria Convention is a matter that requires explanation. Among the unpaid bills on file when I took up the duty of the office on November 1, 1914, was one from the Bush Printing Company, of Peoria, for the printing of the daily proceedings of the convention. In view of the fact that the same firm was to complete the entire job, the amount of the bill seemed unduly large to be presented at a time when the work was not finished. However, I sent a check for \$500.00, covering the greater part of the amount, and later went to Peoria, called at the office of the company and asked what the concern intended to charge for the entire job. The price named was so high that I refused to permit the work to go on until some reasonable figure was submitted.

The following copies of letters on the subject will serve to throw some light on what was taking place:

ILLINOIS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Springfield, Ill., November 10th, 1914.

Mr. Walter S. Bush,
Peoria Labor Gazette,
Peoria, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother:

In connection with the bill due you for printing proceedings of the convention, I enclose check for \$500.00 on account. Kindly forward receipt for same. The total bill will come so much higher than either Mr. Walker or Mr. Morris seem to anticipate, that I must refer to it again. I find that last year the bill of the Review Printing and Stationery Co., of Decatur, Illinois, who printed the 1913 proceedings was as follows:

Daily minutes, total for five days,—66 pages	\$247.16
1,500 224 pages and cover report—\$2.00 per page.....	448.00

Total	\$695.16
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Please note that the \$2.00 per page for 1,500 bound copies in the above bill included the setting up of 158 pages of new type.

This year nearly every page to go into the book is already set up. The first figure you gave me on the cost of the book, in which no setting up of new type was involved, was \$2.00 per page, exactly the same as the cost of the book last year, which included setting up of 158 pages of type. The reduction to \$1.75 per page which you agreed to during our talk yesterday is not sufficiently low to compare favorably with the bill of last year. I cannot understand why there should be such a great difference. Can you tell me?

I have not the slightest desire to force the price below a reasonable amount, but some explanation will be required of me, because, while I have nothing to do with the arrangement for this work in the least, the payment of bills will be under my administration of this office. You might quote me on 1,500 bound books instead of 2,500.

With best wishes, I remain,

Faternally yours,

V. A. OLANDER,
Secretary-Treasurer.

ILLINOIS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Chicago, Ill., November 19, 1914.

Mr. Walter S. Bush,
Peoria Labor Gazette,
Peoria, Illinois.

Dear Sir and Brother:—

I would appreciate a reply to my letter of November 10th and a receipt for the amount of the check (\$500.00) I enclosed therewith. It seems necessary, also, that there should be some explanation forthcoming regarding the cost of completing the work before anything further is done.

All information I can get on the subject indicates that the price you have set is excessive and I must ask you again for some explanation as to why there should be such a great difference between the cost of printing the 1913 proceedings and the price you ask for the 1914 proceedings.

I shall be glad to hear from you on this subject at your earliest convenience, so that, if possible, arrangements may be made to complete the work.

Faternally yours,

V. A. OLANDER,
Secretary-Treasurer.

BUSH PRINTING CO.

Peoria, Illinois, Nov. 21, 1914.

Victor A. Olander,
Secretary State Federation of Labor,
164 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother:—

In reply to your inquiry will state: You will notice that your bill of last year was: 66 pages, \$247.16, or about \$3.75 a page.

This year we printed 119 pages while the convention was in session—night work and overtime—for \$297.50, or more strictly speaking \$148.75 less than you would have paid for the same work last year. In addition to this we rushed out the balance of the work (overtime) and also printed the required number of "daily" proceedings. Take it all around we think our charges are very reasonable.

We made you a price of \$1.75 per page on 2,500 copies. We will print you 1,500 copies at \$1.50 per page.

We are desirous of getting this job corrected up and out of the road, so will be glad to hear from you with the balance of the corrected proofs.

Faternally,

WALTER S. BUSH.

SECRETARY-TREASURER'S REPORT
ILLINOIS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Chicago, Ill., November 24, 1914.

Mr. Walter S. Bush,
Bush Printing Company,
225 N. Adams St., Peoria, Ill.,

Dear Sir and Brother:—

I have your favor of November 21st, and ask you to pardon me for calling your attention to the fact that you have again failed to acknowledge receipt of the check for \$500.00 which I sent to you on November 10th. Please send me a receipt for that amount.

Your letter offers no explanation regarding your prices on printing that I can understand. It is true that the cost per page of the daily minutes last year was greater than your price, but the job was much smaller and every bit of it was night work. What appears strange to me, however, is the great difference in the cost of the bound book, which last year included the setting up of 158 pages of new type and this year includes practically no setting up. The total cost for a 224 page book including daily minutes was about \$3.05 per page. The figure you give puts the total cost of this year's book at about \$1.00 more for every page, although it seems that Mr. Walker was advised that the printing of the entire daily proceedings would make the total cost less instead of greater.

I feel that I cannot go ahead with this matter until I have advised with other officers of the Federation and I shall consult with Mr. Walker immediately regarding the price you place on the work and will then inform you of our decision in the matter.

Fraternally yours,
V. A. OLANDER,
Secretary-Treasurer.

BUSH PRINTING CO.

Peoria, Illinois, Nov. 25, 1914.

Dear Sir and Brother:—

Your favor of yesterday came duly to hand. Now, Brother Olander, we have no desire to hold you up on the printing bill, but practically all of the work was night work *this year* as you know. We believe that we are giving you a fair price for the work you desire.

What do you consider a fair price for the finished proceedings? We want to make things satisfactory to you and at the same time have no desire to lose money on the completed job.

With best wishes, I am,

Fraternally,
BUSH PRINTING CO.,
Per W. S. B.

ILLINOIS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Chicago, Ill., December 9, 1914.

Bush Printing Company,
225 North Adams Street,
Peoria, Illinois.

Dear Sir:—

Replying to your letter of November 25th, asking me what I consider a fair price for the finished proceedings I can advise you that I have obtained bids from Chicago printers, offering to reprint the entire proceedings for very little more than you are asking for just the book. Your bill

already submitted for the daily proceedings alone totals \$687.50. The bids here on that work run about \$390.00. On the finished proceedings, with the type already set up, as in your case, \$190 to \$200 is the price asked here for 1,500 copies and a little over \$250 for 2,500 copies.

I imagine that the Peoria printing prices are no higher than those which prevail in Chicago. The fact of the matter is that the Chicago prices are usually higher than those in the smaller cities. I think that you should place a fair, honest price on your work and submit that to us and that you ought not expect me to set that price. The figures you have given thus far are entirely out of reason and since I am anxious to proceed with this work and would prefer to have you complete it, I ask you to name a definite price for which you will complete the entire job.

Yours very truly,
V. A. OLANDER,
Secretary-Treasurer.

BUSH PRINTING CO.

Peoria, Illinois, Dec. 12, 1914.

Dear Sir and Brother:—

Your favor of the 9th to hand. We will print you 1,500 copies of the finished proceedings for the sum of \$300.00. We think that this will be a fair price.

You will please let us know immediately whether you desire us to do the work so that we may know whether to kill the metal or not as it is very much in the road.

Trusting to hear from you at once, I am

Fraternally,
BUSH PRINTING CO.,
W. S. B.

ILLINOIS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Chicago, Ill., December 17, 1914.

Bush Printing Company,
225 North Adams Street,
Peoria, Illinois.

I have your favor of December 12th stating that you will furnish us with 1,500 copies of the finished convention proceedings for \$300. With that understanding I am trusting to proceed, providing, however, that there is no additional charge.

I shall, therefore, appreciate a signed letter from you to that effect.

Very truly yours,
V. A. OLANDER,
Secretary-Treasurer.

BUSH PRINTING CO.

Peoria, Illinois, Dec. 19, 1914.

Victor A. Olander,
Secretary State Federation of Labor,

Dear Sir and Brother:—

We will print 1,500 copies of the corrected proceedings of the State Federation of Labor session in Peoria for \$300.00. The same to be printed on union water mark paper. This price includes all corrections, but not new matter.

Respectfully,
BUSH PRINTING CO.,
Per W. S. B.

P. S.—We would like to have the balance of the corrections as soon as possible so that the job may be printed and gotten out of the way.

Another exasperating delay followed. Finally, on April 5th, a copy of the uncovered book was sent to me for indexing, which had been decided upon for the reason that a book of that size is of little value without an index. No page proofs were furnished although the firm had agreed to supply such proofs. Mechanical faults appear in the printing of that part containing the president's report which are so glaring as to appear intentional. However, as soon as I could get the time to do so (this caused some further delay because the legislative work required constant attention at that time) I compiled the index and later the work was finished. Before delivery attempts were made by the Bush Company through a bank in Chicago to collect, first on the old bill, second on the final price, and it was only after this failed that the proceedings were finally delivered. The additional amount agreed upon was then paid, but the printing concern wanted \$189.54 more which I have not paid. I regret that this difficulty has occurred, but prefer to accept whatever criticism may result from it rather than to have made what I believe would have been improper use of the funds intrusted to my care.

In conclusion I beg leave to express my deep appreciation and gratitude for the hearty co-operation and assistance rendered to me by the President and other officers of the Federation, the officers of the Chicago Federation with whom I occupy office space, the various other city central bodies, many local unions and a great number of willing workers in the movement through the state.

Fraternally submitted,

V. A. OLANDER,
Secretary-Treasurer.

SECOND DAY—Morning Session

Alton, Ill., Oct. 19, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, October 19th, President John H. Walker in the chair.

President Walker: We have with us this morning one of the congressmen who has, during his term in office, stood with the workers in everything in which they are interested. He has voluntarily taken an active part in every measure we were making an effort to have enacted, and in trying to defeat every measure we believe inimical to our interests that we were seeking to defeat. Not alone has he given his services while acting as a member of the House

of Representatives, but while not engaged in those duties he has given his services to help create a better understanding of the purposes of trades unionism and bring about a more friendly sentiment toward it generally, and in that way contribute to the general up-building of the movement and of progress in every avenue through which we are seeking to make progress. I take pleasure in introducing to you Congressman Claude Tavenner, of the Rock Island district.

Congressman Tavenner: Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the Illinois State Federation of Labor—I want to say first of all I consider it a great honor to have this opportunity to speak to the

representatives of the working people of this great state. Organized labor was largely instrumental in bringing about my election to Congress, and in return for that I have always felt it was up to me to do something for organized labor. I believe that when I do serve organized labor I am serving the cause of men, women and children, and certainly there is no cause more noble, more righteous on earth than the cause of men, women and children. If there is, I don't know what it is.

I consider there is no way in which I can serve labor and all humanity better than to do what I can in Congress in the interests of peace, which is not in the interest of any one nationality but in the interest of all nationalities. Although I am one of the youngest members of Congress, there is one thing in which I do not yield to any other member, and that is in my desire to see my country at peace with every other country.

I have done what I could to prevent armed intervention in Mexico. There has been a great cry for armed intervention, and it has come largely from rich Americans who own large tracts of grazing lands and large mines in Mexico. They want our soldiers to act as policemen down there to protect their property and see that their dividends are safeguarded. Of course, they do not say that; they say we should have gone in there to help establish a government. The fact is that not a single faction of the Mexican people have asked us to come in there, and they have all asked us not to intervene. Now, I am unwilling to act as private policeman to save the property of these people, and I am unwilling to send any of my countrymen to take such an unattractive job.

I confess I have very little sympathy with those Americans who cross the ocean and take passage on ships under foreign flags and loaded down with ammunition. On the same afternoons that ships flying foreign flags leave New York are ships leaving that fly the American flag. I think people who go to Europe at this time ought to go to the inconvenience, if it is an inconvenience, of sailing under the American flag. If the American flag is not good enough for them, they are hardly fair in insisting that we ought to be willing

to plunge into war on their account. The American flag is good enough for me to ride under, and it ought to be for them.

As a result of the terrible slaughter now going on in Europe, we have had an opportunity to see what war means. In Europe there are 21,000,000 men under arms. Already 2,000,000 men have been killed and 5,000,000 men wounded. So much for the cost of human life and so much for the suffering of war. That war, up to date, including the value of the property destroyed, according to both British and French authorities, has cost forty-six billion dollars. That is four times all the coin in the world. If this sum were measured out in twenty-dollar gold pieces, placed side by side on a railroad track on both rails, it would line with gold every track between San Francisco and New York, including the Canadian lines, and there would be still enough to line the Siberian railroad from Vladivostok to St. Petersburg, to rehabilitate Belgium and buy Turkey at her own estimation and wipe her entirely from the map.

This means staggering profits to a very small group of men, but a very powerful and resourceful group of men. I have here the weekly stock market letter of a prominent stock broker's firm, Wall street, New York, and I want to quote a few of the headlines to show you how profitable war is to a certain group of men: "Winchester Arms up 1,000 points." That means that a share of Winchester Arms stock is worth \$1,000 a share more than when the war opened. "Colts Arms up 100 points." "Canadian Explosives up 50 points." "Dupont declares stock dividend of 200 per cent."

Take the Bethlehem Steel concern, one of the concerns that had a monopoly in the sale of steel to the government. When the war began, if you had thirty dollars invested in Bethlehem Steel stock, your profit would be \$450 now. Do you know how much profit it will be to J. P. Morgan and other Wall street magnates who own thousands and millions of shares of this stock? War is altogether too stupendously profitable to these men to be healthy for the rest of us. It is not in the interests of these men to bring the war to a close, but it is to their interests that it be not brought to a speedy

close. It is not to their interests that the United States of America does not become involved in this war, but it would be to their interest if the United States were to become involved.

One of these stock brokers states in offering this stock that if the United States should become involved in war this stock would increase twice over what it is now, and for a time they held out the hope that maybe this country would become involved in war. You can see it is largely to the interests of this powerful group in the United States to get our country into war.

Now, what I have been trying to do, and what Mr. Buchanan has long been trying to do—and he takes the lead in Washington whenever the interest of labor is concerned—is to take the profit out of war so that it will be no more attractive to Mr. Morgan and the Rockefellers than it is to the rest of us, and that is by the government manufacturing its own munitions. It will mean a saving of millions of dollars to the government.

My position in this whole proposition is this: I am opposed to any increases in the army and navy appropriations, but I am not going to have my way, Congress is going to make greatly increased appropriations. The only thing we can win on, and it will be a great fight to win, is this: We want to provide in these appropriations that if we must spend this money to take private profits and private graft out of it. If these men cannot make vast fortunes out of this profit, they will not spend so much money to bring about increased armament. About all we can do in the interest of the masses in opposition to militarism is to get a provision in the Appropriations Act to take all the private profit out of it.

Then we want to have the Income Law amended so that whatever extra we spend for armament we will pay for by an increased tax on incomes over five and ten thousand dollars a year. These rich people get around banquet boards and tell how they love the American people and how patriotic they are. If they are patriotic they should be willing to pay the increased appropriations. If it adds to their burdens how much more difficult will it be for the working men and women to pay it?

We hear a great many suggestions for doing away with war. Of course, I do not know any more than you do as to the relative merits of these things if they were put in practice; but the thing that I believe will do most to do away with war is to allow the people themselves to vote on war. I believe if the Constitution of the United States were being framed today, the people would demand the right to themselves vote whether we should go into an aggressive war or not. It is the common people who have to pay for the war in the form of an increased cost of living; they have to give up their lives; that must be so, because ninety-nine out of every hundred of our population are known as the common people—I will say ninety-eight out of every hundred—therefore, they have to do the fighting and pay the bill.

I would be in favor of allowing the people—I mean women also, because I consider women as people and also believe the women have more sense on this war question than the men do—to settle the question of whether there should be war or not. If I had my way I would allow the men and women of this country to vote on the proposition of war and have it arranged so that all who desire war in voting for it would leave their names and addresses and telephone numbers, and if they are in favor of it we will call on them first.

I am against militarism. I believe the history of the world shows that the civilian soldier who will only enlist when the stake the country is fighting for appeals to him will make a much more invincible soldier than the professional soldier who fights for pay, and who will fight for any cause, good or bad.

I want to call your attention to the fact that the money we have appropriated for the army and navy has been wasted like water, and if the same policy of spending this money that has been followed in the past is followed in the future, no matter how many millions of the American taxpayers' money we appropriate, it will continue to go into the pockets of Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Morgan, and we will be no better in the way of preparedness than we are now.

The Navy League, which is little more than an auxiliary of the war trust, is

advocating about \$500,000,000 for the army and navy. We are now spending \$140,000,000. These people are not fair in dealing with the public at all. To read the newspaper articles about our unpreparedness you would think we had not been spending much money on the army and navy. The fact is this government is spending a larger percentage of its revenue for war and on account of war than any country in the world in times of peace. I want to give you the figures on that.

In 1890 our navy was costing us \$20,000,000 a year. Ten years later we had more than doubled it—we were spending \$48,000,000 a year, and in 1914 it had jumped to \$140,000,000. The point I wish to make is this: That just in proportion as we have increased the military expenses of the country, the cost of living in the United States has gone up, and as we continue to increase these appropriations for militarism, the cost of living will go up.

In 1890 the per capita appropriation for all purposes of Congress was \$6.15. In 1900, when we had increased our expenditures for the navy to \$48,000,000, it went up to \$11.00. In the last ten years we have appropriated for the army and navy \$2,000,000,000, enough to dig the Panama Canal, pay off the public debt and pay the expenses of every free school and university in America for a year.

Where did this money come from? It was raised by taxing the things the people wear, eat and use. The average man thinks some part of the taxes he pays goes to maintain the Federal government. Not a single penny of the money you pay at home goes toward running the government. The money for the National government comes through the internal revenue office and the custom houses. So it is obvious that the more money we spent on the army and navy the more money must be raised, and they raise it by taxing the things people wear, eat and use. This means that the burden of raising the revenue is not put upon the rich man, who eats very little more than the poor man, but the poor people pay the cost of militarism.

The various powers of the world aim to increase their respective armies and navies in about the same proportion. If we increase our navy it is a reason for

the other countries to do the same. The only limit they see to those enormous dividends and profits I have pointed out is the ability of the people to pay. If the government does its own manufacturing it will save millions and millions of dollars. I want to point out some of the economy that has resulted from the small amount of work given the government arsenals and navy yards.

The government bought 217,000 tons of armor plate, paying an average of \$440 a ton. There have been ten official estimates as to the cost of manufacturing armor plate in the government plants, and it is \$238 a ton. We have been paying just \$202 a ton more than we could have manufactured this armor plate for ourselves. That is not only true of armor plate but of almost everything we have been manufacturing. Anyone who wants an argument against government manufacture had better not look to the arsenals and navy yards.

The government has manufactured at the Rock Island plant caissons for gun carriages at a cost of \$11.28, for which private manufacturers have been paid \$17.44, 54 per cent above the arsenal cost. If you were going to buy millions of dollars worth of things for yourselves would you pay 54 per cent more than it cost to manufacture them yourselves? Of course not, and the army officers would not if they were spending their own money. While army officers are very economical, so far as installing the Taylor system and putting stop watches on the men to prevent them from blowing their noses, when it comes to buying munitions from the war trust they are not saving, they are paying 54 per cent more for millions of dollars of supplies than they could manufacture them for in the government arsenals and navy yards.

The government owns its own power plant at Rock Island. The government is developing the power at a cost of 3.6 per kilowatt per hour. A privately-owned plant at Keokuk, using the same water and the same river, less than 100 miles away, is selling this power to consumers from ten to fourteen cents per kilowatt per hour. You can see how much cheaper it is for the government to be in the water business than it is for the private concerns. If I had my way the Keokuk power plant would not

have been given to a private concern, the government would have built it. See what a wonderful thing it would have meant for that community if power could have been sold at one cent a kilowatt per hour. Great factories could have been put up that would have given employment to thousands of men. As it is, the building of that plant has meant very little for that community, because the power company is sending the bulk of the power to St. Louis and selling to railroads and other corporations for a very little more than it would cost to develop power by steam.

The illustrations I give you are not picked out here and there to make a point, but they are general. We saved just \$1,000,000 on a \$2,000,000 contract, and we are appropriating \$240,000,000 for the army and navy every year, the bulk of it going to private concerns. Three concerns in this country which have had a monopoly with the government have drawn down \$17,000,000 worth of contracts, and we have paid them 20 to 60 per cent more than the supplies would have cost if they had been manufactured in a government plant.

Of these army officers who have been spending this money, not one has been elected by the people or ever has to go before the people and answer for their acts. They stay at the head of the army and navy departments no matter what political party comes into power. Administrations come and go, but the army machine goes on building up forever. We all know what happens to a political organization when it is in power too long, how it gets careless of the people's rights; but occasionally a political machine is taken out of power, because every once in a while there is an overthrow of that political party and a new set gets in; but this machine goes on forever, with \$240,000,000 of the people's money to spend every year. And if the officers who are at the present time at the head of the army of this country are typical of militarism, then I pray to God there will be no extension of militarism in this country. I cannot tell you how difficult it was to obtain the figures I have presented. Although I was elected to represent a district of 218,000 people, the War Department has refused to give me any further information, because they do not like the way I use it

in showing the people how our money appropriated for preparedness has been wasted.

Now, the Navy League, as I started out to say, is advocating an appropriation of \$500,000,000 a year for the army and navy, and the Navy League is against the government doing the work. They say of me, because I ask that it be done in government arsenals and navy yards, that I am unpatriotic and disloyal to my country. They want, not only to have this big armament, but they want to supply it themselves, and in order to take the wind out of the sails of any man who has the audacity or the courage to interfere with their private profits, they say he is for peace at any price.

To be for peace at any price would mean that a foreign power could come over here, cut off our arms and legs and gouge out our eyes and we would still be for peace. No, I have never met anyone for peace at any price, nor have they, and to show that I am not for peace at any price, I am going to make war on these people who would make large profits at the expense of others. As soon as Congress convenes they will find plenty of evidence that those of us who are against their gouging the people of this country are not for peace at any price. Any nation that attempts to invade our land under the impression that we are for peace at any price will get the surprise of its life.

Mr. Morgan has not only a monopoly of the war supplies of this country, but he has a monopoly of the peace societies. He is a director of the Navy League and his father was before him. Eight out of ten of the members are millionaires, and they will profit if their agitation for increased armament is successful. One of the journals in line with the Navy League, and which is misrepresenting everyone who has the audacity to oppose anyone who favors increased armament, is the Army and Navy Journal that carries advertisements of these munitions concerns. You can see how it is to their interest to boost the game of the war trust and attack anyone who attempts to interfere with their profits.

I would like to tell you the history of some of these various organizations that have their advertisements in this

Army and Navy Journal, but I will not take advantage of the kindness of the officers in giving me this time; but I do want to tell you of the Dupont Powder Trust which carries the most expensive advertisements in the Army and Navy Journal. The United States courts have declared the Dupont company a trust. They ran out all their competitors and have a complete monopoly of the business. Not only do they have a monopoly so far as the United States is concerned, but they have a monopoly so far as the whole world is concerned. I am not going to ask you to take my word, but will read from evidence presented in the Supreme Court of the United States, which shows that company was in an agreement with the powder companies of other countries, which is to operate in times of peace, by which the Dupont Powder Trust was not to sell powder to any foreign government and the foreign companies were not to sell the United States.

The United States government is wholly at the mercy of that trust. Suppose the United States would want to escape from that net and say, "We will go across the ocean and buy our powder." The Dupont company had been headed off because the foreign companies were bound not to submit any bids until they found out the bids the Dupont company had made, and then they were to put in higher bids. This is from the record of the United States courts: "Wherever the American factories receive an inquiry from any other government other than their own, either directly or indirectly, they are to communicate with the European factories and ascertain the prices which the European factories are quoting or have fixed, and they shall be bound not to quote or fix any lower figure than the European factories have quoted or fixed.

"The American factories are to abstain from manufacturing, selling or quoting, directly or indirectly, for consumption in any European country, and the Europeans are to abstain in like manner from manufacturing, selling or quoting, directly or indirectly, for consumption in the United States."

They have the machinery by which to make them pay for this powder at any price they desire. The Dupont Powder

Company has not only had our government by the ears, but by the tail also. For many years that company had one of its heads in the United States Senate and had him as chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, General Dupont. Sitting at the head of the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate of the United States he was in this position: On the one hand he was selling powder to the United States government as one of the heads of the powder trust, and on the other hand he was appropriating money from the United States to buy powder from himself, knowing there was no other concern that would compete.

In eight years the government bought \$21,000,000 worth of powder from the Dupont company and paid seventy-one cents on an average, while we were manufacturing powder in small quantities in the government plants at a cost of thirty-four cents. The men in those plants say they could manufacture it for a great deal less than thirty-four cents in large quantities. Not only have these concerns overcharged the government for munitions of war, but they have taken advantage of the secrets they get from our government and sell them to other governments.

The Secretary of the Navy, who is personally dealing with these gentlemen, says: "I do not see how it is possible for Congress to justify to the people a refusal to erect a government plant, nor how it can answer to the charge that will be brought up that the same mysterious providence that saved this profitable business to the Steel Trust three times in the past, even after money had been appropriated for government plants."

By manufacturing our armor, submarines, aeroplanes and other things in government plants, and having our own laboratories, we keep in possession of the government whatever secrets we develop. Under the present system it is impossible to do that, and I am going to prove it by quoting further from the Secretary of the Navy of the United States, who, by the way, is the first Secretary of the Navy who ever had the nerve or the courage to make a fight against these people. Even now he says the improvements in armor and the designs worked out by the navy have been embodied in the warship of

another nation recently finished by the Bethlehem Steel Company and put in commission.

Japan has erected her own armor-making plant and surrounded it with such secrecy that no other nation is able to say whether the Japanese armor is not superior to that of any other nation. If the government manufactures its own munitions of war it will mean that the men who actually make the munitions will receive higher wages and will work under better conditions than if the work is given to private employers. These three firms which have a monopoly in the manufacture of war materials are among the most bitter enemies of labor in the United States. The three plants are the Bethlehem Steel Company, the Carnegie Steel Company, owned by the United States Steel Corporation, and the Midvale Steel Company. In 1910 there was an investigation by the Department of Labor. Here are some of the facts that investigation showed as to conditions in the Bethlehem company, the concern we have been paying from 20 to 60 per cent more for supplies than they could be manufactured by the government.

The government investigation revealed that out of every hundred men twenty-nine were working seven days in the week; out of every hundred men forty-three, including, this twenty-nine, were working some Sundays in the month, and fifty-one were working twelve hours a day. Out of every hundred men twenty-five were working twelve hours a day and forty-six were earning less than \$2.00 a day.

Now, as to the conditions in the Midvale Steel Company, which, by the way, was one of the first institutions where the Taylor system of scientific management was used—in fact, it was born there. The manager of the Midvale, testifying before the committee, said they had men with stop-watches over the workmen, and every time a man looked up they took his time, every time he stopped to breathe they took his time and in that way they got absolutely the amount of time employed in doing a certain amount of work. He said: "We made it a rule to run a machine to break. The life of a hammer-bar is two years. If that hammer-bar does not break in two years I go to the forge master, because he is not

getting the work he should out of the forge. If a lathe does not break down before the end of its life I would go for the engineer in charge." He did not inquire whether if a working man did not break down in a certain time, but said, "We have absolutely no regard for machinery or men."

Now, as to the Carnegie Steel Company. I have some information as to the working conditions in that plant. Here is a report of an investigation into the United States Steel Corporation which owns the Carnegie Steel Company: "Among 16,000 men employed in the three largest plants of the United States Steel Corporation in 1897, there were 120 men working only eight hours a day. Among steel and iron workers the twelve-hour day is practically law now. There were only ninety-three ten-hour men and 1,970 twelve-hour men. This law as slightly modified, and modified largely for the worst, holds good seven days in the week all the year through. Neither Sundays nor holidays exist for these toilers. Once every fortnight they work twenty-four hours in order that they may have twenty-four hours free the next week."

Government manufacture of munitions of war is one thing on which everyone can unite. You can safely go on record in favor of government manufacture of all munitions we are going to buy. Since Congress is going to spend a certain amount of money, you can take the attitude that it should be spent without private graft and private profit, so the people can get these things at their actual cost. I hope this convention will go on record at least in favor of government manufacture of munitions of war.

The army officers say we ought to give to these three concerns who are so hostile to organized labor and who treat their working men like animals—they call them patriotic concerns—contracts in time of peace in order that we may rely upon them in time of war for their patriotic co-operation. When war with Spain was imminent they got together and refused to manufacture armor unless we agreed to pay them \$100 more than the government offered to pay. Then they sold the same material to Russia for less than they were charging their own government.

I am not making this fight in Washington for any political purpose. If I wanted to be a success politically I would not work against these powerful men but would work with them, and when election day comes around, considering me a safe man, they would be willing to spend money to get me re-elected. But for making this fight they will prevent my re-election. When I was sworn in as a member of Congress I took an oath to protect this government, not only from enemies across the sea, but from enemies in this country. It is not the people beyond the seas, but the war traffickers in our midst who would place us in danger in order that they may make profits, that are the enemies to be fought.

The cost of living in the United States has increased just twice as fast as wages, year in and year out. I would like to have the Navy League or anyone else meet the proposition as to whether that is a menace or not. If the cost of living continues to increase year after year, as it has been increasing, twice as fast as wages, there will come a point when a working man cannot support a family of five or six children on his wages. If they are anxious to preserve this Republic to hand down to our children, they should pay attention to the menace within our borders as well as the one across the seas. I am not only interested in protecting this Republic from foreign enemies, but the enemies right here at home, the Morgans, the Rockefellers and the Carnegies. It is my duty to protect the Republic from these people just as much as it is my duty to protect my government from any foreign menace, and I am going to do that and work, with Mr. Buchanan, for organized labor at every opportunity in Washington.

One thing that has been a source of mystery to me in Washington has been this: The average man is willing to go on the battle-field and give up his life for a principle, but when it comes to giving up his political life or endangering it for the interests of the people, he is stricken with dumb ague and runs as though the Old Nick was after him. I feel if a man cannot serve the people as a public officer and does not do it, he is of no earthly use to the people and he might as well never have been born.

I consider that to take the profit out of war so that it will be no more profitable and attractive to the Morgans than it is to the rest of us will be the best step we can take in the interest of peace, and I intend to do all I can in that direction. I consider you have shown me a great honor in listening to me. I wish your convention and organized labor the greatest possible success, and thank you very kindly for your attention.

Delegate Harding: There is food for thought in the speech made by Congressman Tavenner, and in listening to his remarks I could not help thinking of what was said yesterday morning by one of the speakers—that the labor movement stands for men, women and children rather than property. I am for men, women and children, and I am for peace, for real peace. The amazing thing to me, Mr. President and Members of the Convention, is that all over the country today there are men and women of standing and reputation who are continually calling "Peace, let us have peace," when they know, when every man and woman knows there can be no peace until certain questions vital to the future of the human race are determined in the fierce conflict that is raging across the water.

Mr. President and Delegates, if the object of Congressman Tavenner, Congressman Buchanan and others, who evidently have a certain proposition to present to this convention, is the government ownership of factories that manufacture munitions, and government ownership of everything that contributes to preparedness for war, then I am with them, and this organization should be with them in a movement of that kind. But for one, I protest against one statement made by the gentleman who has just spoken—if the American wants to preserve his rights let him stay at home in America, that he has no right to travel on any ship except one flying the American flag.

You know and I know, Mr. President, that that would not protect an American; you know what, under existing conditions, may happen to anyone who dares to interfere with the program of the "mailed fist," and takes passage on a ship through the so-called war zone, whether the vessel flies the American flag or any other flag. Now, let us be

plain with each other and remember this: When this country was fighting for its independence, when the Thirteen Colonies fought against the British Empire, an immortal utterance was made by a great Englishman, Chatham, which every American should take to heart. He said: "If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, I would not lay down my arms until every British soldier was driven off American soil."

And I say today that every American should join in the sentiment that there will be no movement for peace, no effort, no hypocritical effort to bring about peace in the interest of one party in the conflict until every loyal believer in freedom and humanity can say this, can say to Belgium, as we should have said it long ago: "Lay not down your arms but keep up the fight until every German soldier is off Belgian soil."

A Delegate: Are we going to listen to the political situation across the water? We have not met here for that. I rise to a point of order.

President Walker: The chair possibly feels as keenly on the question that has been raised this morning as any living human being on this earth. I was aware of the danger in the introduction of this kind of a subject. I know there are men and women who are honest, earnest and conscientious in their advocacy of peace; I know from personal experience that there are hired Judases, paid a price by parties at interest in the war on the other side, now parading in the guise of men advocating peace, who are really working in the interests of one side of this great struggle that is going on. And I know there is hardly a man or a woman in our country whose relationship to either of the countries at war is close enough to have a personal aspect to it, but feels strongly and keenly on that question, no matter what may be said by any man or any woman.

I know that if this question is discussed on the floor of our Convention, regardless of right or wrong—and the most of them don't know what is right and what is wrong, generally they have taken the statements coming from their side—and if the question is opened up and considered here on the floor I believe there will be a division created in

our movement that nothing possible that any man could do would heal up now or for some time to come.

A number of men have consulted me with reference to resolutions. I have said if the peace question is to be acted upon it should be done by the American Federation of Labor. It is a national question. I said it was almost impossible now to introduce this question in any way without furnishing an argument to justify some of the things that some one or the other was attempting to justify himself for in this controversy. And if things were so that it would be best, and could be done honorably, I would take my place with my own convictions in this matter openly and publicly; still I feel that for our movement here under present circumstances no good can come from it and a great deal of harm may come from it.

With Congressman Buchanan—and I believe he is honest and conscientious and as earnest in the matter as it is possible for a human being to be—we discussed phases of this question, and I sought to point out just what was possible to develop—what has already developed in this very matter that Brother Harding has raised now—I said it was possible to be construed in just the manner it is construed by honest men who feel keenly on this question and is likely to create just the thing that has been created.

Now, I hope we will let the matter drop, with the feeling that I think must be taken out of our dropping it at the present time, that so far as this Convention is concerned we are Americans, and we are not going to be a party to the controversy over on the other side even by declaring for peace when it may mean an advantage, or making any other declaration that may be used to an advantage by the paid men—and there are paid men on both sides—at this time. I feel that the only time we will ever be free, and it will then be our right and our duty to discuss this matter in the open as trades unionists, will be if the time ever comes that our own Nation is precipitated into this war. There does not appear to be any danger of that at the present time. If it gets to the place that that is imminent, then every man who is true to his convictions will stand up for what he thinks is right. Until that time does come, if it does come, there is no good that can

come out of such a discussion, and the injury will be so great we cannot afford to enter into it. I hope that not only will it rest here, but that from now on during the sessions of this Convention no aspect of this question will be introduced into a discussion that may affect in a live manner either side of that controversy.

Delegate Harding: I appreciate that what you say is true, Mr. President.

President Walker: Brother Harding is one of the old-time members of this organization, one of the wheel horses. He has done his share, he has done honestly, I believe, the best he could, and he is not going to do anything now consciously that will injure this movement, and I don't think he will do anything unconsciously.

Delegate Harding: I appreciate the force and justice of your remarks, Mr. President, and it is not my intention to proceed any further to bring about the disunion in the labor movement you have pointed out. I am of the same opinion you are—that this whole proposition should be dropped, absolutely dropped.

A short time ago an advertisement appeared in several American newspapers calling for machinists, stating there was an opportunity for machinists to obtain employment at high wages in England. In that advertisement was the clause—and this is what will interest us—that only union men were wanted. Now, I know very well, Mr. President, that there are men in this building that I could no more change than they could change me on the question that brought about this outburst of feeling here this morning, and I am not going to touch on it. They have their convictions and they are as honest in them as I am in mine, I am prepared to admit that. This is a question that is so far-reaching that it is simply a waste of breath for one man to try to convince another; it will have to be fought out in the way all these questions have been fought out, and I have no fear of the ultimate outcome.

The reason why that advertisement was placed in the newspapers, and the reason why the clause "only union men wanted" was inserted was simply because the labor movement in England is so strong, even in time of war, that

it can dictate the terms under which men shall work. The point I am trying to make is that the golden time has arrived for the machinists in this country to organize, and they know it. Whether the time has arrived for a declaration by this body in favor of government ownership of munitions factories, I don't know.

President Walker: The Credentials Committee is ready to make an additional report.

Delegate Buchanan: I want to make a statement, Mr. Chairman.

Delegate Harding: If he talks I want to talk.

President Walker: The chair is of the opinion that enough, if not too much, has already been said on the subject, and unless the Convention decides differently, that matter is closed.

Delegate Wilson (D.), Mine Workers: I rise to make a motion.

Delegate Buchanan: I feel under the circumstances, and due to the position I have taken in regard to this question, due to the publicity I have gotten from it and due to the fact that I have been associated with the trades union movement for a number of years and still consider myself a trades unionist, due to the fact that I am a delegate here, and after the question has been discussed by my good friend Mr. Harding, I should be allowed to make a statement in regard to my position in the matter—not discuss the question itself but make a simple statement. I don't know whether this Convention has decided it should not be discussed.

Delegate Woll: I rise to a point of order. Article II, Section 1, of the Constitution, provides the workings and the discussions of this Convention. It provides: "The objects of this Federation shall be the securing of legislation in the interests of organized labor; to promote the use of the union label and the purchase of union label goods; to make more effective legally declared boycotts, and in general to promote the work of labor organization."

President Walker: The chair will make a ruling. If it is not satisfactory the Convention can decide.

Delegate Buchanan: On Mr. Woll's point of order?

President Walker: And your own statement. The intent on the part of the man who introduced the subject, I believe, was to benefit the trade union movement, and I, therefore, rule your point is not well taken, Brother Woll. However, we have adopted rules governing this Convention. Congressman Tavenner was introduced to the Convention by myself this morning; I am responsible for his making the statement he did. Under the rules Brother Harding was not in order if anyone had raised the point, and whatever statement was made by Congressman Tavenner, in the judgment of the Delegates, good or bad—if it was good they could give credit to those responsible for his being here, and if it was bad they would have to accept responsibility. Now, unless this Convention by motion decides to take up this matter, it is not in order for further consideration. That is the ruling of the chair.

Delegate Wilson (D.), Mine Workers: I want to make a motion. I move you that the talk by Delegate Harding be stricken from the record.

Delegate Harding: I want to be recognized on that motion.

President Walker: The chair will rule that the motion is not in order at the present time, as the Committee on Credentials had the floor before it was made.

Delegate Jampel, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, read the following supplemental report:

Credential Report.

Garment Workers—Chicago, No. 21, Geo. C. Slater.

Plumbers—Alton, No. 163, George Gent; Decatur, No. 65, John J. Duggan (in place of Dwight Burdick).

Chicago Teachers' Federation, No. 14610—Margaret A. Haley, Catherine Goggin, Frances E. Hardin, Mary E. Dwyer, Agnes Rockford, Mary O'Reilly, Matilda G. Bensinger, Jessie Buehler and Sarah O'Hern.

The committee recommended the seating of the delegates named in the list.

Upon motion of Delegate Bruce, Chicago, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in and the delegates seated.

President Walker announced the following appointments:

Messengers — Delegate Sullivan, Springfield, and Delegate Russell, Farmington.

Doorkeeper—Delegate Miller of the Retail Clerks.

Assistant Secretaries — Delegate Woodmansee, Springfield, and Delegate Maddox, Alton.

Secretary Olander: Yesterday's proceedings were here on time ready for distribution, and if we had doorkeepers ready they could have been distributed as you came in. The proceedings will be distributed now.

There is a branch postoffice in the rear of the hall, and the Western Union has a branch office in the same place, both being temporary offices established for the convenience of the delegates.

Report of Committee on Constitution.

Delegate Keefe, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report, as follows:

Section 2 of Article IV was passed over at the last session. The motion was to strike out the words "or have power to hire or discharge."

President Walker: A motion to table that amendment was made by Delegate Argust. The motion was held in abeyance to allow delegates who objected to the section to have an opportunity to discuss it. Delegate Goodwin has the floor.

Delegate Goodwin, Typographical Union: I made my argument yesterday, but I understand there are delegates from the Bill Posters, Musicians and other organizations who wish to discuss this.

Delegate Argust, Mine Workers: At the time I made the motion to table, I had no desire to prevent any delegate from bringing this matter out before this convention, but from my experience in the trade union movement and my understanding of it, I thought it would be taking up the time of this convention needlessly to tell this delegation it is for our interest to have bosses in the unions. I am willing to allow the delegates to have all the discussion they wish on this subject, and I will have something to say, too.

Delegate Peterson: I am not against that clause. Some years ago I worked in the Cement Workers' Union. Our foremen were in there, and they had the right to hire and fire.

Delegate Barry, Carpenters: Under our constitution our foremen have to belong to the organization, and they are entitled to all the privileges of other members. Would that eliminate them as delegates to the State Federation of Labor? I don't think that would be right, and I don't see how we can do it under our general constitution.

Delegate Cottrell, Carpenters: In our organization a foreman has to belong to the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and he has all the rights and privileges a journeyman has. We have sent foremen from Local No. 183 of Peoria to our general conventions, and they have rendered us as good service as journeymen working at the trade. We would not be doing right by our own membership in voting for this.

Delegate Heely, Granite City: In the Carpenters' organization the foremen belong to the union. If this passes the Carpenters will probably have a little difficulty in getting their delegates to come to this convention. I think the foremen can be handled better in the organization than on the outside.

Delegate Hammond, Painters: I did not intend to argue this question. I seconded the motion to lay on the table yesterday. However, it has been taken up and it seems there are some here who do not know the difference between the interests of the boss and the wageworker. It seems like trying to argue that the sun shines. It seems foolish to think that a man who works and slaves does not know the difference between the master and the fellow who has to be under his thumb. We have bosses in the Painters' organization, but they have no vote and they have no voice. We tell them what to do. I think this organization ought to be a good deal on that line, too, and if there are good union men who are bosses let them keep their mouths shut.

Delegate Christopher, Belleville: As a member of the Laws Committee I believe it is proper at this time we should make some statement of why we have that provision in there. We believe

this should be an organization of the workers, for the workers and conducted by the workers. I believe the interests of the workers are identical, but I believe the interest of the other fellow is different from mine. When a foreman hires a man as a boss it is for him to get from the worker and out of the worker all he can. I don't believe any man, I don't care how honest he is, can hold his job as a boss if he comes here and puts his best efforts into something to get conditions for the men back in the shop.

I have no objection to the Carpenters or any other organization claiming all the bosses they can and all they can keep. My organization sometimes insists that the foremen belong to the organization, or, rather, we don't kick them out when they get promoted. It would be far better for the organization if we did. They have no interest in the organization when they are promoted, when they march up and down the gangways and tell the men, "If you don't like your job you can quit." I don't believe it would be very safe to send a man like that to Springfield to try to get enacted into law some things I think are for my interest.

Delegate Jilson, Bill Posters: A majority of our advertising agents are in our local. We want them in the local because we have control over them. The last speaker said they walk up and down and tell us if we don't like our job we can quit. That is why we have them in our organization. If they say that to us we make them show us why, and we are strong enough to go to the boss and have them thrown out. We have the advertising agents and the men who hire and discharge under our control. By having them under our control we get better conditions than if we did not have them. If they come to our hall and try coercion we slap a fine over and shut them down. I think it is unjust to put such a clause in the constitution, because a good many of our advertising agents are active in our organization and take a good part in attending meetings and running for delegates to the different conventions. We will not allow any employers in our organization, however.

Delegate Coulter, Painters: At the present time I have the misfortune to be placed in this category to this ex-

tent. I have sacrificed, I think, a job in the city of Chicago that will pay me more than I will get for attending this convention. I think I will lose it by coming here. I think more of this movement than anything on God's green earth. Local No. 147, Chicago, is known among the painters of the United States as the one fighting local that will not stand for anything. We represent the only local that turned down the uniform agreement in the city of Chicago. We will not stand for the election of a stool pigeon, a boss's man or a sucker. I have a position today I have held for two months, but I think I will have lost it when I go back. I have gone from pillar to post, I haven't always been a foreman, I have traveled from one end of this country to the other—mostly in boxcars, and I may do it again, but I hope I don't have to.

President Walker: You haven't anything on the chair in that.

Delegate Coulter: I think there should be inserted in the by-laws something to the effect that a man holding a permanent position in such a job is not eligible. We often have a man come to the office and say: "You take charge of such and such a job." It seems to be among a lot of men a crime for a man to work steadily. You often hear it said, "What are you going to send that man to the convention for? He has a job." What do you want to do? Take some bum who is out of a job and shoot him over? That is not a square deal; there is nothing fair about that. I never played sucker in my life; I never have been a boss's man, but I believe this will cause the withdrawal of the building trades from the State Federation unless there is something put in about a permanent man being affected by this.

Delegate Dunn, Painters, Local No. 180: Last night the Painters held a meeting and discussed this subject. Before I go into it I want to deny a statement of the previous speaker. He said Local No. 147 was the only local that refused to sign the uniform agreement. Local No. 180 did the same thing.

Delegate Coulter: I stand corrected; they did it by three votes.

Delegate Dunn: It has been stated that by having the foreman in the organization you have control over him.

You have to a certain extent. While you may have control over his actions you have no control over the psychological influence he wields in his own organization. The minute a man becomes a foreman, with power to hire and fire, he usually becomes very popular with a certain element, and if he aspires to be an officer or a delegate he can generally get the number of votes he requires without using any coercion.

Delegate Lorch, Chicago: We have tried for many years to get a clause into our agreement to compel the foreman to be a member of the union, and not until the last agreement were we able to do so. Some of the foremen are the most active men in our organization, and I think we will be doing them an injustice if we adopt this clause. The section is broad and will stop a man's activities no matter how good he is in the local union.

Delegate Fetgatter, Mine Workers: We have in the Miners' organization a constitution that provides that boss drivers, machine bosses and our electricians must belong to the United Mine Workers, but they have no right to a voice in our local unions. The reason of this is that no news can be carried from the local meeting back to the general manager or the mine superintendent. I believe the meaning of this clause is to prevent the coal operators, general managers and general superintendents from coming so close to our business that they know more about it than they do now. I hope you will consider this matter closely. If you can convince me I am wrong, I will be with you, if you cannot, I will be against you.

Delegate Jones, Peoria: The men I represent do not allow the superintendent to belong to our organization. We allow the corner bosses and starters to belong, but they haven't a right to a voice or a vote. We find we are more successful with those fellows out than we are with them in.

Delegate Lawrenz, Chicago: In our line, the Bakery Drivers, we do not have the bosses in. Every time a foreman has a chance to carry anything to the boss he does it. They will sneak around early in the morning, and every word anybody says in regards to the business they go to the boss with, and we get the devil for anything that ever

turns up. I found out several times that things I had said in the morning were carried to the boss. During our last meeting a suggestion was made to take them in, but it was defeatd.

Delegate Williams, Chicago: Take the people who work inside and they have a foreman, as a rule, who does the hiring and discharging. The thing to do is to have the inside foreman belong to the union. If you do not have him in the union he is against you all the time. A former speaker said the foreman is the boss's agent. He is, but he is an employe the same as you are. There is not a foreman in the city of Chicago in a shop that has organized printers, pressmen and bookbinders that does not carry a card. He has the same right as any other member, and should have.

Delegate Lichtenstein: I don't know why the delegates say it is better for the interests of labor to have a man who can hire and fire in the organization than it is to have him outside. There is not a delegate who has said yet that it is not best, but we don't want those people to make the laws. You cannot show me, except in a few instances, which proves the exception to the rule, that a man can advance himself to the position of a foreman or have the power to discharge men while he is guarding the interests of his fellow workers. He can never advance himself in the favor of the boss while he is doing that. We admit that this will be an injustice to a few men, but you cannot point to a single law on the statute books of the municipality, the state or the government that does not injure the liberties or the interests of a few men, but the interests of the few in organized society must always be subservient to the many, and that is all the Laws Committee had in view in making this amendment.

Delegate Bruce, Street Railway Employes: It seems to me this situation is largely caused by a misunderstanding, or rather a lack of charity on the part of some organizations for the troubles of others. The carpenter is compelled by conditions in his trade to have the foreman belong to his union. The street car men and the miners are compelled by conditions they have faced many times to keep them out of the union. The cigarmakers and barbers have even

the men who run shops belonging to their unions, and they are compelled to do that because sometimes they are the only working men in the shops.

What we want to do is to get together on this and allow each one, as far as possible, to run his own organization provided he does not endanger another. The miners, street car men and others are in danger, as was shown in a state convention in Peoria some years ago when the Mine Managers' Association was represented there. At that time a clause was adopted in the constitution to keep them out. It was a good move. I believe the carpenters can still retain these foremen in their organization, and we can give them the glad hand and tell them to keep them if they are doing good; but at the same time it is necessary for them to endanger the miners and other organizations by insisting that they be allowed to be delegates here to legislate for us. The miners must not interfere with the carpenters' right to have the foreman belong to his organization, and the carpenter should not interfere with the right of the miner to say that a foreman shall not represent him in this convention. I believe one of the main causes for difference here is that we do not understand each other's difficulties. I believe this clause should go through for the reasons I have stated.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers: I think a great deal of the misunderstanding in this convention as to this particular question is due to the confusion of foremen and bosses. I think that idea which combines those two distinctive positions into one and predicates its argument on that is entirely fallacious and not justified. The position of a foreman is entirely different from that of an employer. In the printing trades particularly—and I can speak best for them—we have found it advisable, nay, we have found it desirable to see that every foreman of every printing office, press-room, stereotyping, electrotyping, bookbinding or photo-engraving department is a member of his respective organization.

By compelling the affiliation of these men with our organization we control the activities of the foremen so far as relation with our membership is concerned. There is absolutely no analogy between the positions. For this con-

vention at this time to try to place these men in the same position is illogical, to say the least. Not only that, but I believe this convention will be going beyond its function if it attempts to legislate in this fashion for the affiliated organizations. It is true some of the affiliated organizations may have difficulties with foremen. If that is so, they are the proper agencies to deal with that subject matter. If the miners do not care to have foremen as delegates to this convention it is within their province, and it is a proper course for them to follow, to adopt rules and regulations and amend their constitution to make it impossible under their laws to elect a foreman as a delegate to this convention. By the same token, let those organizations who have found it advisable and desirable to give the same privileges to their foremen in their ranks, adopt the same rule.

Let me say to you frankly that this proposal before this convention is nothing more than a libel and a slander of this convention itself. Are we afraid the foremen are going to control the activities in this convention? Do you fear the foremen are going to come here and contaminate our affairs? Have you no belief in the local organization that sent you here? Do you think they will send delegates in the future that may not truly represent your organizations? I understand this convention wants to be of a democratic nature. Why, then, these exclusive rules permitting representation here? Last year you adopted the referendum vote, you placed the question of electing your officers in the hands of your local union. You have taken it away from your convention. Now are you afraid to allow the question of electing delegates to be determined by your local organizations? If you can trust the local unions to elect your officers surely you can trust them to select representatives to this convention.

Then, too, let me call your attention to your own constitution, whereby any member of any organization is eligible to any office in the Illinois State Federation of Labor. No exclusive rule provided for your officers, yet when it gets to the question of delegates you bring in an exclusive rule denying some of your affiliated organizations to meet their obligations to their internationals. I sincerely hope this proposition will

be defeated; this exclusive rule has no place in a democratic movement of this kind. Go back to your own respective organizations and internationals, and there in your own councils determine what is best for yourselves, then add such legislation as you deem best to further your interests and that of all other organizations.

If in the consideration of this proposal you find it is wrong to have foremen representing you, adopt a constitution making it prohibitive for foremen to represent you in any capacity. So far as conveying information is concerned, my experience is that we haven't the greatest danger to fear from foremen—they are generally in the limelight—it is generally some trade union man not a foreman who plays traitor in that way. I sincerely hope that provision, that exclusive rule, will not prevail, but that you leave each organization to itself to determine its particular representatives to this convention.

Delegate Keefe, Secretary of the Committee: Delegate Woll says we have no rule covering the election of officers. We have provision made for the election of officers in line with this section now being debated. The committee in trying to get a solution of this problem worked out this section. You representatives of your organization that have foremen in your ranks have their jobs at stake any time they do not act in accordance with your organization's way of doing business; but what have we got to prevent them passing wrong motions here and going back and getting better jobs from their bosses, leaving us here holding the bag. Let the organizations that have the foreman problem be fair with the organizations that haven't the foreman problem and take our delegates from the workers for one or two conventions and see whether it helps us or hurts us.

There is nothing this State Federation has to safeguard itself against resolutions desired by employers being placed before this convention. Such a resolution may be couched in language that allows it to get by when we are in a hurry, or in ways by which such resolutions have been got through in the past. If your unions can control these men there is no danger. If there is danger this sort of discussion will

give them food for thought and make them realize some of the dangers of having foremen in their ranks.

Delegate Woll: I have looked over the qualifications for officers. May I be advised of the particular section that so qualifies a member for office?

Secretary Keefe: The committee announced yesterday that this printed pamphlet was gotten out by the secretary as a result of the meeting of three members of the Law Committee in Springfield a few weeks ago. After the convening of this convention additional members were added to the committee, and they have suggested some additional changes in the printed pamphlet. We have these changes in type-writing. This was announced yesterday.

Delegate Helmbacher, Decatur: I have listened to a lot of discussion about the bosses and the foremen this morning. I have had a little experience on that proposition. I have been a foreman. I have been a face boss, and I know what it is. If we pass a law to prohibit bosses coming here as delegates it will not hurt the constitution of the printers or those who admit them into their organization, but it will keep them out of here. The idea of keeping them out is that the man who is in a position to tell the other man what he has to do will be in a position to tell you what to do when you come to the convention, if he is allowed to sit as a delegate.

It is true that the face boss, the driver boss or his assistant boss is always looking for information, and ninety-nine times out of a hundred he gets it. That is the reason I am opposed to having the foreman or boss come to a labor meeting to make laws for men who have to toil. Some of the delegates said, "Let us keep them in, they are better inside than out." I agree with you; keep them in there, but put something in your constitution to prevent them from making laws for the men who are helping them hold their jobs. In our organizations throughout the world about a third of the men belong to the organizations because they are compelled to. I have been in a position to tell the other fellow what to do and I knew how I could squeeze down upon the fellow who was toiling. Still you want to

give the right to such a man to come to the convention and make laws for you and for me. I don't believe in it. Experience is a good teacher, and that is why I am opposed to any foreman or any man who has anything to say to the other man as to what he shall do being permitted to come to the convention to make laws.

Vice-President Allton in the chair.

President Walker: This is not the first time the question of men having the right to hire and discharge has been considered in the Illinois State Federation of Labor conventions. We used to have a mine managers' union, chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and they always had their full quota of delegates at every Illinois State Federation convention while they were in existence. The Illinois State Federation, in convention assembled, by almost unanimous vote, because of what they saw on the floor of our own meetings, demanded of the American Federation of Labor that they cancel that charter.

If there is any delegate in this meeting that was at the Springfield convention of the State Federation—not the last one—he will recall perhaps as able a speech as could be made favoring the adoption of a resolution committing the labor movement of our state to the open shop. And if you will recall that occasion I expect you will remember who made the speech. It was a delegate from the mine managers' union. We were able to prevent the adoption of that resolution. Later on we found that organization was being used in almost every manner conceivable to protect the interests of the men who were fighting the labor movement.

Now let us find out what a boss is; a man who has a right to hire and discharge, and that is the only man affected by this constitution. The man who has the right to hire and discharge is the personal paid representative of the man who owns the plant. He gets his job because the man who owns the plant believes he would get better results for him, not for the men, than any other man that could be hired would get for him. If he believes he could get a man that would get better results for him, he would not hesitate a minute to get that better man.

The decent employer does not care to injure the working man in any way, and will go as far as he can to help the men who are working for him, providing it does not cost him anything; but when it begins to cost him something, then even a decent employer has to be made to give that condition before he will give it. And our experience has been that they are not all decent employers, and therefore not all decent bosses. While in some instances you may be able, in an organization such as Brother Woll represents—highly skilled workers, hard to replace, with almost a 100 per cent membership—while you may be able in an organization of that kind to tell the foreman what he has got to do and make him do it, you may be able to control him in your local union; but when you get to an organization where the rules are not so well laid down, where the men haven't the strength to enforce their desires or even to protect themselves from underhand methods of discrimination, instead of controlling the foreman he will control the local union.

Whenever a man in a large industrial plant has a right to hire and discharge, even where you have a pretty good contract, if he is an able, shrewd fellow, he can find some means of giving a man the worst of it and hounding him until he makes him want to leave, even if he cannot find a good excuse to discharge him. We are only human, and such a foreman will put up a job, the man will act human and he will be discharged. The men understand, on the other hand, that if they get in good with the bosses they will be all right. The result is that those gentlemen almost dominate an organization and they are able, through the use of the suckers in there, to get rid of the good men in the organization.

Now it may be possible that these organizations that have the foremen in their ranks can protect themselves. I will say for the Teamsters' organization, which has been represented both ways on this question, that if you will look up the constitution governing the federal local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor you will find a section to protect the teamsters, put in there at the request of the union teamsters who are working by

the day against the employing teamsters that were in those organizations. It is practically the same provision that is in the Mine Workers' constitution. An employing teamster has a right to belong to a federal local union, and they try to make them belong where they can, and because even as an employer when a man is working at the trade he gets the benefit of the work the union men have done they say he must pay dues and assessments; but as he is an employer and on the other side in interest, they feel he cannot work for the interests of the men. And even in the exceptional case where he would do right, he will be held under suspicion when he comes to a meeting, and for his protection, if he is on the square, and for our protection if he is not, we feel he should have no voice or vote or place in our meetings while acting as an employer.

This section of the constitution will simply deny the right of a man to sit as a delegate in this convention and legislate for the labor movement of our state. It will not interfere with any organization that takes in employers or their representatives, their specially hired and paid men to represent them if they want to. Personally, I say to you that we have got enough differences, even with the men whose interests are identical, to keep us busy getting the movement in the right track and getting our strength concentrated on the things we are fighting for without expecting to accomplish much in that way by bringing in a fellow whose whole interests are bound up with the fellow we are fighting and who is fighting us. I believe if every international would leave the bosses out, make them get out, name specifically who shall have the right to hire and discharge and act as bosses within the industry, minimize that number as much as possible, deprive the others of the right to hire and discharge, make them join the union and set a scale for them, make real union men out of them, even they would be better off than they are now.

I know of one instance where two men, personally friendly to me, men of fine personality, intelligent men, men I haven't a word to say against personally, one a general manager of a big plant in one of the biggest cities in our western country, the other the owner of a great big plant in Canada

that employs a considerable number of men, are seated as delegates every year in our American Federation of Labor convention. As a coal miner, in order to duplicate that, I would have to elect one of the general superintendents of one of our local companies as a delegate to our next American Federation of Labor convention, and then pick out a coal operator and elect him, too.

If there is anything in the statement that you can control a boss who is a representative of an employer when you have him in as a member of your union, I wouldn't do the job half way. If you control the representative of the employer, by heavens, you can control the employer himself as easily and you will not have to deal second-hand at all, but make him come in and tell him what he has to do.

I don't think it will hurt the labor movement or a single organization affiliated with the Illinois State Federation of Labor to adopt this section. I believe it will be an act of progress on the part of this organization; it will be in the right direction, it will mean protection from the unscrupulous in the ranks of the representatives of the employers. And I say this without attempting at all to underestimate the fact that there are many men acting in that capacity who are good trades unionists, but you cannot make a law that will let them in without letting the other fellows in.

My experience with many men who have accepted positions as foremen is that the decent ones among them would rather be able to say to the boss: "I don't go to their meetings; I don't know anything about their work and cannot give you any information," and at the same time be free from the crooks. Brother Woll mentions who may be on the roll of a detective agency. Tales may be carried about him and everybody will turn against him, even if he is a decent man. I know a man who acted in that capacity in West Virginia where we organized a fairly good union. That man helped us organize it, and one of those gentlemen Brother Woll referred to carried the news to New York about him and that superintendent lost his job. He quit it in the face of an offer of \$2,000 a year increase in his salary if he would fight the movement and stay in his job. I find that almost

every one of those decent fellows who understand this thing would rather not be put in a position where the employer can expect them to carry information wrongfully and where the men would regard them as stool pigeons. Where they are not decent there is no way to protect ourselves from them except to keep them out.

Delegate Goodwin: It is nearly time for adjournment, and as the mover of this motion I declare myself satisfied with the fairness of the convention in discussing the question. I am ready to have a vote taken.

President Walker stated that the motion to table had been carried, but it had been held in abeyance to enable the representatives of several organizations who were vitally interested in the matter to discuss the question.

Delegate Woll: Do I understand the motion to table applies only to the amendment?

President Walker: Yes.

Delegate Woll: Is that parliamentary procedure?

President Walker: So far as the chair's experience goes it is parliamentary procedure. When an amendment is made to a motion and it is moved to table the amendment, it has always been considered that it simply tables the amendment.

The motion to table the amendment offered by Delegate Goodwin was carried.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers, moved as an amendment that the matter be referred back to the Committee on Constitution and that representatives of all organizers involved be given an opportunity to appear before the committee, in order that some proposition might be made that would meet the approval of all concerned. Seconded.

Delegate Argust, Mine Workers: I am opposed to taking up the time of this convention with a motion of this kind. The delegates have shown plainly that they are opposed to having bosses in the union. That matter has been discussed at some length, and now we come with a subterfuge that means the same thing. The motion is to refer back to a committee in order to

give a certain element an opportunity to play on that committee and get a different report. That will bring the entire matter before the convention again. You who speak of being good trades unionists and take the jobs of foremen, for God's sake stay in the movement and let the other fellows who are not good trades unionists take the jobs. Many of the men who are in the ranks have had opportunities to take jobs with bosses and many of them have turned them down and preferred to remain in the labor organizations.

Delegate Weth, Bakery Workers: I believe every delegate here knows what this section means. If any delegate believes that a superintendent or a foreman who has a right to hire and fire should go into a convention and make laws for us and not try to take away our rights, I cannot agree with him. Such a man will safeguard his own interests, not ours. This matter has been threshed out and I believe every delegate knows that if a foreman can hire and fire he cannot come here and safeguard our interests. I am not in favor of referring it to the committee.

Delegate Dunn, Painters: I would like to ask Delegate Woll if he himself possesses the right to hire and fire?

Delegate Woll: I should say not!

Delegate Jessen: I want to speak in behalf of the committee. I don't see how you can get any new information before the committee or before the convention after discussing it here all this time. We heard Brother Woll, the Printers, the Painters and all the organizations, and we cannot bring out anything that will change the committee or this convention.

Delegate Woll: I will not take up much of your time; I know the temperament of this convention, but I want to warn you against your action. The American Federation of Labor, by its laws, gives to each and every international organization complete autonomy. This organization is a subordinate body of the American Federation of Labor. Now it is within the province of any international union to question the adoption of this particular motion at the American Federation of Labor itself upon that ground, and in asking that the matter be referred

back to the Committee on Constitution I do so in order that something may be drafted to meet the viewpoint of all international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and so legally draw up a section that may be adopted by this convention.

Delegate Helmbacher: I think it is unnecessary to refer this back to the committee. The proper thing to do is to put it to a vote. Now cut out discussion and let us vote; let us get down to business.

Delegate Cahill, Chicago: In our organization we take in foremen and I believe it is up to any delegate in the convention who represents an organization that does take in such men to vote against any motion that seeks to deny us the rights we are entitled to.

The amendment offered by Delegate Woll was lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Kearney, Quincy, moved that the time for presentation of resolutions, except with the unanimous consent of the convention, close at noon Wednesday. Seconded and carried.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES.

President Walker announced the following appointments:

Committee on Schools and Education.

E. N. Nockels, Elevator Conductors, Chicago, Chairman.

Frank Farrington, Miners, Springfield.

Florence S. Hall, High School Teachers, Chicago.

John Jilson, Bill Posters, Chicago.

Geo. W. Ambrose, Barbers, Peoria.

Frank Buchanan, Structural Iron Workers, Chicago.

Ed Metcalf, Brick Workers, Streator.

Margaret Haley, Teachers, Chicago.

Tony Weth, Bakery Workers, Chicago.

Geo. Hankins, Carpenters, Champaign.

Dennis Lane, Meat Cutters, Chicago.

Robert E. Pell, Painters, Joliet.

Fred A. Lohn, Leather Novelty Workers, Joliet.

Frank Lelivelt, Brewery Workers, Chicago.

Mary O'Rielly, Teachers, Chicago.

Committee on Fraternal Relations.

W. R. Boyer, Broom Makers, Chicago.

Thomas Long, Miners, Gillespie.

E. Seidel, Machinists, Decatur.

D. J. Farley Carpenters, Coal City.

Philip Shug, Teamsters, Chicago.

C. H. Meador, Telegraphers, Chicago.

James J. Ryan, Typographical, Bloomington.

Peter Fisher, Brewery Workers, Chicago.

M. C. Friel, Stationary Firemen, Chicago.

Secretary Olander read the following report:

Organization report of the Illinois State Committee of the National Women's Trade Union League.

Since the last convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, when the organization work of the State Hospital Nurses and Attendants' unions was in progress and two hundred (\$200.00) dollars additional was donated to the Illinois State Committee of the National Women's Trade Union League by the Illinois State Federation of Labor to further carry on this work, we would like to report that there have been organizations established in the nine state hospitals where nurses and attendants are working. One organization at the Anna State Hospital did not prosper, but there is a good organization in each of the other eight institutions.

Since the establishment of these organizations they have been able to get more concessions than any other organization in existence for the same length of time. They have secured the eight-hour day, one day's rest in seven, equal pay for men and women doing the same kind of work, and automatic increases in wages. Before this automatic increase was put into effect they were entirely de-

pendent upon the superintendent for wage increases.

In this work we have had the active co-operation of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Mr. Emmet Flood, organizer of the American Federation of Labor; Mr. John H. Walker, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and Mr. Victor Olander, secretary-treasurer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Statement of Expense.

For organizing the Nurses and Attendants in the State and County Institutions in Illinois by the Illinois State Committee of the National Women's Trade Union League, from October 20, 1914, to May 21, 1915.

Peoria.

Oct. 17-18 — Expense of Mary Anderson, Agnes Nestor	\$ 15.40	
Printing Notices	2.50	
Typewritten Notices. ....	.75	
Nov. 11—Expenses of Mary Anderson ...	16.53	\$35.18

Oak Forest.

Oct. 30—Expenses of Mary Anderson50	.50
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Watertown.

Nov. 18—Expenses of Mary Anderson ...	16.53	\$35.18
Nov. 23-24—Expenses of Mary Anderson.	21.77	
Nov. 24—Hall Rent...	2.00	
Nov. 30—Expenses of Mary Anderson ...	13.48	
Nov. 30—Hall Rent ..	2.00	52.46

Elgin.

Dec. 7 — Expenses of Mary Anderson ...		1.47
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Peoria.

Dec. 14—Expenses of Mary Anderson ...		13.51
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Springfield.

Dec. 21—Expenses of Mary Anderson ...		15.31
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Watertown.

Dec. 22—Expenses of Emma Steghagen...		9.60
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Anna.

Dec. 21—Expenses of Agnes Nestor (four days)		40.45
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Anna.	
Jan. 2, 1915—Expenses of Agnes Nestor	21.44
Feb. 2, 1915—Printing Notices, 11-30-14...	3.25
Elgin.	
Mar. 3, 1915—Expenses of Mary Anderson	13.56
May 21, 1915—Expenses of Mary Anderson	1.40
	<hr/> \$208.13
Balance on hand in report to convention, Oct. 20, 1914...	30.24
Received from Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	200.00
	<hr/> \$230.34
Total Expenses	<hr/> 208.13
Balance on hand in organization fund	\$ 22.21

Secretary Olander read the following telegram:

V. A. Olander, Secretary-Treasurer
Illinois State Federation of Labor,
Alton, Illinois:

The Springfield Allied Printing Trades Council extends greetings to the officers and delegates and expresses the hope for a successful convention. We join the sixty-five labor unions of Springfield in inviting the State Federation to locate the contemplated labor temple in Springfield and further pledge our utmost moral and financial assistance to make a success of the proposition. We believe Springfield offers an ideal location for this kind of a headquarters, and the delegates will make no mistake in selecting this city. The fore-

going statement was authorized unanimously at a meeting held Monday evening, October 18, 1915.

GEO. P. LISCHER,
Recording Secretary.

During the Monday afternoon session a question was raised in regard to the label on some of the signs in the convention hall, especially the banner of the Quincy delegation. The matter was referred to the local organization of painters, who reported as follows, the report being read by Secretary Olander:

Union No. 471 of Alton, Ill., Oct. 18, 1915.

To Officers and Delegates of the 33rd Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor—Greetings:

This is to certify that we, as a committee of officers and members of local 471 of Alton, Ill., after having duly inspected the banner of the Quincy delegation displayed at the convention hall, do fully indorse and find said banner having the union label on it, which complies with the constitution of the B. of P. D. & P. H. of America.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) H. W. EVERS, JR.,
Recording Secretary.
AUSTIN GILLESPIE,
President.
ALEX. CALDWELL,
Treasurer.

Executive Committee members—
FRED BUCK, A. O. DUECKER.

At 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned under the rules to reconvene at 2 o'clock p. m., of the same day.

SECOND DAY—Afternoon Session

Alton, Ill., Oct. 19, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Tuesday, October 19, President Walker in the chair.

President Walker: We have with us this afternoon an official representative of the Union Label Trades

Department of the American Federation of Labor, who is an organizer for his own international union. He wishes to represent the Label Trades Department, and incidentally intimates that he will say a word in behalf of his own organization, Brother J. C. Shannessy, International Organizer of the Journey-men Barbers' Union.

Organizer Shannessy: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—I bring to you this afternoon greetings from the Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. They desire me, Mr. Chairman and delegates to thank you most heartily for your co-operation in the last twelve months. There has been a considerable increase in the demand for union labels, buttons and store cards, but we have not as yet aroused the trade union movement of our country to their duty in regard to the purchase of union-made goods and patronizing union places. The Union Label Trades Department feels that if the federations affiliated would hew just a little closer to the line and only purchase goods that bear the stamp of honest toil it would aid materially in organizing the unorganized of our country.

It is a sad commentary upon the intelligence of a union man or woman who goes out and spends union money for non-union products. This is very prevalent in the trade union movement, and only through constant agitation and education can we bring our men and women to realize the true fundamental principles of the American labor movement.

Some years ago this Illinois State Federation of Labor started to investigate the dry goods department stores of this commonwealth. There was a great hue and cry about it, and the papers had it spread broadcast, but the department stores soon reached the newspapers and compelled them to cut the real, clean information out from the general public; but, be that as it may, in connection with the dry goods stores of this state and every other state, there is this can be said, with but few exceptions, that we have some 500,000 fallen women in this country of ours and the dry goods department stores very largely are nothing but kindergarten institutions for the red light districts. Shame upon a man or woman with a union card in his or her pocket who will permit a member or his or her family to spend that money over the counter of a dry goods store where a little girl of sixteen hands out prison-made and sweatshop goods and a brutal floor-walker pats her on the back and

says: "You can't get by on your salary. I have a good friend who would like to meet you," and then it is wining and dining until she is set on the downward path.

If union people would patronize the union label at all times these conditions would be remedied. It went to the Missouri State Federation convention a few weeks ago. I could not get union underwear in Indianapolis that I wanted and tried several places in St. Louis before I found a little store where everything in the line of men's wear can be purchased. I asked the proprietor how he was doing. He said, without any reflection upon the men who patronize him: "I have forty or fifty men going to the Missouri State Federation who came in here and purchased a lot of union-made goods." If men who prepare themselves for a convention of this kind would only do the same thing 365 days in the year it would help to remove from these industries the little boys and girls who are working in them.

I hope the delegates to this convention will go back to their respective organizations with renewed vigor and determination to create a more healthy demand for the union labels, the buttons and the store cards of the various organizations. There is no court in the land that can enjoin you from purchasing union-made goods and patronizing union places. And it does appeal to me strongly, friends, that we ought to at least be sincere and on the square with ourselves. Take any of the miscellaneous crafts or the building crafts, and tomorrow if we go on strike and men and women come in and take our places we will cry: "Scab! Scab! Scab!" and yet we fail to analyze our own hearts and ask ourselves the question: "What have we been doing with our union money?" We have been aiding materially in keeping in the industries of the nation non-union boys, girls, women and men.

If we could only realize that this is the greatest and most potent power within the grasp of organized labor, if we could only educate the federations and their affiliated organizations to hew to the line for twelve

months, it would almost organize every mill, mine and factory in this country. The purchasing power of the Federation's affiliation is approximately a billion and a quarter of dollars. Spend that money for union-made products and patronize the union places and you will almost have solved the question, you will do away with lockouts, strikes and boycotts, because men and women will be compelled to get within the confines of their respective organizations if the manufacturer expects to do business. The demand for the union label will be so great it will force him to organize.

We have but one union collar factory in the United States, and it employs six or eight girls. Tell me that the union men, or the card men, are honest with themselves when they go to purchase collars and ties! And yet we have four or five tie factories in the United States and but one collar factory. You walk into a store and say to the haberdasher: "I want a union collar." He laughs at you and you permit him to get away with it. He says: "You are the first man who ever came in here and asked for a union collar." I say to that sort of fellows: "Did you ever have a man come in and ask for a scab collar?" He usually says: "No, I never thought of it in that light."

Now in behalf of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America, I bring to you fraternal greetings, real, warm, cordial fraternal greetings, and I want to apologize to you, Mr. Chairman, and every delegate on this floor. I regret the fact that out of fifty-eight local unions in the State of Illinois we have but a very small percentage represented here this afternoon. I regret it exceedingly because, after all, it has been the mechanic, it has been the laborer; it has been the man and the woman under the banner of the American Federation of Labor that has reduced the hours of labor, abolished Sunday slavery and placed our organization in the proud position it now occupies in the American labor movement. And I say I deplore the fact that our locals are so thoughtless as not to have representation here this afternoon. I realize

their dues are too small, and when these conventions roll around they have no money in their treasury, hence are unable to affiliate with the men who practically gave them the conditions they are enjoying in this state. Let us hope that twelve months hence we will have every one of our locals represented on this convention floor.

Now in conclusion. I realize that we have within our movement all kinds and classes of men, and they are of different minds, but it can be said to the everlasting credit of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board that they have tried to steer the ship of state through the shoals and the quicksands and out into the clear sailing water. They have attempted, and successfully, at least to a degree, to keep out of the international organization and the Federation of Labor any "ism" that would detract from pure, unadulterated trade unionism. Take the church today, the oldest institution we have on earth, and the minute that John and Jim and Bill and Harry get together and elect some other "ism" outside of the one for which the church is organized, what is the result? A falling off in membership, empty pews, and some one must come in and spend time and money to get them together and start them off again. Take the fraternal organizations, and any time an "ism" outside of that for which the institution was organized is injected you start to disrupt that movement. And I sincerely trust that you good men who have watched the growth of the Federation of Labor, have watched the men who have guided it honestly boldly and fearlessly, will uphold their hands.

I cannot refrain from paying a tribute to your presiding officer. Our organizations, I feel, are not grateful enough. The Barbers' license law would have been repealed in this state were it not for Brother Walker. That license law means much, not only to the barbers but to the general public, because it aids materially in protecting them against infectious diseases. That is why we fight so hard to keep the law on the statute books, and I want to thank you,

Brother Walker, and every other delegate who aided in the retention of that law upon the statute books.

In behalf of the Union Label Trades Department and in behalf of my own international organization, I wish this convention every success, and trust the legislation enacted here will redound to the best interests of the toilers of the entire state. I thank you.

President Walker: We have with us another fraternal delegate who represents the Farmers' Co-operative and Educational Association of America. He is the State Secretary of the Illinois organization. During the past two years he has not only been at our service at all times in the work we were doing, where he could be of service, but he has been at our service in all other ways. He has done what he could to build up and strengthen the different trade unions and is trying to get the farmers organized and working with the labor movement of the state. And his interest is not confined alone to Illinois. The first essential in the work of his organization is to establish a co-operative movement that will enable the producers, the farmers, to reach the consumers with the least cost and in the shortest possible time, so that the middle man will be less able to exploit either the consumer or the producer.

But he realizes that that alone is not a solution of the problem at the present time. He has, I think, grasped nearly the whole economic problem, and he has lent his influence intelligently and effectively in our every struggle to establish our organization, in our fights for increased wages and better conditions. He has also helped us in seeking remedial legislation and defeating harmful legislation. I believe that before the workers of our country or of the world will ever enjoy, not only the position they should in society, but the things our country and their own resources can get for them, the farmers and the wage-earners in the big industrial plants will have to get together, get an understanding of their common needs and work in co-operation. I believe if they ever do take the question up seriously there

is not a great deal that stands in the way; their interests are largely common; the men who are exploiting the industrial workers are exploiting the farmers, and neither may be able to successfully cope with them, but by combining their strength they will be able to protect themselves. I take great pleasure in introducing to you John P. Doyle, of Mt. Vernon, Secretary-Treasurer of the Illinois branch of the Farmers' Co-operative and Educational Union of America.

Secretary Doyle: Mr. President and Delegates—I would surely be an ingrate if I did not appreciate the introduction your President has given me this afternoon. I also feel grateful for the reception you have offered me. I thank you for that kindly expression on your part.

I was surprised, friends, as I sat here and listened to your proceedings. You are the liveliest group of people I ever listened to. I can easily appreciate now why you elected a square-shouldered, broad-shouldered fellow for your president, as well as a man of high intelligence.

This is the second time in my life I have appeared before a labor audience, and so it is with some trepidation, of course, that I address you. I thought I heard one of your delegates along in the morning mention the fact that he had ridden in box cars, that he had "bummed" his way, and I think I heard your president say: "You have nothing on the chair." Oh, the beauty of that, the fellowship, the fraternal spirit of it! To think your president has enjoyed all the luxuries of a palace car! I did not say this, friends, to bring a laugh, but I wanted to picture to you the idea of sympathy.

I get it from Darwin, that great writer, that sympathy is a feeling of pain aroused by the experience of another which recalls a like experience in your own life. If that is true, you cannot sympathize with any person unless you have gone through that same experience. Do you see the point? Sympathy, my friends. And so I felt a little ashamed to come before you for fear I might not be able to sympathize with you in your struggles; but fortunately I can in part.

Until my fourteenth year I never saw a blade of grass grow, but since that time I have lived almost continuously on a farm. You will realize before I get through that I am not a platform speaker at all, but only an old farmer, and I really would like to be down there on the floor with you, for I never can get used to being up above the other fellows. In my eleventh year, away back there against the Atlantic shore, I was taken out of school and put into a tannery to work with my father. He was one of the "back-to-the-landers." He came into Illinois and in two years we starved out. We then went to Chicago and I again put in two years in a tannery. I went through the horrors of that terrible fire and frequently during the following winter I walked the streets hunting a job. I know the feeling of being turned away with, "No, nothing doing for you today," and I know the feeling of fear and cowardice that makes you pass the next door fearing you will be turned down again.

And so I come before you this afternoon hoping to be able to say something to you that will go with you from this convention. You realize, friends, if you think back in your lives some little experience that did not amount to much, perhaps, but it is clearer in your minds than possibly the death of some loved one. I like oftentimes to repeat that little poem of Longfellow's, "The Arrow and the Song." He says in the first two lines of the first verse—

"I shot an arrow into the air,
It fell to the earth, I know not
where,"

And again the first two lines of the second verse—

"I breathed a song on to the air,
It fell to earth, I know not
where,"

and the third and closing verse—

"And long, long after in an oak
I found the arrow still unbroke.
The song from beginning to the
end
I found again in the heart of a
friend."

The arrow represents the action that you and I do thoughtlessly, but it goes down the years; and the song represents the word that may be thrown out, and every time I come upon the platform there comes a hope in my heart that I may be able to say something that will lead on and upward to better things.

And so I want to talk to you a little while this afternoon in my own way, if you will give me permission, leading up to something toward the close. I realize that you are here for organization, but I realize, too, that we do not always think of what this organization means. We do not think of the little worm crawling along under our feet that is absolutely unorganized, as it were, that is just one great stomach. As we go further along we find that organization with little feelers out around the mouth, the beginning of arms and hands drawing the food in. A little further along in organization a palpitating heart appears, the beginning of a heart, and a little further along a dark streak, the beginning of the nervous organization. You will find in the points of a star fish, at each point a little dot, the beginning of an eye. So organization comes on up and up until we finally have this human body, the most perfect organization of all.

Organization! I go out at night and I look up at those seven stars of the sky and they are wandering around that central North star there, and it teaches me, as I often say; "Did the great Giver take all that universe and scatter it out like a handful of wheat I would sow on the ground?" Oh, no. Realize in that organization. Organization is the product of the world.

You and I realize that our ancestors a little further along the line were wild, savage men. In that day man's hand was raised against everything else on earth. After a while came a little family around him and that hand was raised against everything on earth except the family. Then through intermarriage came the clan, a larger group. If John had lived a thousand years ago in Scotland he would realize the clan. The

clan spread into the tribe. The tribe formed into a league and later into states. Then came some organizer, some thinker. The thinkers are the people that move the world. Some thinker came along and said there was a higher step. That man appears under a different name in different nations. In Germany his name was Bismarck. He gathered the states together and made a nation of them. His name in this country was Washington, Jefferson, Henry.

The time is within my memory when the cobbler came around through the country and frequently I gave my foot to be measured for a pair of boots. Can you realize that fifty years ago we hardly knew anything about shoes, but we wore boots. When the cobbler sat there he had all the implements of his trade in his apron. That man eventually threw down his apron full of tools and went over to the shop. The blacksmith on the corner had been putting up the wagon, all of it, but he, too, had left the little shop and gone over to the factory. Then came some thinker, some organizer, and he saw a better way to bring those various articles to put up the wagon with and he started a saw mill to make the lumber. Later he put up a foundry and brought in the coal and ore. Then he put up a machine shop to work out the iron and get it ready. After he had put up a paint shop he had all the material on the ground. We called that a plant. From the lap to the shop, from the shop to the factory, from the factory to the plant—organization.

And now that plant requires more capital than one man alone has, and so partners are taken in, that old style partnership which made every partner liable for every dollar of debt. Then some thinker found a better way and sold shares of stock to each one. Then he went to the legislature and had passed a corporation law in which every man was liable only for the shares he has. And so we have the corporation.

Let us change a moment, friends, and look at the harvester companies. Here we have the Deering, the Plano, the McCormick, the Osborne, the

Champion, all working against each other. Then an organizer, William Deering, got those men all together, they talked awhile over an excellent dinner and a proposal was made to put all their business in the hands of trustees. There you have the trust.

I have tried to show you the coming up along the line and the separation of capital and labor. When the man went with his tools in his apron he had capital and labor in his own hands, but as soon as he threw them down, began the struggle between capital and labor. Then we have those beautiful words of Bobby Burns, the Scotch poet:

"See yonder poor or laboring wight,
So abject, mean and vile."

Now, he does not mean that in the sense we use it today, he means he was cowardly, broken down—

"Who begs a brother of the earth
To give him leave to toil."

That is the condition, isn't it, to ask some other man to give you leave to toil. And then hear the line following that, in which Burns says:

"And see his lordly fellow-worm
The poor petition spurn."

No, I have no work for you, get out of the middle of the road!

And then came the separation between wealth and work, and that separation was world-wide, it goes back into the very beginnings of civilization. The first decree in the Bible was to go out and subdue the earth. It began right there, that separation. The primitive man was, of course, a hunter. In a little while he captured some of the animals and began to subdue them, to domesticate them. Then he began to work those animals and became a farmer. Then he went to the sea and subdued the sea with the oar and the compass and the sail. Then he took the power of gravitation of the stream and subdued it. And then was discovered the power of steam, and all that is wrapped up with it. It remained for the twentieth century to take up the powers of electricity. Of course these things were in the world from the beginning.

The primitive man could go out with his bow and arrow or his club and hunt. A little further along he could take up a few tools in the one-man shop or go out and take up a piece of land. But are those the conditions today? Can you go out and start a little business of your own? No. Can you take up a little land? No, the best of the earth is taken up. Any place you go almost thousands are employed. The United States Steel Corporation is said to have 100,000 shareholders, owners, but those owners are changing hourly. Great blocks of those shares are being sold upon the New York markets every minute. Can you go to one of those shareholders for redress of grievances? No, it would be folly. Can you go to the directors? No, they are not to blame. The superintendents are studying the cost sheet, and the managers are driving on trying to make the cost sheets look better and thus make conditions look better for themselves.

These things being true, friends, the only thing to be done is for a great body to come together again. You will find in history that kings have often set apart certain days to listen to complaints of their most lowly subjects, but oh, what a sham! Never has anything come of that! Justice has never been obtained by the individual. Justice has never been obtained except by power. You will notice that I do not say "except by force."

And so speaking of these great organizations of capital that are exerting every effort to compel you to keep from organization, what power have you, what power have they, friends? Looking back to Burns' description, you ask the man for work. Right there inside that shop is food, is raiment, is everything that gives you life, and that power to discharge is the power of life and death over you, is it not? You see in there, as it were, the cupboard in which everything that gives life to you rests, and you are deprived of that, and those men have the power, as they say, of conducting their business as they please.

If I have any message this afternoon it will be contained in that

thought and in that idea, that they can run their business as they please, they can close that cupboard to you and say: "Starve to death, suffer torture, unless you come under our will." They can bring other men there, they can gather up the scum of the cities or immigrants that do not know the conditions, and take them in cars to their plants. They can do these things under the form of law all the time. They can get strike-breakers and gunmen. The police force is with them, the militia is brought out, law itself is always in their favor. And then you, when you come out on strike, even if you walk down the street and you are goaded to desperation by these men who are hired, as soon as you raise your hand you are a law-breaker. The first thing you do breaks the law, nothing they do comes under the law at all. And as soon as you commit any violence the whole world knows it.

Just a month ago at Lincoln, Nebraska, I tried to get a resolution through our convention condemning the work that has been done against that grand man in Colorado, John R. Lawson. And to my humiliation, in that national convention of farmers, I could not get that resolution through. I went to one of the men in the state that is deeply interested in the matter and could not get him to move at all. Now, boys, don't blame us. How much have you gotten of the John R. Lawson case out of the general papers of the day? Scarcely anything at all. Much that I have I got through your news letter and through sending to Congressman Foster for material and trying to hunt these things up. Only in that way have I been able to find out about these things at all.

All along the line when you do anything that may be criticised, it is published over the world and everybody knows it, but of the other side nothing is known at all. And their henchman, oh, that creature—I could name him—in New York City who gave that wonderful lecture about young men in which he prevaricated about you so grossly, and a few days ago he came before his congregation and acknowledged that his heart was

full of mammon and he had gone into bankruptcy. I ought not to say I am glad of the downfall of another, and I won't say it, but you know how I feel.

And then that college professor, you remember, who wrote that wonderful letter in which he mentioned that your children and mine that came up in poverty, when he was told of their conditions, said it was better that they were never born. I have here in my pocket, taken from the report of a government commission, these words, speaking of John R. Lawson: "A man of exceptionally high character, a good citizen in every sense." I wish that could be said of me all the time. Wouldn't you like it to be said of you? And today, while I am talking here and while I have the liberty to use my voice and say these things to you, John R. Lawson is probably taking the lockstep in the penitentiary and at night is put in a little cell and looks through the bars. All day long he is not allowed to open his mouth or raise the voice God has given him. Ah, boys, what are you doing? These things all need to be looked after!

I want to read you something else. It is this: "I believe that the ultimate object of all activities in a republic should be the development of the manhood of its citizens. Such manhood can be developed to the fullest degree only under the conditions of freedom for the individual, and industrial enterprises can and should be conducted in accordance with these principles. If their wages and living conditions cannot be otherwise provided dividends must be deferred or the industry abandoned. If, with the opportunities I have, I am able to contribute towards promoting the well-being of my fellow-man through any lessening of injustice and alleviation of human suffering, I shall feel it has been possible to realize the highest purpose of my life."

That sounds like Lincoln, doesn't it? That is a grand prayer, isn't it? Let me give you a few more things from that very man. That is the talk from the lips, here are the actual facts: On September 25, 1913, from

eight to ten thousand people started up a canyon in a cold, slushy rain, leaving shelters, not houses, to go into tents for the winter. For twenty years those men in Colorado had been denied every particle of law, the eight-hour law, the checkweighman law, the store law, the boarding house law—everything had been denied them. When an accident occurred, the under-sheriff testified to the government commission, he went and got the coroner and his instructions were to go to the superintendent and get the men he wanted on the jury. Out of ninety cases only one time was the company said to be at fault—it was negligence of the employe every time, and no time in the twenty years was the company sued for damages.

It was testified by a reverend gentleman that saloons were kept there and brought as much rental each year as the cost of the building; that a church could not be erected without the consent of the company; that a minister could not go there without permission; that the boarding houses were kept up against the law, and they were compelled to trade in the stores. They were assessed one dollar a month for doctors' fees, and the reverend gentleman testified that the doctors were sometimes brutal in the treatment of their patients, and even when a poor sufferer employed another doctor he was assessed and had to pay the company's man. In a little town 10,000 feet above the sea where the thermometer went down very low in winter, there was not a plastered shanty in the place. Typhoid and typhus fever was raging all the time, a dreadful cesspool bubbling there and running down in the public thoroughfare. This gentleman said the first of May this year, "I never saw a situation more despicable and damnable."

I might go further and tell you of poor, unprotected women hearing their windows raised at night, helpless men and women insulted. Is not such a condition sufficient to cause violence? Oh, I hate a hypocrite! I abominate a hypocrite! Don't you? A murderer you can shun and loathe, but a hypocrite poisons the very air you breathe!

Out there was one leader, Louis Tikas. It was testified in the government report that he was a man of high intelligence and a most engaging personality. He had a wonderful power among those people of his. Louis Tikas, probably of that old Grecian form that was the wonder and the beauty and the splendor of the world in the olden times, yet the stock of a musket crushed all that beauty out, and he had not the privilege even of being buried as a decent corpse.

It is said the greatest private fortune in the United States today equals about one billion dollars. Have you any idea what that means? If you had a billion dollars in gold piled up and you began to count one every second for ten hours a day, day and night, not stopping but counting steadily one every second, it would take you over seventy-six years to do it. A billion dollars represents the possessions of 2,500,000 other people. The United States Steel Corporation, with its 100,000 shareholders, is controlled by one and one-half per cent of them, who own 57 per cent of that stock. It is also said that a group of six in New York control 28 per cent of the labor and toil, and finally in that great steel corporation the control exists in one little bank in New York City.

While we went out in the early ages and subdued the earth, in the meantime we also started out to subdue man. Unfortunately, the conditions we are talking about this afternoon have existed all through the years. The early man was a warrior; he started out to fight or to hunt, and the work was left to the women. You see that even today, when the Indian chief rides on the pony and his wife comes walking along behind with a little slip cart carrying the tents and accoutrements on it. When they captured prisoners they were made to do the work. Then the weak and the prisoners were made slaves and they did the work.

In the Bible you will find a description of the Tower of Babel. Did you ever think of all the misery and suffering that must have occurred during the building of that structure and the great city of Babylon, with

its walls sixty miles in circumference? Think of it, friends, the torture of slavery that must have ensued in putting up that vast wall. In Syria you will find temples with blocks of granite 65 feet in length by 12 feet in depth up twenty feet in the walls, and today no modern engineer can tell how they got there. The Pyramids in Egypt are some of them 750 feet in breadth, and merely to enclose the miserable carcass and mummy of a king.

Liberty has been a slow growth through all ages, it has come up through toil and struggle. In those early ages the individual man seemed to have the power of killing his neighbor, but as time went on we learned the thought, "Thou shalt not kill." Then the chief, the king had that same power of life and death and it took ages before the king was governed by the thought, "Thou shalt not kill." A little further along the slave master seemed to have the power of life and death and it took ages for liberty to come up and teach him not to oppress his bond slave. Seventy-five years ago there was a law on the statute books of England which said a man should not beat his wife with a rod thicker than his thumb. And it took time before we locked up the wife beater. When the invention of machinery and the discovery of steam came about in England people went away from the towns where they could not take in apprentices and gathered in everybody. They built mills and those looms were in such a shape they could use younger people and they began to use little children. In a little while they found they were raising up one of the most awful conditions the world had ever seen, morally, physically, intellectually, every way they were raising up a body of young people that were growing to be imbeciles. Some of the great men, William Pitt among them, began to see this and started to provide that children should not be allowed to work in the factories, but it took years and years and debates of the fiercest kind in Parliament before they could come to that.

And so all along the line has come the growth of liberty, slowly, slowly

through toil and travail, and now I come, friends, to the message that I have and that I want to give you this afternoon. It is being said yet that a man can conduct his business as he pleases, but it is beginning to dawn upon us that no man can conduct his business as he pleases. I want you to get that. You cannot dump sewage out, there are rights of people.

No corporate body of wealth can conduct its business apart from the co-operative body of workers. I wish you would get that. No corporate body of wealth can conduct its business apart from the co-operative body of workers. This is the next thing in the line of liberty that must come. Blazon that everywhere, put it at the head of your News Letter, publish it everywhere that the day must come when no coporation can conduct its business as it pleases. That is the message I am trying to give. This can be done only by organization, by all coming together, by going out, as President Gompers has said, and trying every one of you to be an evangelist, an apostle to show men that they must come together and work along these lines. Oh, for more light on these matters, let us say like the great Giver of all good when he stretched His arm across the chaos of the world, "Let there be light."

When Constantine, the Emperor of Rome, was fighting for the great city of Rome, the legend is that across the sky he saw in letters of light "in hoc signo vinces"—in this sign conquer, and he put that on his banner and went out and conquered. So write across your sky in words of light—co-operate, organize—that must be the watchword.

President Walker: We have one more speaker with us. He will be brief in what he has to say. He is one of the men who, in the General Assembly before the last, did everything that lay in his power to help get enacted the laws labor was seeking. During the last session he left his work, came to Springfield, paid his own expenses and worked with the members he knew in the interest of the bills we were interested in. I

take great pleasure in introducing Brother Bob Jones, of Flora.

Mr. Jones: Mr. President and Delegates—I will not take up much of your time because I know you are busy. I realize that you are all weary and that you have a good deal of work to do, but there are one or two things I want to impress upon you in regard to legislation. I am of the opinion that the State of Illinois needs at this time more, than any other one thing a new constitution. The constitution of Illinois has not been revised since 1872 and fits the state today like the suit of an eight-year old boy would fit Jim Connors—and you who know Jim Connors know about how that would fit. And the state needs something besides a new constitution. I think the legislature of Illinois needs something. I don't know what it is, gentlemen, I cannot tell you.

Some man said last night, and truthfully, I think, that no public official was entitled to any credit for having performed his duty. I think that is right, but he is certainly entitled to the support of those in whose interests he does his duty. I am not a candidate for any office and do not expect to be—I am a coward, I don't want to run for fear of being beaten. But while your representatives in Springfield are working sincerely and honestly to secure the legislation you need you do not give them the support they should have. You are carried off by side issues and you do not support those men. If you did you could get anything you want.

I am not a member of any labor organization. Jim Morris says I am not entitled to membership in a labor organization, because a man must have done at least one day's work in his life to be entitled to membership. I don't know whether that is right or not, but I served six years of my time as an apprentice to a machinist, I have done a little bit of work and I think I could go to a lathe and do a little bit of work yet. I have not been in a position to join a union or I would have joined. I am as good a union man as any who sits in this house and I do things you men do not always do. When I go to buy

clothes or cigars I find out if they are union-made. Do you? Not long since in a little town in Southern Illinois I dropped into a restaurant with a man who belongs to a labor organization. He called for a popular brand of cigar that is not union-made and I called for a union-made cigar. The proprietor said he did not have the union-made cigar and I said I would not buy any cigars from him.

If you fellows really want what you say you want, the next time there is an election, no matter what your politics are, don't vote for a man who is not right. I do not say this for your benefit. I don't care for you fellows, you can take care of yourselves, you are able-bodied, but the children cannot do that. I like children and I want to see them grow up with proper schools, proper clothes and proper surroundings. I am for organized labor and I am for protection for organized labor because it protects the family and throws around them conditions they are entitled to.

As I said before, if you will stand by the fellows who stood by you in your fight you will get what you want. Don't shoot in the air, but aim at a mark. You can find out who is with you, and, whether he is a millionaire or a tramp, if he does what you want, you should be with him. When he makes good stand behind him.

President Walker: A resolution adopted by the last convention provides that the committee on Officers' Reports shall be ready to make a report on the second day of the convention. The committee is ready, but as we have been listening to the report of the committee on Constitution, unless there is some different action taken we will continue with that report.

Delegate Woll: I move that the committee on Constitution proceed. Seconded and carried.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

Delegate Keefe, Secretary of the Committee, continued with the report as follows:

Sections 1, 2 and 3 of Article VI were read by the Secretary, as follows:

ARTICLE VI.

Officers and Qualification.

Section 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a president, nine (9) vice-presidents, as follows: First, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth vice-president; a secretary-treasurer; three auditors and three tellers.

Section 2. The officers shall be elected for one year and their term of office shall begin on the first day of April of each year.

Section 3. The President, Vice-Presidents and Secretary-treasurer shall constitute the Executive Board.

The sections were adopted as read.

The Secretary read the following:

Section 4. No trade shall be represented in more than one of the offices of Vice-President, nor shall more than one (1) reside in any one city or town.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the section as recommended by the committee.

Delegate Heely, Granite City: Does that apply to the recording secretary of the State Federation? Can the president and secretary belong to the same organization?

Secretary Keefe: Yes; this has reference only to vice-presidents.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Sections 5 and 6, Article VI, were read, as follows:

Section 5. No member shall be eligible to nomination or election to office in the State Federation, who has not been a member of an affiliated organization for one year previous to election, nor whose local union has not been affiliated with the Federation for a like period of time.

Section 6. All elective officers shall be members of all conventions of the Federation, whether delegates or not.

Each section was adopted as read by the committee.

The secretary of the committee read the following:

ARTICLE VII.

Election of Officers.

Section 1. The President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary-Treasurer, Auditors and Tellers shall be elected by a referendum vote of the members, except as elsewhere herein provided, the candidates for the respective positions receiving a plurality of legal votes cast, shall be declared elected, except as restricted by sections one and two of Article XIII.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the section as recommended by the committee.

Delegate Wilson: Does it provide in any other place that they shall be elected in any other way?

Secretary Keefe: The referendum vote is the only way provided by this committee.

Delegate Short, Stonecutters: Does that include all the officers of the Federation, or are there any exceptions?

President Walker: It replaces the executive board members with a certain number of vice-presidents.

Delegate Bruce, Street Railway Employees: I do not think this ought to be passed over very lightly by this convention. It appears to me the Illinois State Federation of Labor is making a serious mistake. The referendum vote may be all right in organizations that have compulsory affiliation, but where the affiliation is voluntary I think it is a mistake. I know it will cause additional expense to local organizations that many of them will not be able to stand. I can speak for the street car men of Chicago, Division 241, where we have over 11,000 members, and in Division 308, where we have over 3,000 members. To conduct an election of this kind in No. 241 entails an expense of \$1,000. In our organization it will amount to over \$400. It is an injustice upon our organization, and I think there are hundreds of other organizations in the same position. I am sure, after a thorough consideration of this, we are making a serious mistake.

Of course, this is carrying out the law of the last convention, but I think something ought to be done here to correct that great mistake and do away with the referendum vote. The delegates here ought to go on record to discontinue that referendum vote. I know that is the sentiment of many of the delegates here, whether they desire to express it or not. I am sure it is the sentiment of most of the delegates in Chicago. I would like to see this convention go on record as opposed to the referendum vote in the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Fraternal Delegate Cormer: I believe the referendum vote is in accord with the spirit of democracy, and that is why I have always favored it since I have understood it, but I do not believe a plurality vote is in accord with the spirit of democracy; I believe the officers of this Federation should be elected by a majority vote. If they are elected by a plurality vote they often represent a minority of the organization. A majority vote should always control in a matter of this kind.

Delegate Harding, Typographical Union: What was the vote on the proposition that was submitted to the referendum, to change the system from elections in the convention to the referendum system?

Secretary Olander: I haven't those figures with me, but the majority was something over 10,000.

Delegate Harding: This proposition was discussed at length in the last convention, was submitted to a referendum vote, and I certainly think this convention would be going out of its province if it endeavored to nullify the results of a referendum vote adopted by a majority of 10,000. Any delegate would have a right to introduce an amendment to change the system, but that would also have to go to a referendum vote.

Delegate Woll, Proto Engravers: I am not going to question the action of the committee at all. I simply want to reiterate at this time the sentiment or thoughts expressed at the last convention. I am opposed to the referendum for the Illinois State Federation of Labor. I don't

believe it will work out successfully. I am satisfied to give it a fair trial, in the belief that that trial will in itself show the fallacy or the wisdom of that action; but I don't want, in approving of the committee's action, to be placed in the position of having approved the referendum for the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Delegate Fisher, Chicago: I am opposed to the referendum vote in connection with the election of officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. The delegates are here for a week and come in contact with the men running for office; we learn something about them in that length of time, but a good many members of the organizations do not know the men and will ask other people who to vote for. In that case it is not a referendum vote, it is a vote governed by the ideas of a few men in each organization.

Delegate Dunn, Painters: I don't know the motive that impelled this convention to go on record in favor of a referendum vote.

President Walker: The last convention decided to submit the question of whether or not the officers would be elected by referendum vote to the membership. By a majority of over 10,000 the membership decided they wanted the officers elected by that method.

Delegate Bruce: How many organizations failed to vote?

President Walker: It was published in the News Letter at that time. I have forgotten the exact number.

Delegate Bruce: Not more than twelve or fourteen per cent voted for it. The rest of the organizations did not vote for it at all.

Delegate Dunn, Painters: In my opinion a referendum election is not desirable in this case. While I realize the principle of democracy is involved in the referendum it is possible to carry that principle too far. It has been a hard matter on the part of some of the delegates to this convention to bring their organizations into line and show them where it is to their advantage to become

affiliated with the State Federation. A majority of the membership in the state is ignorant of the desirability of belonging to the State Federation. Many members of organizations do not know anything about the functions of the State Federation or the officials who are working for it. We have quite a number of things that go to the referendum in our organization, and it costs a considerable sum of money. The delegates who come to a convention represent the intelligence of their organizations and I believe they should elect the officers of the State Federation.

Delegate Seidel: I am in favor of the referendum vote; it is the only way the common people can succeed in accomplishing what they want. The organization I represent has secured pretty good results in the referendum vote. The referendum system was not built up in a day, it took years to educate the people. I would like to see the officers elected by referendum vote.

Delegate Sperry, Aurora: I believe the rank and file of the labor organizations do not take the trouble to investigate deeply enough to know how to vote intelligently for officers of this Federation. If it is left to the referendum it will be governed largely by the advice of the delegates, and will therefore be an election by the delegates. Therefore I am opposed to this referendum.

Delegate Heely, Granite City: I am opposed to the referendum. In our section when the election occurred a few wire pullers dictated how many of the votes were cast. I think we would have a better election in the convention. With all due respect to the miners, they can in that way dictate the policy and elect the officers even if they do not send any delegates here.

Delegate Fisher, Danville: I have not heard one voice so far talking for the referendum, all those who have spoken have opposed it. I am for the referendum. It is one of the planks of organized labor and we are the originators of it. How can we expect to get a popular vote for our state senators, national senators

and representatives in the United States if we knock it out in our own organization?

Delegate Culver: I don't think it is practicable for an organization of this kind to adopt a referendum vote. In the local I represent we do not have a referendum vote, and the International does not have a referendum vote. We have one of the largest organizations in the United States and one that is just as prosperous as any. We have very successful elections without the referendum.

Delegate Hefferley, Mine Workers: I cannot see for the life of me why the time of this convention should be consumed now in discussing the question. It has been settled by the rank and file by a majority of 10,000. We have heard all these arguments in reference to the referendum before, and we have heard a great many arguments for it. I contend this convention can consume its time to a better purpose than discussing something that has been adopted by the rank and file. You must admit that the rank and file that has spoken on this subject is superior to the convention. The rank and file sent you here, and before they did that they settled this proposition. As one delegate I am going to insist that this question be not discussed any further.

Delegate Gaude, Brewery Workers: I come from an organization that was first to adopt the referendum vote in its international union. We elect all our international officers and board members by referendum vote, but we nominate them in convention so as to give the members time to study and find out who the men are. I think the delegates found fault because the officers were nominated by referendum vote. Half of the fellows don't know who they are. We go to our meetings and say: "Who do you want to nominate for this office, or that?" The members will say: "We don't know. Use your own judgment. Nominate any one you want." I think that was the case in many local unions when this question was brought before them. If the officers

are nominated in convention and elected by referendum vote the people will study the matter closely. The other way it is a farce.

Delegate Martin McGraw, Chicago: Can a vote of this assemblage do away with that referendum vote?

President Walker: That is a question I had hoped the delegates would not ask me.

The question of the referendum vote was not requested by petition of the rank and file; it arose out of the instructions of some delegates to the last convention in Peoria, and as a result of the difference of opinion on the subject and the intense feeling that was exhibited it was decided to refer the question to the rank and file for a referendum vote. A further resolution was adopted that in the event the proposition to elect by referendum was carried by a majority of the membership, arrangements would be made to elect the officers for the coming year under that method. In so far as the election of officers for the ensuing term is concerned, under all parliamentary procedure and under all ordinary rules the constitution adopted in the last convention would govern.

In so far as the next election is concerned, I don't believe this convention has any power whatever to do other than elect on the basis of the referendum vote. The action of the last convention determined how the next election shall be brought about. Had they decided to adopt the usual method we would have elected in this convention. They had a right to decide, it was their duty in that convention to decide how the officers should be elected at the expiration of this term, and they decided to submit the question of how that should be done to the membership.

The only thing that can be done is to provide for action, not in regard to the coming election but the one after it, in this convention; and I don't think it will make a great deal of difference whether you decide to resubmit it to the rank and file or decide to have the question settled in the next convention. There is no doubt in my mind that if you decide

the question is an open one to be decided in the next convention—and I will have no objection to your doing it if you want to do it that way—every organization that wants the officers elected by referendum vote will send a full delegation instructed to act in accordance with their wishes; and every organization in the state that is opposed to the election by referendum will send a full delegation.

I don't believe this convention had the authority to change the method of election provided by the referendum vote, which was submitted by the delegates to the Peoria convention for the purpose of deciding that question.

Delegate Goodwin: I notice an apparent omission in the list of officers. Does this body have the power to send a delegate to the American Federation of Labor?

President Walker: Yes, we elect such a delegate.

Delegate Goodwin: Why is it not provided for in the list of officers?

Secretary Keefe: Provision is made for that in a future section.

Delegate Welch: I am representing one of the biggest locals in the State of Illinois, and I want to go on record as stating that, and I believe every member I represent is heartily in accord with the referendum. We have been fighting for that principle for years and now that we have it I think we ought to keep it.

Delegate Fettgatter: I should not favor a referendum vote except for one simple reason. If our officers are elected by the delegates I certainly would have left my local with strong instructions to vote for one certain man. My local is at home, I am here, and if I saw a man I thought better suited I could not vote for him, I would have to vote for the man I was instructed or violate those instructions.

Delegate Pace, Mine Workers: The referendum was settled last year. The convention at Decatur decided in favor of the referendum

and one year from that the convention in Peoria left it to the rank and file; they settled the question and it is folly for us to discuss it here and try to evade it. That is what the state legislature has been doing for several years. The people voted, in one instance six to one, to give us the referendum and the legislature had turned it down every time. We condemn the legislature for that, but we have a bunch come to this convention and try to evade the referendum in our own membership.

One delegate said this body of men represent the intelligence of the organized labor movement of Illinois. If they are smart enough at home to send such an intelligent body here undoubtedly they are smart enough to elect men to govern us. The men who oppose the referendum never do it openly, they evade it, they want to put it over another year, or show some place where the people made mistakes. It is true people make mistakes but if they do they can correct them.

A Delegate: I rise to a point of order. The chair has ruled that no action taken in a convention would have any effect on the section, so debate should be shut off.

President Walker: The chair stated that in his opinion the convention had no power to change the provision made for the next election of officers. I am not sure that you could not act in such a manner as to have the question either again referred to the rank and file, not as it will affect the coming election but as it will affect the one after that, or have it referred back to the local unions for instructions before you will act upon it for the second election. As for the first election, my opinion is that that is settled.

This constitution does not take effect until the first day of next April. The old constitution will govern until this constitution takes effect. The old constitution provides for the referendum vote in the election of officers. This constitution you are making provides, not for the coming election, but for the one after it.

Delegate Goodwin: Will you entertain a question later on in the week under the head of new business to resubmit to the rank and file whether the referendum election of officers can be again referred to the membership?

President Walker: I will have no choice, but I think it should be done in connection with this section. If the section is adopted it is decided how the election of officers will be conducted, not in the coming election, but in the one following that.

Delegate Cottrell, Peoria: In a communication to the local recording secretaries in regard to the referendum vote we did not specifically say this referendum was to be taken for one election or more?

President Walker: No.

Delegate Cottrell: Then how can the chair rule that we are going to make the laws for the elections after the next one? How can we take the referendum away from the rank and file without a referendum vote?

President Walker: The chair has not ruled that you can take it away. The chair has tried to make clear that the constitution from year to year governs the particular period during the time it is in effect, that each convention has a right to take up, within ordinary procedure, the questions involved in that constitution at each convention. That is one of the main purposes for which these conventions are held.

Delegate Hartman: There are so many of the brothers who have been active in the labor movement, and who realize in many cases how this referendum has worked to the detriment of their organizations, and we have heard so many advocates of the referendum and how it is going to cure all our troubles, but they have not taken the trouble to go out and make a fight against this proposition. I claim it is one of the rottenest propositions ever introduced in a labor organization.

Several delegates interrupted the speaker to contradict his last statement.

President Walker: It is not conducive to the best interests of the organization to interrupt a speaker even by ordinary conversation. I expect almost every man in here would raise all sorts of Cain if his organization refused to pay him for the time he spent here as a delegate. If he has a right to expect to be paid by his organization for the time he spends here, his organization has a right to expect his services while he is here. I hope no delegate present will do anything when a brother delegate is on the floor that he would not like to have done to himself. This movement is big and we ought to be big enough to give every man a right to express his own honest convictions in these matters, reserving the same right to ourselves.

Delegate Hartman: I like to see the brothers and sisters express their feelings—I express mine once in a while, too—but it doesn't worry me if they don't shoot off the way I want them to. Many of the delegates have seen instances where this thing has worked to the detriment of labor organizations. We have had a sample of it in the Brickmakers' organization. If a few of us could come to the next convention with sufficient data you will find it is not conducive to the best interests of the organized labor movement of this country.

We are going to elect officers to serve us. We see the actions of the different individuals, how they perform on the floor how they do their work on the committees, and we get an idea of whether they are capable or not. How do you elect officers? Do you vote for a man because he has pretty eyes or curly hair or pearly teeth? No, you vote for him because he is a capable man. Instead of the double expense of sending communications to all these locals to vote on a fellow the rank and file has never seen and know nothing about, except what they learn from a few delegates who have been in the convention, they can be elected in the convention.

Delegate Harding: I don't wish to discuss this matter, I don't think I have a right to discuss it, because

the membership has voted on this proposition and that is enough for me, but I want to explain this point: In the last convention I made a motion to cover the interim between the old system and the new. The motion was that the officers elected in the last convention continue in office until next April to cover the interim between the old and the new propositions. That is how this referendum proposition will cover the election that is to take place in December. This proposition of the committee applies to future elections, but the referendum principle applies as has been stated.

Delegate Lane, Butcher Workmen: I think a proposition should be provided to nominate in convention and have the election by referendum. A majority of the members of local unions do not know the members of other organizations. They do not know any one to vote for except members of their own craft.

Delegate Wright, Typographical Union, Chicago: I sincerely trust that the initiative and referendum proposition that we now have before the house will not be tinkered with in this convention. For a great many years the rank and file of the members at home have asked for a chance to participate in the actions of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. They have been given that chance, and instead of taking it away from them we ought to go further. If it is right to elect the officers by referendum vote it is right to take up certain questions of principle, and instead of taking away the right of the men at home, the men who pay your salary and mine to come here, the men who pay the salaries of the officers of this organization, we should go further. We have gotten away from the old soap box primary where we went into ward and district conventions and voted direct for the political boss. We want to get away from that. We want a chance to nominate as well as elect the men in the primaries.

We demanded the Australian ballot system, and now in a federation of labor organization they are asking for a chance to cast their ballot in a ballot box and to say what is not

good for you in your affairs in your cities and towns is not good for us here. We demanded the initiative and referendum to fight the boss with, but what position will we be in if we say we are going to create bosses of our own? I am opposed to this proposition. I don't believe in having even the nominations here. You say we will make mistakes. Of course we will make mistakes, but it is better for the rank and file to make mistakes and learn through making mistakes than to have comparatively few men sitting in convention to usurp all the knowledge and power of the trade union movement of the United States.

Is there any man or woman in this hall who has not demanded the right to vote upon United State Senators by popular ballot? It has been said in every meeting hall in Illinois that the House of Lords of the United States is an organization that ought to be broken up, and you have said you are going to do it by popular ballot. What position are we placing ourselves in today by spending two or three hours saying that what is sauce for the goose—for the big boss in Washington—is not sauce for the little boss in Illinois. You make yourself a laughing stock by sitting here and saying that the men who had sense enough to send us to Alton have not enough sense to elect a president or a secretary.

If you say we are going to submit it to a referendum vote, then the story goes out through the state—"The trade unionists, the men who pride themselves upon their knowledge of things political and social, don't know their own minds. One year they say they want the referendum and the next year they say they don't. They don't know whether they are on foot or on horseback. Where are they going to get off?" Let us keep the referendum, and instead of going back to the soap box primary in the State Federation, go forward, educate your men if you have to, if you have men who don't know enough to vote, educate them. The answer is not to take away the franchise from them. I hope this proposition will stick in the Federation.

Delegate Heacox, Mine Workers: I understand from some of the remarks here that some members of organizations did not have the opportunity they should have had to vote on this question. I don't know what opportunities the other gentlemen had in regard to the proposition, but speaking for our locality, we got the proper opportunity. We were notified of this vote and I believe our people voted unanimously for the referendum. The people at home have been making a fight for the referendum, they have been trying for years to get it. Now that we have it this little body of men should not attempt to tear down something the people at home built up. I am speaking for over 1000 men in our local and I am expressing their sentiment as well as my own.

It has been said that we have been trying to elect our national representatives by referendum. That is true, that is being agitated all over the United States and eventually it will be accomplished. I am strictly in favor of the referendum, and I don't care whether you send it back for another vote or not it will be sustained.

Delegate Bryant, Teamsters, Chicago: As one of the delegates representing over 2,000 people I want to state my opposition to this vote. Brother Wright's statement in favor of it rather voiced my opposition to it. He says to educate the men. Does he mean to tell them who to vote for? They send us here to vote for officers of the Federation. We can not get many men to our meetings unless there is something like the election of delegates up. They always come out when we elect delegates because they want to be properly represented here.

About two years ago in Chicago we had a city ballot. I don't know how many names were on it, but it was about six feet long and a foot wide. I knew probably half a dozen names on it. For all the others I had to pick out Irish names. A majority of our organization in Chicago do not know John Walker, they don't know whether Sam Jones or John Walker or Bill Brown is president, but we who attend the conven-

tions do know, and I believe in fairness to all the referendum vote should be thrown out and we should go back to the old plan.

Upon motion of Delegate Ambrose debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Secretary Keefe: Section 2, Article VII, is the same as a section in Article VI, and we struck it out. The next section will be Section 2 and all the succeeding sections will be advanced one number.

Sections 2, 3 and 4 were read, as follows:

Section 2. The next election of officers shall be held on or before the second Tuesday in December.

Section 3. All members in good standing in all affiliated local unions in good standing on December first of each election year shall be entitled to cast a vote. Central Bodies, District and State Organizations, chartered as Central Bodies, shall be entitled to cast as many votes in electing officers as they are entitled to delegates at the annual conventions of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Section 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare nomination blanks and send them to the Local Unions not later than twenty weeks before the date of election, and the Local Recording Secretary shall fill in the names of the members nominated by the Local Union for all various offices and forward the same to reach the Secretary-Treasurer's office not later than fifteen weeks before the date of election.

Each section was adopted as read.

The secretary read the following section:

Section 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall, within thirty days thereafter, notify all members who have been nominated, and ask if they are candidates, but no person shall be notified or be a candidate who has not been nominated by three or more local unions.

(The report of the committee provided for ten days. This was amended to read thirty days.)

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Wright, Typographical Union: I was going to ask the committee if they had not overlooked a little point in this section. The law provides that the secretary-treasurer shall within ten days notify all members who have been nominated. I don't believe it would be asking too much of the secretary, upon the request of the nominee, to notify him of all local unions that have been kind enough to nominate him. If he is going to stand for election the nominee can accept and thank the local unions that have been kind enough to put him in nomination. If he does not wish to run he can thank the local unions that have nominated him and withdraw from the race. I believe it will be a good provision to put in there because the matter was brought home personally to me.

I received a notice from the secretary-treasurer that I had received several nominations. I wrote back saying I did not intend to become a candidate. I received nominations for two offices. I wrote back saying I did not intend to be a candidate for one office and was in doubt as to the other, because I did not know the procedure and asked if I might know the locals that were kind enough to remember me when nominations were made. I was informed, and properly, I have no complaint to make, that the constitution did not provide for a thing of that kind.

I want to take this occasion to thank the different locals that were kind enough to remember me, and to say that I am not a candidate and will not be for any office in the gift of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. It is only a little courtesy to write to the central body or the local union and say, "Boys, I thank you for nominating me," but unless the candidate knows that the central body or the local union is in Aurora or Centralia or Granite City he cannot do that. I would suggest that, "Upon the request of the nominee the names

of the locals making the nomination will be forwarded to him," he added.

Secretary Olander: The question of courtesy was not involved in the particular case Brother Wright is referring to. Other delegates wrote and asked for the information as a matter of courtesy, and where the time and the office work permitted that information was sent to them. Another delegate from the Typographical Union asked me for that information and I told him I was swamped with work and could not do it then but I would send it later on. Brother Wright wrote for a decision as to the right of a nominee to that information before he announced his decision as to whether he would be a candidate or not. Inasmuch as some of the candidates were nominated by 200 locals, to decide that each nominee had a right to that information would mean that a half dozen stenographers would be employed for a week to comply with it.

As a matter of courtesy I think it would be wrong for any man in this office not to give such information, but as to a decision that might affect a future election, that was a different matter. This nomination matter comes just at the time we are beginning to prepare for the convention. You allow ten days' time. My experience is that ten days is not sufficient. There were 262 unions that sent in names this time, and in attending to the other work of the Federation and trying to make preparations for the convention, to compile these names and be certain no mistakes were made and no injustice was done kept our stenographer and myself working more hours each day during that period than either of us ought to be required to work.

I think we ought to have at least fifteen days. I question if that will be sufficient if all the locals are going to send in nominations. In this case I asked the auditing committee to re-check, and they did so, but found no errors. They found our check was in pretty good shape, but to compel us to rush it is risky. We have to arrange the names alphabetically, go over them and check, get the notifi-

cations out—and they were not out inside of the ten days this year—we could not do it and do the other work. If you want the nominees to have the right to know, before they decline or accept, the names of the locals that nominated them I want you to provide another stenographer for the secretary-treasurer at that time. If you want to leave it as it is now I think any man who holds the position of Secretary-Treasurer will be glad to give that information at a time when he can give it without throwing aside other business.

Brother Wright is not correct when he says he wrote in that he would decline some of the nominations but was in doubt as to one in his first letter. His first letter asked in regard to all the nominations, and I think there were three or four. The second letter stated that I had denied him a courtesy. Unfortunately Delegate Wright and I do not always agree and he takes that way of confusing the records between us. I did not intend to, and I did not deny any courtesy, but I refused to rule on a constitutional question that might confuse future elections.

Delegate Wright: I wrote in and said in that letter: "I believe it is within the province of a nominee to get the names of such organizations as have been kind enough to place him in nomination before sending in either acceptance or declinations of such honors. I will be pleased to have your decision in this matter."

President Walker: If the delegates wish to further discuss the matter it will be necessary to get special permission from the convention under the rules.

Delegate Wright: I asked the secretary if it was within my right, after he notified me I was a candidate for office—I didn't even know I was a candidate for office until the secretary notified me—who had honored me by sending in nominations. He said: "You state you believe it is within the province of a nominee to ask the names of organizations which have placed you in nomination before sending in either acceptance or declination in response to the notification sent to you, and you ask me

to render a decision in the matter. In response to this let me say the constitution, a copy of which I enclose, covers the subject of nominations in considerable detail, but no provision is made regarding the matter you refer to."

I am not a candidate. If I was a candidate, before I could accept office I would certainly like to know who put my name up. I believe other candidates would like the same knowledge. I don't ask favors very often when I have a right to ask—did you get that, Mr. Secretary?—I don't ask favors very often when I have a right to ask for information.

Delegate Bruce: I arise to a point of order. I think if Delegate Wright or Secretary Olander want to discuss the question any further they should do so and not discuss a personal matter. If they want to have a scrap they should go to another room and have it.

President Walker: Delegate Wright in discussing the matter left what Secretary Olander thought was a false impression in regard to it. He stated the case and after that Delegate Wright undertook to explain. He went on to discuss the matter and the chair insisted that he had no right to again discuss the question. He made some statements that seemed to cast a reflection on the secretary, and he wants now to correct them.

Secretary Olander: One letter asks for a decision, the other declines to give such decision because future elections would be affected by it and because the matter is not covered in the constitution. If you desire that information as a matter of right before the acceptance of nominations you must allow the secretary-treasurer's office much more time than either ten or fifteen days and more help. It will be a physical impossibility to furnish such information if we have a general demand for it. You are continually enlarging the work of the secretary's office. We have now, with the referendum work, quite a heavy load. The point I am interested in, however, is to have sufficient time allowed to permit of notifications being sent out within the legal limit. Ten days is not sufficient.

Secretary Keefe: We have no objection to fifteen or even twenty days. We are trying to facilitate the election of the State Federation and have it over as quickly as possible.

Secretary Olander: Is the committee willing to report fifteen days?

Secretary Keefe: Yes.

Delegate Lord moved as an amendment that the secretary be given thirty days instead of ten days. (Seconded and carried.)

The section as amended was adopted.

Delegate Maddox, of the local entertainment committee, announced that tickets for a wrestling match would be distributed to the delegates.

Delegate Adams asked that the convention adjourn before 5 o'clock in order that a photograph of the convention might be taken.

The chairman stated if there were no objections the request would be complied with after a report by the Credentials Committee had been read and the usual announcements made.

Credentials.

Delegate Jampel for the Committee on Credentials reported as follows:

Carpenters—Springfield, No. 16, W. E. Jolley.

Barbers—Alton, No. 81, James Springer.

The committee recommended the seating of the delegates named in the report. The recommendation of the committee was concurred in and the delegates seated.

At 4:45 the convention was adjourned to 9 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, October 20th.

THIRD DAY—Morning Session

Alton, Ill., October 20, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, October 20th, President John H. Walker in the chair.

Report of Committee on Constitution.

Delegate Allton, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

The following sections were read by the committee:

Section 6. Any nominee, in accordance with Section 5 of this article, who desires to become a candidate, must have his official notice attested by the officers of his local union and return said notice to the Secretary-Treasurer at once.

Section 7. The nominee filing his acceptance with the Secretary-Treasurer shall not be allowed to withdraw his name.

Section 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare ballots, giving the names and places of residence of those accepting nominations, the name of the organization of which they are a member, also showing the positions for which the various nomi-

nees are candidates, and forward them to the local unions in sufficient numbers to supply each member not later than four weeks prior to the date of the election. Two "Tally Sheets," one "Return Sheet," and one envelope for "Return Sheet" must accompany the ballots sent each local union.

The sections were adopted as read.

The chairman of the committee read the following section:

Section 9. Local Recording Secretaries must notify their members not later than one meeting prior to the dates set for the nomination and election of the officers.

Delegate Westerman, Carpenters: The Recording Secretary will be obliged to notify the members without instructions from his own organization. I am a secretary and I cannot do that. I have to be instructed by my organization. I don't see how this state convention has any jurisdiction over the secretary in instructing him to notify his members.

President Walker: If your organization is affiliated and takes part in the election they will have to recog-

nize the election laws of the Federation. We must have an election law in the State Federation. This is the method by which we provide for it by law. Every organization takes part in making these laws. I cannot see how anything else can be done than is being done to have any kind of system.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

The following sections were read seriatim by the chairman of the committee:

Section 10. Each Local Union shall designate at a regular meeting of the Local, where its election shall be held, and the place so designated shall be the official voting place of such local union, and under no circumstances shall the votes of any local be tabulated in any place other than the place designated by the local union, and no member shall be allowed to interfere with the official tellers during the tabulation.

Section 11. No member shall be allowed more than one (1) vote for any candidate, nor shall the local tellers record the vote of any member who is not present at the time the election is held except officers, organizers and workers in the field away from home, whose votes shall be recorded if sent to the Secretaries of their respective Local Unions.

Section 12. Each Local union shall elect from among its own members a committee of not less than three (3) nor more than six (6), three (3) of whom must be the local President, Financial and Recording Secretaries, to act as local tellers, whose duty shall be to supervise the election, and when requested, instruct the members how to vote, and tabulate the different candidates, and enter on the "Return Sheet" furnished by the Secretary-Treasurer for that purpose, the total number of votes for each candidate. The correctness of the "Return Sheet" must be attested with the local seal and signatures of the President and Recording-Secretary of the local union.

Section 13. Shall it be proven that more votes are recorded on the "Return Sheet" than were actually

cast by the members, the entire vote of the local union shall be thrown out by the tellers and those responsible for the fraud shall be punished as hereinafter provided.

Section 14. After the votes have been tabulated and the "Return Sheet" attested, it shall be turned over to the Recording-Secretary whose duty it shall be to see that the "Return Sheet" is properly attested, enclosed in a special envelope furnished by the Secretary-Treasurer's office. "Return Sheets" reaching headquarters after December 22nd, shall not be tabulated by the tellers.

Section 15. The envelope for "Return Sheets," furnished the Local Unions must have the name and address of the Secretary-Treasurer, and the following printed thereon: Election Returnsfrom L. U. No.....of whatever organization it is a part. It shall be the duty of the local Recording-Secretary to insert the numbers of the Local Union.

Section 16. When the "Return Sheets" reach the Secretary-Treasurer's office, he shall examine the envelopes to see if they are intact, make a proper record of their receipt, and deposit them, unopened in a securely locked receptacle provided for that purpose.

Section 17. Before turning the "Return Sheets" over to the Tellers, the Secretary-Treasurer, with the Tellers, must check them with the record made upon this receipt, and the Secretary-Treasurer shall take the Tellers' receipt for all "Return Sheets" turned over to them.

Section 18. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be absolute custodian of the "Return Sheets" from the time they reach his office until turned over to the Tellers and during the interims of tabulation.

Section 19. No member who is not a regular attendant of the meetings of his local shall be allowed to act as a Local Teller of election. Note: The terms "Regular Attendant" shall mean a member who attends at least one-half of the meetings of his Local Union six (6) months just previous to the election.

Section 20. The Tellers shall not count the votes of any Local Union that has cast more than the number of members such local paid per capita tax on, to the Illinois State Federation of Labor for the three (3) months preceding the one in which the election is held, unless a satisfactory explanation for so doing accompanies the "Return Sheet" of the Local Union so voting. Neither shall they count the votes of any local union that is not in good standing with all branches of the organization or whose "Return Sheet" is not attested as required by Section 14 of this article.

Section 21. All contests in connection with the votes of any local union must be filed with the Tellers not later than ten days after the date of election by some responsible and reputable member of a local union.

Section 22. In case no plurality vote is cast for any of the candidates for office, another referendum election under the provisions of the constitution, shall be held for that particular office.

Section 23. Local Officers of all Local Unions shall be required to carefully preserve all ballots which have been cast for officers by their respective Local Unions for a period of six months after the date of election.

Section 24. No member other than the Local Tellers shall be allowed to loiter around the voting place or to interfere in any way with the election of any local union.

Section 25. Local Tellers shall be held personally responsible for any irregularities that may take place in their Local Unions during the election.

Each section was adopted as read by the committee.

The chairman of the committee read the following section:

ARTICLE VII.

Section 26. Any local officer or teller failing to obey the laws regulating elections, or any member or members, interfering with local officers or tellers during the discharge of their duties in connection with elections, or

any member or members resorting to dishonest or questionable practice to secure the election or defeat of any candidate for office, shall be tried by the Executive Board, who shall recommend to their local unions that they be fined, suspended or expelled, as the magnitude of the transgression may warrant.

(The word "tried" was later stricken out and the word "investigated" was substituted, after discussion.)

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: I cannot understand what power this body has over an officer of the local I belong to or any local in the organization I represent.

President Walker: This does not claim any power further than the power to recommend.

Delegate Connors: If there is no way to punish the miscreant for a misdeed I don't see the value of this.

President Walker: We have to depend upon the honesty of the organizations themselves. If they refuse to be honest we may find some other means to punish them.

Delegate Connors: It doesn't matter much what the officer of a local does regarding an election, this State Federation has no power to punish him for his misdeeds; it has no power over a member of any organization only as he appears in this convention as a delegate.

President Walker: The section of the constitution you are really discussing has been acted upon.

Delegate Connors: If I could have that point settled I would feel better about it, but I cannot see where this Federation has any power to punish the local secretary of any other organization.

Delegate Wright, Typographical Union: I would like to call to the attention of the committee that this section is not in compliance with the American Federation of Labor law. The American Federation says a cigar maker can only be tried by the Cigar Makers and cannot be tried by a central body for a misdemeanor unless it occurs in the central body. You are making regulations for locals to

live up to which are in direct opposition to the international law of every international organization in the United States and of the American Federation of Labor. I think it would be just as well for the committee to reconsider this particular section and make it conform to the laws of the international unions and the American Federation of Labor. Under this proposition a committee from the State Federation of Labor composed possibly of printers, cigar-makers and retail clerks could go into a Mine Workers' local and try a mine worker for a misdemeanor in a mine workers' local. Is that correct?

President Walker: No. The only thing this provides for is that the Executive Board of the Federation, in the event dishonest practices on the part of men handling the election of officers of this Federation in the local unions are reported to them, shall investigate and make a recommendation to the local union, which will then act. The decision of the Executive Board will go to the local union in the way of a recommendation.

Delegate Wright: If the purpose of the section as read is to call the attention of a local union to a misdeed in that local organization nobody can object to it; but if you are going to have a trial take place by nonmembers of the local you will soon be in hot water.

President Walker: The decision of the trial court goes to the local union in the way of a recommendation.

Delegate Wright: You cannot say that to a local union. The man must be tried in his own local by a jury of his peers.

President Walker: There is no use trying to make one thing appear another. The substance and intent and real meaning of any action is the thing that is taken for what is done. If you were being tried by a court for something that that court itself was concerned in you would have to take part in it, you would have to be tried by a division of the court arranged to consider matters of that kind. If that decision was referred back to your own organization as a recommendation, leaving the entire

matter open for your own organization to do with it as it saw fit, it would not be considered a trial in the ordinary sense at all. This is not a simple matter, it is complicated and it is going to take time and patience to work it out.

You cannot arrange in the ordinary language governing the state how an election for officers of any organization shall take place. This is an extension of the proposition, to an organization that hasn't power to deal with and punish for any violation of its law. This simply provides for a hearing. The chances are if I were writing the section I would not use the language the committee has, but the only way we can really find out whether a man is guilty of the thing charged is to give him a hearing. After you have all the facts in the case, and not until then, you can recommend what, in your judgment, you think ought to be done with that man; but the decision and the real power to try, to decide, to penalize and enforce the penalty rests with the local union. The court of the Federation is simply an advisory court and I don't think any one can really object, because it does not mean anything except with the full consent of the organization to which the man being tried for a violation of the laws belongs.

Delegate Brooks moved as an amendment that the words "be tried" be stricken out and the words "be investigated" inserted. (Seconded.)

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: That does not seem to clear away the evil spirit that is connected with that section. This body now is assuming to construct a constitution for the organization I belong to, and to that I object. You have no right and no power and no influence over any organization that has a delegate in this body. The only control you have is over delegates assembled. You have no power to punish or to question the actions of the members or officers of the organization I represent. That is for the members of the organization I represent to do. Charges may be preferred against a member through his local and he will be tried in his own local. How are you going to get around that?

President Walker: This does not attempt to do anything except to investigate and recommend.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: If this section means anything it means that in the event it is a forceful proposition it must become a part of the constitution of the organization I represent.

President Walker: This simply provides for the election of officers in the Illinois State Federation of Labor. I believe if you will look up the matter you will find a majority of the organization you represent voting to have the elections held this way. There must be somebody with authority to lay down a uniform system or method for holding the election. This has been done. It is anticipated that in some locals irregularities may appear. If this is adopted it will mean that where irregularities are reported there will be an investigation to find out whether there is any truth in them or not. If it is found there is a report will be made to the local union. That local union will itself determine what will be done with its member in that case. It is taking no power to discipline members out of the hands of organizations.

You cannot arrange for a referendum election without arranging for a uniform method of holding election. I presume most of the affiliated organizations have delegates here and they are taking part in adopting these uniform laws.

Delegate Connors: This question in my mind is that of authority. I cannot agree that this body has any right to assume any authority over any affiliated organization. If this body has the power to discipline or punish a member or an officer of a union that did an overt act or an unfair thing I would say amend the proposition, but the question is of authority to do these things.

President Walker: They haven't the authority, unfortunately and they are not attempting to exercise it. They are going as near to it as they can.

Delegate McLaughlin, Mine Workers: I believe all there is in this is

to get honest elections. I don't believe there is a delegate here in this assemblage today that is not in favor of honest elections. I believe the State Federation has the authority to do what the committee recommends.

Delegate Bruce, Street Railway Employees: The affiliated locals have already voted on this question as it appears in the law. When they took the referendum the whole law as changed was put before them, was it not?

President Walker: I think I know what you are trying to get at. I believe if there were any defects that did not affect the principle of what the organizations voted upon, if we want simply to perfect the crude thing that was given them to vote on—we have a perfect right in this convention to correct it.

Delegate Bruce: As the locals have already voted on this law I think this convention is wrong in making any changes unless it is again referred to the referendum. I don't think the convention has any right to change any part of the law unless it is referred back to the membership. Some people said there were so many things wrong in the law it would be best to let it go and it would die a natural death. I believe that will be the result. If this law is not changed by the next convention we will lose a lot of organizations that are affiliated.

President Walker: Yesterday a number insisted that because of a referendum vote being taken on this matter the convention did not have jurisdiction. They intended that to mean, I presume, the principle that was adopted. I think you made clear yesterday that the convention did have authority to upset the whole proposition and overturn everything. Now you take the other position that it is sacred.

Delegate Hayward: I believe the federal government of this country went along the same lines this Federation proposes to go when it appointed the Industrial Relations Commission. That commission had power to investigate and recommend. They investigated and found evils existing

and I believe they are going to make recommendation. This is along the same line. If there is any dishonesty being practiced in the election of the Federation this body can recommend to the local unions that they adopt laws to govern the membership in future elections. I hope in the next referendum local unions will see the necessity of adopting laws to govern the election of officers of the State Federation. They have agreed to adopt them by a referendum vote and the local unions should see that their own officers carry out the method in the spirit that is intended. There is nothing here that will take away any rights guaranteed by the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Russell, Peoria: Yesterday you discussed the foreman. I understand that you were all scared of the foreman. I am not afraid of the foreman. The same proposition is brought up today in this section. It says: "Any local officer or teller failing to do his duty." Are you afraid of the local officers or the tellers? If we cannot control those men in our own organizations there is no use in bringing it up in the conventions of the State Federation.

President Walker: The question before the house is the amendment to strike out the words "be tried," and insert the words "be investigated."

Delegate Jessen: You haven't the power to bring a member before the Executive Board. The only way you can get the facts is by hearing both sides. If a member refuses to be investigated what will be done? I think the constitution should stand as it is at the present time.

Delegate Lane, Butcher Workmen: Do you mean this to be construed that any local union would be denied affiliation if it did not punish such officers?

President Walker: I think we would report it back to the convention and the delegates would do what they thought best.

The amendment offered by Delegate Brooks was carried and the section as amended was adopted.

Chairman Allton, of the committee: The committee took the position in this entire Article that just as few changes as possible would be made. We felt the article had not been tried out, and that after it had been tried out such defects as it might contain would appear and from the experience of the Federation the necessary changes could be made by the next convention. The committee did not choose the language of this article; we found the language in the proposition adopted by the referendum and in most cases left it just as it was.

The chairman of the committee read the following section:

Section 27. Upon the signed request of ten (10) per cent of the entire membership, the Secretary-Treasurer shall send out a petition to each local union for the recall of any officer guilty of malfeasance. Said petition to accompany charges for which a recall is asked, and defense of those charged. If within thirty days after the petition is sent out, thirty (30) per cent of the entire membership send a signed request to the Secretary-Treasurer, the Executive Board shall call an election for the recall of any officer charged. Said election to be held in accordance with the election laws of this organization.

Delegate Seidel: I move the following as a substitute for the section recommended by the committee:

(a) Any Central Body or Local Lodge in good standing in the State Federation of Labor shall have the privilege of proposing the recall of one or more officers through the referendum, by submitting to the General Secretary-Treasurer a proposition naming the officer, or officers, whose recall is desired, giving specific reasons for the issuance of such recall and accompanying the same with the endorsement under seal of fifty (50) lodges in good standing, not more than ten (10) of which shall be from any one city. All circulars sent out by a central body or local lodge for recall endorsements, shall be issued on the same date. The endorsements shall be returnable from the local lodges re-

ceiving them to the local lodge issuing them within thirty (30) days.

(b) The General Secretary-Treasurer, upon receipt of proposition and endorsements as provided above, shall immediately notify the officers whose recall is demanded, said officers shall have the privilege within ten (10) days of receipt of such notice, to submit to the General Secretary-Treasurer a written statement in his own defense, such statement shall not exceed three hundred (300) words, and shall be printed at the expense of the State Federation of Labor.

Delegate Connors: I don't want to be contrary, but I want to make a motion.

Delegate Argust: I rise to a point of order on Delegate Connors. Brother Seidel has the floor.

Delegate Connors: There is no motion before the house and I desire to make one in order to allow him to introduce his amendment.

President Walker: The chair in ruling on the matter wants to make this statement: The rule has been adopted in all the American Federation of Labor conventions as in nearly every convention I have ever attended that when a committee reads a report it is taken for granted they move its adoption. That is the practice so far carried out in this convention.

Delegate Connors: I know the formality in these matters in legislative bodies. Now I want to make a motion in order to get the thing cleared up so he can introduce his amendment.

Delegate Seidel: If a man is re-elected by the referendum it is shown he is vindicated. There is no provision in the report of the committee for that.

President Walker: He has that right under the law.

Delegate Seidel: I know how many men belong to the State Federation of Labor and I think it would be good to have a certain number of local lodges send in communications with the proposition

stating what law he had violated. If the secretary receives that notice from fifty lodges that he should be recalled the secretary will introduce a statement to the organizations that are affiliated and at the same time notify the officer who is to be recalled and he will send in a statement which will also go to the locals.

Delegate Connors: Now if I am in order I will make a motion that Section 28, now known as Section 27, be adopted as read by the committee. (Seconded.)

President Walker: The motion made by Delegate Connors is already before this convention.

Delegate Cahill: I rise to a point of order. The motion originally was initiated by the Law Committee. What is before the house now is the substitute of Brother Seidel.

President Walker: That was not seconded.

A Delegate: I second it now.

President Walker: You are too late.

Delegate Cahill: I have noticed that any one who is new in the movement is not given much consideration. I have often noticed that "out of the mouths of babes comes wisdom." I think there is merit in the amendment offered by Delegate Seidel. If we were to print it and we could study it we might decide to adopt it. Brother Seidel I understand is young in the movement. If it came from some of the old wheel horses I presume it would be given more consideration. If you could refer it to the Law Committee to go over it again it would be a good idea.

President Walker: The chair has no objections and will not do any more than ordinary parliamentary law calls for; but if all these matters are considered at such length we will be here all this week and part of next week. I want to advise you, Brother Cahill, that Delegate Seidel is anything but a young member in the movement. He is pretty well seasoned and understands and has taken part in the work for a considerable time.

Delegate Connors: I was going to rise to make the same statement. Now I call for the question on the motion to adopt the report of the committee.

President Walker: As the substitute was not seconded the vote will be on the original motion.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The chairman of the committee read the following section:

Section 28. Should two or more Vice-Presidential candidates representing the same trade, or residing in the same city receive enough votes to elect, the one receiving the highest number of votes shall be elected and the other candidate shall be declared ineligible and the candidate for that office who is eligible and receiving the greater number of votes shall be declared elected.

Delegate Culver: I do not see any provision for a tie vote.

Chairman Allton: That is provided for in another section.

Delegate Berger, Brewery Workmen: Is this Federation financially able to hold an election like this without levying an assessment, and has the Federation power to levy an assessment?

President Walker: We have gone half through the cost so far as the Federation is concerned in the coming election, and I think we will be able to weather it all right. I have no doubt we will be able to meet the financial needs in the future so far as elections are concerned. I think the Federation has the right to levy a five-cent assessment during the year. It has never been done and I don't think it will be done in this case.

The section as reported by the committee was adopted.

Vice-President Whalen in the chair.

The following sections were read seriatim by the chairman of the committee:

ARTICLE VIII.

Duties of President.

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the annual conventions, appoint all committees not otherwise provided for, and perform the functions devolving upon an executive officer. He shall, with the Secretary-Treasurer, prepare and send out all official circulars and appeals of the Federation, and shall attend to all other official correspondence of the Federation except that falling within the province of the Secretary.

Section 2. The President shall be employed by the year and devote his entire time to the business of the State Federation, and shall, if possible, visit the central bodies at least twice a year. He shall receive for his services a salary of two hundred (200) dollars per month, payable semi-monthly, and actual hotel and railroad expenses, and shall make a monthly report to the Secretary of all expenses incurred.

Section 3. The President shall act as Chairman of the Executive Board and upon request from a majority of the Executive Board, or upon the request of five (5) or more affiliated central bodies, or when he deems it necessary shall call a special meeting of the Executive Board.

Section 4. He shall with the approval of the Executive Board, appoint district organizers whose duty it shall be to secure the affiliation of local unions and central bodies with this Federation. The aforesaid organizers shall receive the membership fee of affiliation, and no other expense shall be incurred by the State Federation for such services.

Section 5. The President shall represent the State Federation in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor as its delegate, and shall mail his report to all affiliated locals within thirty (30) days after adjournment of that convention.

Section 6. The President shall be chairman of the Legislative Committee of which the Executive Board shall be advisory members. He shall have complete charge of the work of the Federation in securing legisla-

tion and shall devote as much of his time to this work as shall be necessary. He shall have power to select such assistants as he deems necessary from time to time with the approval of the Executive Board, and shall co-operate with representatives of other bona fide labor organizations, endeavoring to secure favorable legislation. He shall report to the Executive Board as to work performed and results achieved, giving information as complete as possible of the roll call vote on labor bills and the actions and attitude of all representatives and senators toward legislation affecting the workers. The Executive Board shall, immediately after adjournment of the Legislature prepare and send to all affiliated organizations a complete final report, including therein, the report of the President and assistants, with such recommendations and appeals as in their judgment is necessary.

Duties of Vice-Presidents.

Section 1. The Vice-Presidents shall, in the event of a vacancy in the office of President, be advanced in successive order, and the First Vice-President shall perform the duties of that office. They shall preside at the conventions when called upon by the President; shall act as Executive Board members and perform other duties that may devolve upon them.

ARTICLE X.

Duties of Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 1. The duties of the Secretary-Treasurer shall be to take charge of all books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to act as Secretary of the conventions of the Federation, and shall furnish the delegates and Secretaries of affiliated organizations with a verbatim report of the proceedings of such conventions as soon after adjournment as possible. He shall be a member of, and act as Secretary of the Executive Board; he shall furnish the committee on credentials at least two (2) days prior to the beginning of the convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; and shall at the same time furnish the committees on

Constitution Resolutions, Officers' Reports and respectively, all resolutions and amendments received by him for consideration by the convention.

Section 2. He shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such a manner as the annual convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation and care for them in a business-like manner. He shall in conjunction with the President, issue circulars and appeals as need for them may arise.

Section 3. He shall submit to the Auditing Company selected by the Executive Board on March 31 and Sept. 30 of each year, the books, ledgers, receipts and other papers of his office, and shall present to the regular convention, the Auditing Company's itemized report for the preceding year.

He shall publish a circular report of all financial and general work each quarter and mail one copy to each affiliated body.

Section 4. Not later than sixty (60) days prior to the annual convention, the Secretary shall mail a sufficient number of blank credentials with necessary instructions and information thereon to all affiliated organizations as provided for in Article V.

Each of the sections was adopted as read by the chairman of the committee.

The chairman of the committee read the following section:

Section 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond of five thousand (\$5000) dollars in some reliable licensed surety company, to be selected by the Executive Board (the expense to be borne by the Federation). For the faithful performance of his duties, and for his services he shall receive the sum of two hundred (200) dollars per month and expenses, payable semi-monthly.

(The report of the committee provided for \$175 a month for the secretary. After the discussion it was amended as above.)

Delegate Harding: I would like to inquire why the president should get twenty-five dollars a month more than the secretary-treasurer? Not that the president gets too much, but I think that inasmuch as the secretary and the president put in their full time the salaries should be equal. I therefore move to amend to make the secretary's salary \$200 a month. (Seconded.)

President Walker: I don't know of any amendment that is more nearly fair that has been introduced by the convention.

Secretary Keefe: The committee has no objection to salary raises and will accept that as part of their report. Although we did not feel that salary raises should come from the committee we will be glad to make it part of our report.

The amendment of Delegate Harding was adopted and the report of the committee was adopted as amended.

The following sections were read seriatim by the chairman of the committee:

Section 6. The Secretary-Treasurer shall comply with the provisions of Article VI and shall turn over to the Tellers the "Return Sheets" and other papers on or before the fifteenth of January first following the annual election.

Section 7. The Secretary shall forward to the Chairman of the Constitution and Resolution Committees, respectively, at least two (2) days prior to the opening of the annual convention, all resolutions and amendments of the constitution received by him for consideration by the convention; and shall furnish the Auditors with the per capita tax report, credentials and other necessary papers at the same date.

ARTICLE XI.

Duties of Executive Board.

Section 1. The Executive Board shall receive and approve the bond of the Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2. The Executive Board shall have power to enforce all the laws of the Federation and shall have power to make rules to govern matters not in conflict with this consti-

tution or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Section 3. The Executive Board shall have the power to remove from office, any officer who, upon trial and conviction, has been found guilty of neglect of duty or violation of the constitution and by-laws of the Federation, or who has been found guilty of conduct that would tend to bring organized labor into disrepute, subject to appeal to the next annual convention following, and should the decision of the Board be reversed thereby the appellant shall receive his regular salary and expenses unpaid because of such removal.

Section 4. The Executive Board, at such time and place as they deem necessary shall be given power, under the provisions and conditions of this constitution, to call a special convention of all organizations as may be interested, for the purpose of devising ways and means whereby organized labor may, in an intelligent manner, be enabled to take such action as shall be in the best interests of the working people.

Section 5. The Executive Board shall whenever, in their judgment, necessity requires, appoint organizers either at a regular session or by a referendum vote of the members. The compensation of said organizers shall be determined by the Executive Board at the rate not to exceed six (6) dollars per day and actual hotel and traveling expenses. No expense for organizing purposes shall be incurred unless the money is in the treasury to meet said expense.

Section 6. The members of the Executive Board and all committees shall be paid six (6) dollars per day and actual hotel and traveling expenses while on duty.

ARTICLE XII.

Revenue.

Section 1. Each eligible trade union, central body, etc., desiring to become affiliated with the State Federation shall pay an initiation fee of five (5) dollars, provided, however, when unions are composed exclusively of women, the initiation fee shall be two dollars and fifty cents (\$2.50).

Section 2. Local unions and District or State Organizations paying tax upon their full membership, affiliated with the Illinois State Federation of Labor, shall pay a per capita tax of one cent per member per month, payable before the fifteenth day of the succeeding month. Organizations composed exclusively of women shall pay one-half cent per member per month.

Section 3. City Central Bodies or District and State Councils chartered as Central Bodies shall pay the sum of two dollars and fifty cents (\$2.50) quarterly to the Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 4. Each affiliated organization shall subscribe annually for one yearly subscription to the Weekly News Letter of the State Federation at one (\$1) dollar per year, payable in advance, beginning November first, 1915.

Section 5. When a local union or central body becomes three (3) months in arrears for dues or per capita tax, such local union or central body shall, after being duly notified, stand suspended until all arrears have been paid. Failure to pay in six (6) months shall be cause for expulsion without notice from the officials of the Federation.

Each section was adopted as recommended by the committee.

Chairman Allton read the following section:

Section 6. An assessment of five (5) cents per year per member may be levied by a regular or special convention of the Federation or by the Executive Board on all local unions affiliated, and on all central bodies, an assessment of three (3) dollars per year. These assessments, to become due and payable within thirty (30) days after they are levied, and no delegate shall be seated in the annual convention whose organization has not paid such assessment; nor shall such organization be entitled to vote for officers of the Federation.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: I have no objection to assessments, but I would like to know what the assessments are for. I believe this section should define the reasons for which assessments can be levied. There

are certain things for which it is necessary to have revenue, but we should not leave ourselves open to be assessed for anything and everything that comes up. I presume it is necessary to have money for the Federation to carry on its legislative work, but I don't know of any other proposition at this time we could be legally assessed for. If it is intended to levy an assessment to defray the expenses of carrying on the legislative work it should be so stated in this section.

Secretary Keefe: The former constitution of the Federation specified legislative work. There was a considerable cost to the Federation for the special convention that was held. There was no provision for that cost. There is no delegate here but will admit the special convention carried weight with it. We may need some more special conventions. You have provided for a referendum the cost of which you do not know. We are merely providing for an assessment in case it is necessary to carry on the work of the organization. It can be used for whatever purpose the nine vice-presidents, the president and the secretary see fit to use it. If we cannot trust those men to use our money and levy assessments on us there isn't much use having them as officers.

Delegate Connors: That part of it is all right, I have no objection to that and I have no objection to the special convention that was held; I believe it was a source of good. It has its effect, and it will be more clearly demonstrated to the workers of this state in time to come than it is at present; but that convention was part of the legislative work of this body. As to levying assessments upon the international organizations to defray expenses of this referendum proposition—I am not in favor of that because the organizations did not vote for this. A small portion of them did. Let the portion that voted for the referendum pay the expenses of it.

President Walker: The chair is of the opinion—with some little knowledge of what referendum elections cost—that it will not be necessary to levy any assessment whatever to

make up any deficit created by the referendum in our organization. However, it may be possible there will be a struggle on of such importance that an assessment will be necessary—a lockout or a strike—and a five-cent assessment may save the day, while to lose it might mean something more than dollars to every member of the labor movement of the state. From past experience I do not think the State Federation will levy an assessment to encourage anybody to invite trouble; I don't think it will levy an assessment unless as a last resort, when it means life or death to some organization.

I believe if it should be of vital importance to assist a portion of the state movement that is involved in a struggle a five-cent assessment would not be considered very much out of the way by the membership in our movement if it meant saving the day in a case of that kind. While the possibility is if an assessment is levied it will be for legislative purposes more than anything else, I feel if it is going to be specified in there that in addition to legislative purposes in extreme cases, as a last resort in an economic struggle we will be enabled to raise an extra amount of money we can do that without creating any division in the movement.

Delegate Connors: I would offer an amendment: "That a five-cent assessment may be levied for legislative purposes and other extreme exigencies." (Seconded.)

Delegate Harding, Typographical Union: What is the difference?

President Walker: The difference is that Jim is satisfied.

Delegate Harding: I have no objection to that sentence going in, it means the same, but I believe the object should be expressed in the fewest words. I think the way it is expressed in the report of the committee is sufficient. There is a great deal of difference of opinion on this proposition. Many of the delegates probably doubt whether a proposition of this kind should be adopted by this body. I believe, in order to strengthen the organization, while it does extend the power of the officers, this should be adopted. Under the

old constitution it was limited to legislative purposes. I believe the proposition now presented should be adopted.

I should like to say, if there is no objection, that the last convention of the organization held in the city of Alton was held in 1891. I had the honor to be elected president and I think at that time we had 40 delegates. We had no salaried officers. We had a weak and struggling organization. Today we have the magnificent organization we see represented here, and I don't believe anything should be done to hamper the work of the organization or the work of the officers. I believe their hands should be strengthened, and in the long run this organization will build itself up into a power for good in the state of Illinois.

Delegate Golden, Teamsters: I move to close the debate. (Seconded and carried.)

The amendment of Delegate Connors was lost.

The section as reported by the committee was adopted.

The secretary of the committee read the following sections:

ARTICLE XIII.

Vacancies.

Section 1. When vacancies occur in the office of President or any of the Vice-Presidents, the Vice-Presidents of lower rank shall move up in order.

Section 2. Vacancy in the office of Secretary-Treasurer shall be filled by the Executive Board from their own membership. Under the qualifications of this constitution, the President is hereby given power to fill all vacancies in the office of Ninth Vice-President that may occur between the annual elections, subject to approval by the Executive Board.

ARTICLE XIV.

Auditing.

Section 1. The books and accounts of the officers of the Federation shall be audited semi-annually on the thirty-first of March and the thirtieth of September, by a reputable licensed

auditing company to be selected by the Executive Board. The report of such company to be submitted to the Executive Board and by them to the affiliated organizations.

Section 2. The duties of the Auditing committee shall be to audit and compare the per capita tax report of affiliated organizations with credentials presented and shall act as the Credentials Committee provided for herein; and for a faithful performance of their duties, shall receive the compensation paid to organizers.

ARTICLE XV.

Tellers.

Section 1. The Tellers shall meet at the office of the Secretary-Treasurer not later than the fifteenth of January immediately following each annual election and shall count and tabulate the vote for officers of the Federation as turned over by the Secretary-Treasurer, and shall report the result to the affiliated organizations immediately thereafter through the Weekly News Letter.

Section 2. They shall act upon and decide all questions of contest and their decisions on all matters shall be final, unless appeal therefrom is taken to the Executive Board within thirty (30) days after the decision is rendered.

ARTICLE XVI.

Weekly News Letter.

Section 1. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall issue each week an official News Letter devoted to the interests of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and shall act as editors and have charge of publishing the same.

Each section was adopted as read by the committee.

The secretary of the committee read the following section:

ARTICLE XVII.

Strikes and Boycotts.

Section 1. The President, with the Secretary, is empowered to investigate all strikes in the state, and if deemed necessary, shall with the Secretary issue an appeal in behalf

of the strikers. Whenever any organization holding membership in the Illinois State Federation of Labor shall have a strike or lockout (refusal to employ union men in any branch may be construed as a lockout) it must immediately communicate to the Secretary of this body the name or names of the employer or employers, and the nature of the work or the kind of product, and the Secretary shall then promptly send this information to all other members of the Federation. Such communications are to be read in open meetings or the information circulated in a thorough manner. The settlement of any such cases shall also be speedily spread in the same manner.

Delegate MacGowan: I desire to offer an amendment. I move to amend by adding after the word "necessary," line 4, "when requested by the organizations involved."

The motion was seconded by Delegate Connors, and carried, and the section as amended was adopted.

The secretary of the committee read the following section:

ARTICLE XVIII.

Rules of Order.

Section 1. This convention, in addition to the annually adopted rules, shall be governed by Roberts' Rules of Order.

The section was adopted as recommended by the committee.

The secretary of the committee read the following section:

ARTICLE XIX.

Amendments.

Section 1. No alterations or amendments to this constitution shall be considered unless submitted by affiliated organizations, elected officers or delegates in compliance with the rules set forth herein before, and adopted by a majority vote of the delegates seated in the convention.

(The original report of the committee provided for a two-thirds vote.)

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: We are adopting a referendum proposition. To that I have no objection, I am glad it has been adopted and I hope it will be a success. I am not like some here who want to see it adopted in order that it may be slaughtered, or anything like that. But this article provides for adopting a constitution by a two-thirds vote of the delegates seated in this convention. If we are consistent and believe in the referendum proposition this constitution should be printed and sent out to the organizations affiliated to give them a chance to adopt it by a referendum. Let it be referendum all the way.

President Walker: The chair was rather doubtful about the referendum method becoming generally popular, but he is satisfied that from this morning's experience that in the course of another year we will have it unanimous.

Secretary Keefe: The committee acted upon what the convention had done. You did not say to the committee that you had provided for the referendum to adopt your laws. If you had said you wanted the referendum to make your laws there would be no need of this committee. We did what we thought our duty, and this section is the only way we know what changes could be made in the constitution by this convention. We tried to prevent ax-grinding delegates coming in here and submitting resolutions not vouched for by their organizations. If there are to be any changes made in the constitution the organizations can send them in.

Delegate Harding, Typographical Union: This is simply a process of evolution. It is not unusual for organizations that have had the referendum in effect for years to submit certain propositions to the referendum and to decide certain propositions in a convention. The referendum idea has been in effect in the International Typographical Union for a good many years. The man who was responsible for the inauguration of the referendum in the International Typographical Union was the first victim of the referendum, unfortunately. The first time they had an

election under that system he was defeated, but that has nothing to do with the good or bad features of the referendum itself. I think it is safe to let this go the way the committee recommends, at least until the next convention. If we make further progress and inaugurate a system for submitting all these propositions to the membership we can do it. As a printer I am in favor of the referendum because it will make lots of printing. In the meantime I think this is a perfectly safe proposition.

Delegate Williams, Mine Workers, moved to amend by striking out the words "two thirds" and inserting "majority." (Seconded.)

Delegate Williams: I think it is more democratic to have it read "a majority." It is not consistent to stifle the wishes of a majority of the membership.

The amendment offered by Delegate Williams was carried and the section as amended was adopted.

Delegate Berger, Brewery Workmen: Would a motion be in order at this time to have the financial itemized report of this referendum appear in the Weekly News Letter?

President Walker: It would hardly be in order under the report of this committee. You can bring that up as soon as we have disposed of this report.

Delegate Nachschoen, Mount Olive: Before we adopt the constitution as a whole I would like to make a few remarks in regard to a trade that has not been mentioned. The committee did not mention the paper used in the correspondence, the News Letter and other matters in connection with the organization. They did not say it should bear the paper makers' label. Two years ago we had a paper factory in Taylorville. They lost a strike there and today we have only two factories in the United States that have the label. I have been in the East and I never saw a more staunch bunch of union men than the paper makers. I think we should provide that all paper used by the State Federation must bear the label of the paper makers.

President Walker: Some previous convention adopted a motion to that effect, or at least that is the impression of the officers, and in so far as it has been within their power to get label paper they have done so, and I expect that will be their course in the future whether an amendment or a motion to that effect is adopted. We have found considerable difficulty at times in getting certain grades of paper; at other times we have found it impossible, at the time we needed it to get even the ordinary paper. In such a case a delay would mean a loss to the effect of some action. If we put it in the constitution and we are not able to get the paper nothing goes out, and you will be creating a condition that will work to the detriment of the movement without doing anybody any real good.

Delegate Lohn: I move that on and after the first of January, 1916, no communication be received or accepted by the secretary or any of the officials of the State Federation of Labor from any central or local organizations written upon paper that does not bear the watermark of the Paper Makers. (Seconded.)

Delegate Lohn: I offer this motion in behalf of the Chicago Federation of Labor. I was at a meeting when the Chicago Federation took similar action. I believe it is up to the trades unionists to show consistency if we are ever going to gain anything. I don't believe the Federation should accept a communication from any local after January first that is not on paper with the watermark. They can get the paper, and if they have any stocks on hand this will give them an opportunity to use them up.

President Walker: I think the motion is a good one, but in order to be absolutely consistent we ought to include in there: "Or any individual letter coming from any member of a labor organization."

Delegate Wright, Typographical Union: I believe that every trade unionist would like to use the paper made by the Paper Makers' organization, but I know the trouble I have had in Chicago. If it had not been for the kindness of International President Perkins of the Cigarmakers

upon a number of occasions both the State Federation of Labor and the Typographical Union would have had to send out communications on paper not bearing the watermark. We have not had so much difficulty lately. President Perkins bought a supply of paper on which to print the Cigarmakers' journal, and the only way to get that paper in Chicago was to panhandle President Perkins to get it. We have tried time after time to get it in Chicago.

It is impossible for many of the small printers throughout the state to get the watermarked papers in small quantities. It is sold only in large quantities. My organization, just like every other organization, is trying to carry out the principles of the trade union movement and help our brother paper makers, but we have to use occasionally paper that does not bear the watermark. There are some kinds that are not made with the watermark. You cannot get the watermarked stock for some classes of printing.

I don't want to criticise the Paper Makers, I want to help them, but I know it is not possible for you as individuals to buy stationery with the watermark. **It is not on the market** and may not be for some time to come, and any time you want to write to the secretary of the State Federation you will have to hunt up the secretary of the local union and either buy or beg enough paper upon which to write your correspondence. In the course of time we may get it, but I don't believe it would be right to fix a date and say that after that date no communications will be received. You will do more for the paper makers by trying to assist them in an intelligent manner, and do it along conservative lines, than by adopting an impossible proposition.

Delegate Connors: Our Journal is printed on union paper all the way through. We passed a resolution in our convention last May that no communications would be received unless they were on paper bearing the Paper Makers' watermark. We tied up our business in the Grand Lodge for four months endeavoring to get paper with the watermark. We failed to get it. We had to call our executive board in

session in order to take action to set aside the action of the convention so far as we could do so. The proper way to have the union paper is for the paper makers to organize. When they organize they can bring about a condition that will force the employers to manufacture paper with the watermark in it. I think it would be unwise for this convention to accept the proposition contained in the motion made by the brother.

President Walker: The chair is going to make a ruling now. The officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor during the last year have been subjected at times to some rather severe and absolutely unreasonable criticism on account of this particular proposition. The main reason why I suggested including the communications of individual members is that if you do make any provision at all you may have an opportunity yourselves to get some of the same experience we had, and you would understand the situation better by the time the next convention rolled around, and maybe you would have gained more tolerance before that time.

The chair wants to state that no new section can be provided for extemporaneously from the floor by a delegate who has not given the matter consideration previously to the extent of introducing a resolution to that effect. Therefore I will rule the motion out of order.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: I move the adoption of the constitution as a whole as accepted by the delegates. (Seconded.)

Secretary Olander: There are one or two little points I would like to call attention to. Something was said about the constitution going into effect on April 1, 1916. The section regarding the News Letter provides for a charge of \$1.00 to be made, beginning November 1, 1915. Section 4, Article XII, provides that the subscription for the News Letter shall begin on that date. That is several months earlier than April 1, 1916. Another provision is for the first audit by the auditing company to take place March 31st. That does not

state the year. I think we should understand clearly before we adopt the constitution what is to be done upon these two points.

Secretary Keefe: We found there was not a sufficient amount of money to carry the News Letter on continuously. For that reason we stipulated November 1st so that the funds would come in as early as possible. If the Secretary does not get the notice to the locals by November 1st I don't think any one will be hung for it. The delegates here can try to notify the locals and we will have the money coming in.

Delegate Carlson, Carpenters: If Brother Connor's motion is adopted will the constitution go into effect on April 1, 1916, with all its provisions?

President Walker: With the exception of where it provides otherwise. The audit will be held on the last of March for the last year. The section in regard to the News Letter will go into effect on the first of November.

Delegate Lichtenstein: I cannot conceive of a single organization, be it ever so small, that will not be able to respond to that request to send in one dollar a year for the News Letter. I believe every organization, immediately upon the report of the delegates to this convention will forward the dollar.

Secretary Olander: This is important and must be clearly understood. It is a financial matter and it must be understood that it is to go into effect at a different time from the other provisions. It is an important matter to small organizations that may now pay a per capita tax of \$1.50 or \$1.75 for the entire year. It almost doubles their payments.

Delegate Rogers: I object. There are small unions, especially among the printers and some of them have depleted treasuries.

Secretary Keefe: I rise to a point of order. That section has been adopted by the convention.

Delegate Rogers: I move as an amendment that that particular section be in effect January 1, 1916.

Delegate Jessen: Is it possible to amend any of these sections after they have been passed upon by the convention?

President Walker: Unless the adopting of the constitution is a mere formality. The chair does not like to have hypocritical formality. If the convention feels it is not a formality we will dispense with the adoption as a whole and abide by the action already taken.

Delegate Connors: I rise to a point of order. The amendment is not in order unless the action of this convention is reconsidered.

President Walker: The point is well taken.

Delegate Jessen: I move that debate cease. (Seconded and carried.)

Secretary Olander: If this is adopted providing for the first of November you will have to give the secretary some leeway in regard to the News Letter.

President Walker: We found the secretary generally able to deal with whatever matters came up to him in a rather sensible way and take care of the interests of the organization at the same time, and I am rather of the opinion he will be able to handle that proposition in the same way.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee on Constitution as a whole as amended was adopted.

Delegate Berger: I move that an itemized report of the expenses of the referendum nomination and election of officers be published in the Weekly News Letter for the benefit of all local unions, so they can find out the expense of the referendum as adopted. (Seconded).

Delegate Haywood: I move that we amend to provide that the secretary and the officers investigate what the cost of past elections in the convention has been.

Delegate Gaudé: Does that include the local unions where the officers and secretaries mark the ballots and send them back to headquarters?

President Walker: I think Delegate Gaudé would be able to give

about as full an answer to that question as possibly the chair could.

Delegate Berger: I mean an itemized account of the cost.

Delegate Hefferley, Mine Workers: I move that that motion be laid upon the table. (Seconded but not carried).

Secretary Olander: That is simply a matter of a little bookkeeping, it is very easily arranged, and is hardly worth while taking up the time of the convention. It is one of the items that ought to be reported on. It is a special expenditure of the convention and there is nothing difficult in handling it.

Delegate Pace, Mine Workers: Does the brother include an item of expense entailed in this convention by delegates trying to block the thing?

President Walker: A number of the delegates are getting rather humorous this morning.

The motion offered by Delegate Berger was carried.

Delegate Argust: I think the chair was a little hasty. An amendment was offered and properly seconded.

President Walker: Delegate Haywood's amendment was to have the secretary investigate the cost of the past elections in the conventions of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. The chair took it for granted that the motion was made as a sort of sarcasm in the way of opposition to the motion made by Delegate Berger, because every one knows who has ever been at a Federation convention what the cost was from the beginning of the time it took to hold the elections. It cost whatever the time of the delegates was paid for by the local unions and the cost of ballots in the election. It is a matter that would not do any one any good, it would be spending live money for dead money and would not benefit the organization. I doubt very much that you can get the actual information.

Delegate Haywood: It was not made with sarcasm. It is time to let the rank and file know the cost of past elections and the cost of the referendum.

President Walker: The chair must acknowledge that he made a mistake in failing to entertain the amendment made by Delegate Haywood. On that account I will have to decide the action taken in adopting the motion just passed as premature and that the question really before the convention was his amendment. The amendment is before the house.

Delegate Jilson: I move to lay the amendment on the table. (Seconded and carried.)

The motion offered by Delegate Berger was carried.

Credentials.

Delegate Jampel, for the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

Federal Labor Union.

No. 14785, Joliet, J. H. Murphy.

The committee recommended the seating of the delegate.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The chairman announced that the Committee on Officers' Reports was ready to present a report.

Delegate Carlson, Carpenters, moved that the report be made a special order for the opening of the afternoon session. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Wright, Typographical Union: I would request of the chairman of the committee that a few of the Printers' delegates appear before the Committee on Officers' Reports during the noon hour. We have a little matter we would like to take up then and we believe it will save a good deal of time in the convention if we are given that privilege.

President Walker: The chairman of the committee is here.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: The chairman of the committee has no objection to giving the delegation a hearing and will meet them on the stage at one o'clock.

Secretary Olander read the following communication:

Chicago, Oct. 13, 1915.

Mr. V. A. Olander, Sec'y I. S. F. of L.

Dear Sir and Brother.

Owing to the inability of our local to send a man to your convention you would be conferring a very great favor on L. U. No. 8 by bringing the enclosed letter before your most Honorable body and please make a note of it in your convention minutes. Wishing you a very successful convention and thanking you in advance for what I feel you will do for our cause, you know we need publicity and I trust you will help us out in this case.

Thanking you again, I remain,

Yours respectfully,

GEO. F. DOHM, Sec'y,
1716 Winnemac Ave.

To the officers and members of the Illinois State Federation of Labor—
Greeting.

Local Union No. 8, Wall Paper, Machine Printers and Color Mixers of Chicago being unable to have a delegate attend the convention, takes this means of bringing our case before your honorable body. We are trying to organize the following non-union wall paper mills:

Chicago Wall Paper Company, Steubenville, Ohio; Joliet Wall Paper Company, Joliet, Ill.; Star-Peerless Wall Paper Company, Joliet, Ill.; Bailey Wall Paper Company, Cleveland, Ohio; Varnhold Wall Paper Company, Philadelphia, Pa.; Quaker City Wall Paper Company, Philadelphia, Pa.; Jacob Thomas Wall Paper Company, Newark, Del.; Premier Wall Paper Company, Philadelphia, Pa.; Cortland Wall Paper Company, Cortland, New York; Wallace Wall Paper Company, Cortland, New York.

Wall paper not bearing the union label or the name of one of the manufacturers on the fair list, or private monogram, or trade mark, is positively non-union made. We earnestly request that organized labor in the State of Illinois be requested to buy only union made wall paper when decorating their homes. A hanger with our fair list has been mailed to every local secretary with a request

to hang it in their meeting hall for their information.

Hoping your action will be favorable to us and thanking you in advance for same, with best wishes for a successful convention, we remain

Yours respectfully,

Wall Paper, Machine Printers & Color Mixers' Union, No. 8.

GEO. F. BOHM, Sec'y.

Chicago, Ill.

Secretary Olander: This is a simple request, and under the circumstances I feel warranted in moving that it be granted. (Seconded and carried).

President Walker: The Chicago Teachers' Federation is involved in a controversy with the Chicago Board of Education, backed up, apparently, by the mayor of that city, Mr. Thompson, which is of a very serious nature as it affects them, and not only means the extermination or dissolution of their organization, but that wherever the members of other organizations are working in the capacity of teachers in the different branches of the vocational institutions in that city they also must sever their connection with their trade unions or lose their jobs.

In effect it cannot be construed as meaning anything else but a public declaration, a position taken publicly by the mayor of Chicago and the Chicago Board of Education, that the members of the trade union movement in that city are persons unfit to meet and associate with the people who teach their own children in the schools. It also means that the mayor of Chicago and the Chicago Board of Education have arrogated to themselves the power, not only to set aside the constitution of our nation, the constitution of our own state, the laws of the nation and state, committing treason, if you will, but they have decided that they have the power to differentiate as to the degree of respectability or non-respectability, and by dictum of theirs force separations and do anything they please as between the different branches of the workers of our country.

I don't know of a czar, I don't know of a king, I don't know of any absolutism that ever existed on this earth that went so far in brazen effrontery as this Chicago Board of Education, backed up by the mayor of that city, has gone. I cannot understand the kind of mental attitude they must have to do the things they have done, particularly in the face of law, constitution, court proceedings and traditions of a century, every one of which is in opposition to the things they have done.

This means, not only the things I have stated, but if they have their way the minds of the children of the trades unionists themselves are going to be trained by experts, hired by the corporations, in the direction they want those minds to be trained, not only the unorganized people's children, but the union men will have their children trained to fight against the institutions they themselves have fought so hard to build up.

I don't know of anything that has occurred in the United States that means so much in opposition to democracy and against common humanity since our government was founded. If it is allowed to obtain and spread and have effect, that is what the action on the part of the Chicago Board of Education means to the people of Chicago.

The teachers are here. You understand how teachers working for a living under a board of education of that kind are situated. They must get a leave of absence to come here, they may not overstep the tape-line in any way without danger of losing their jobs, and I believe we can afford them an opportunity from now until we close the session to present their case fully. I ask the convention to agree that the teachers' matter have precedence and that we stay in session until it is considered. If there are no objections it will be so ordered.

I take pleasure in introducing at this time—well, I am not going to say anything at this time except, Margaret Haley.

Miss Haley, in opening her discussion of the situation in Chicago, stated that the act of the Chicago Board of

Education was a well considered plan on the part of the great interests in that city, in the state and in the nation that have been disturbed by the fear that the present tendency of the minds of the public school teachers shall continue and referred to the significance of the rule of the Board of Education forbidding the teachers to belong to the State Teachers' Association, to labor unions, federations of labor unions, organizations affiliated with labor unions or organizations maintaining officers not members of the teaching force.

Miss Haley reviewed many of the causes that led to the controversy among them the suits brought by the Chicago Teachers' Federation to compel tax dodging corporations to pay hundreds of thousands of dollars a year to the city treasury for the past fifteen years and their efforts to secure proper legislation and defeat harmful legislation in the General Assembly.

Miss Haley gave a brief account of the action of the Board of Education in its opposition to the Chicago Teachers' Federation, the temporary injunction secured by the teachers to prevent the carrying out the rule of the Board, the statement of the judge in granting the injunction, and many other interesting details of the controversy.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers: No doubt many of the splendid thoughts expressed by Miss Haley and the recommendations that will be brought up for adoption by the convention will find expression in the report of the Committee on Schools and Education. However, I hope the convention will do the proper thing by ordering printed in pamphlet form the splendid address of Miss Haley on the school question, to be circulated throughout the state in unlimited number in order to acquaint the public with what is going on in school affairs. I move that that be done.

The motion was seconded by several delegates.

Delegate Keefe: I would like to add that this convention in session send a telegram to the governor and

to the mayor of Chicago, complying with the request of the teachers.

Delegate Woll: I suggest that rest in abeyance until the Committee on Schools and Education reports. They have that in hand and will try to bring about the most effective results.

President Walker: The Committee on Schools and Education will make a special report on this subject and the chances are they will have it in the right form and language, and it will come from the convention in such a manner no one can misconstrue its meaning.

Secretary Olander: I want you to bear with me while I say a few words with reference to this motion and similar motions regarding the printing of pamphlets and their circulation. All that costs money, and when you say you are going to put them out in unlimited quantities that leaves it to the judgment of the officers. I am not opposed to the motion, but I want to take this opportunity to say to the delegates that there is a limit to your income as matters stand now, and you ought to try to keep within it. I don't want to infer that this goes outside of the income, but there is in your hands a means to enlarge your income without putting any greater burden upon your own organizations. When you go back to your own towns, go to some of the organizations that have not come into the State Federation and try to induce them to add their little payment of per capita tax to our fund, and then we will not have any trouble meeting this and still greater demands. If you are not going to do that, please don't vote the expenditure of any more money.

There is a field in practically every city in this state that will enable you to get all the funds necessary to do this kind of work and a great deal more. I believe over one hundred organizations are now taking action to come into the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in addition to those reported, but even that is only a touch at the field we have to work in. I hope the motion will be carried, but when you go back home

help to dig up money for this work, not by placing any greater burden upon your own organization, but by getting other organizations into the Federation.

Delegate MacGowan: I move as an amendment that the address of Miss Haley and the address of Mr. Moore, secretary of the State Teachers' Association, be printed in the same pamphlet.

Delegate Woll: I am unalterably opposed to the amendment. If you want to kill the splendid effect of this address follow the course suggested in the amendment. If it is a matter of finances and the question is to determine which of the two pamphlets should be distributed, I say unhesitatingly let us take that of Miss Haley and discard the other. This deals with a concrete proposition we are facing today; the other is more of a general character, and if we are organized for anything at all it is to bring about practical results, to meet immediate situations confronting us, and I believe this school question, not only the right of the teachers to associate and affiliate with our movement, but the right of all civic employes to organize is involved in this question. It is not only the teachers but all the municipal and governmental employes, and it is of the most vital nature. Arousing the public conscience in regard to this matter, I think, is of the utmost importance. Don't combine them; leave this subject entirely by itself. The public press has been only too able and willing to mix all public questions in one, confusing the public mind and leaving no effective action as a result.

Delegate MacGowan: I am somewhat in favor of the reasons advanced by Delegate Woll, but I wish to state clearly the object of my amendment. Mr. Moore took considerable time to outline the entire propaganda of the teachers and their policy, and if I am any judge I would consider that address a preliminary or introduction to the subject dealt with by Miss Haley this morning. He outlines the policy of the teachers, and Miss Haley's ad-

dress will follow as evidence of what has been done.

Delegate Fetgatter: I would like to see the motion amended in a different way. I would like to have it provide that all locals represented here and those that are not represented be amply supplied with the pamphlets, then let every delegate in this assemblage see that those pamphlets are published in the daily papers at home. This should be advertised in such a way that everybody will get the full benefit of the talk made here today.

President Walker: It will not cost any more to publish in separate pamphlets than to combine them. I think you will have the experience that you can take two doses of economics that require mental exercise with a rest between them better than in one dose. I think we can send them out at the same time.

Upon motion the amendment of Delegate MacGowan was laid upon the table.

Delegate Argust, Mine Workers: I move as an amendment that the pamphlets be sent to the delegates from the different organizations in order that they may take the questions up promptly in their own locals. (Seconded.)

Secretary Olander: A number failed to comply with my request to put their addresses on the back of their credentials.

Delegate Woll: I believe the motion is that it be given the widest circulation and publicity possible.

President Walker: That would mean sending it to the delegates, the locals, the press and to individuals.

Delegate Keefe: I move that the amendment of Delegate Argust be tabled. (Seconded and carried.)

Upon motion of Delegate Keefe debate was closed.

The motion offered by Delegate Woll was carried.

At 12:30 p. m. the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

THIRD DAY—Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 p. m., Wednesday, October 20, President John H. Walker in the chair.

Report of Committee on Officers' Reports.

Delegate Connors, chairman of the committee, proceeded with the reading of the report of the Secretary-Treasurer. After a portion of the report had been read Delegate Goodwin moved that, inasmuch as printed copies of the report had been given the delegates, further reading be dispensed with.

Chairman Connors stated that he did not think it necessary to read the tabulated portion of the report, but would read other portions of it as the committee thought necessary.

Delegate Woll: I move that the distribution of the officers' reports among the delegates be considered as complying with the constitution in this matter. (Seconded and carried.)

After portions of the report of the Secretary-Treasurer had been read by Chairman Connors the following report of the Committee on Officers' Reports was read by Secretary Shaffer:

Secretary's Report.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor—Greeting:

Your Committee on Officers' Reports has taken up the report submitted to us by Secretary-Treasurer Victor A. Olander. After carefully considering same we find that the finances of the Illinois State Federation of Labor have been honestly and judiciously guarded, and we feel that it is our duty to commend Brother Olander for his honesty as an official of this Federation, and his loyalty to the trade unionists of the state, men and women, during his term as Secretary-Treasurer. We are glad to note that the funds have

been managed in such a way that it has been possible to meet the increasing demands made upon the Federation to carry on the work of organization, and the printing and maintaining of the Weekly News Letter, which we consider to be of interest to the organization. We commend Secretary-Treasurer Olander for the firm stand taken in protecting the Federation's interest in the controversy with the Bush Printing Company of Peoria.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee as read by Secretary Shaffer.

Delegate Goodwin, Typographical Union: Is the secretary of the committee going to make any recommendation to refer part of this report to a special committee?

Chairman Connors: We had a meeting at noon. It was thought that some of this matter would be referred to a special committee, but in the meeting of the committee any thought I had along that line was overruled. The committee therefore decided the matter should be handled by the delegates on the floor. If there is any delegate who wishes any part referred to a special committee it is his privilege to make a motion to that effect.

Delegate Goodwin: I move that the President appoint a committee of three to investigate the controversy between the Secretary and the Bush Printing Company, as the Typographical delegates are prepared to go before such a committee and show the bills in controversy are reasonable, or they will appear before the Committee on Officers' Reports and submit such evidence. (Seconded.)

Delegate Keefe: What is the difference between the organization and Brother Bush? What is the difference in the amount?

A delegate moved as an amendment that the committee be five instead of three.

Delegate Goodwin: I will accept that.

Delegate Bruce, Street Railway Employees: Why cannot this committee handle it? Does not the law provide the officers' reports shall be submitted to the Committee on Officers' Reports?

President Walker: Possibly the chair has felt this dispute more keenly than any delegate to this convention, and, in his judgment, of course unjustly. I do not want anything done in this procedure that will not permit the fullest and freest understanding by all the delegates to this convention of just what this means. I do not want to make any rulings that will appear to any one as though the chair is trying to do anything that will work out in that direction.

It is true there was a provision made by the last convention that a special committee be appointed to consider the officers' reports and make recommendations to this convention. That has been complied with. After they have done that then the report of that committee becomes the property of the convention. This convention does have the right then to dispose of it in whatever manner it deems best. If this convention desires a committee to consider specially that portion of the report I believe it will be in order to do so. That is for the convention to decide.

Delegate Goodwin: We are perfectly willing to go before the Committee on Officers' Reports. All we want is a hearing from somebody. This noon the committee said they did not have time, or they did not want to go into it, or they did not understand it, and they thought the best thing to do would be to have a special committee.

Secretary Olander: May I ask a question? What is the dispute? The matter is closed so far as I know anything about it.

Delegate Woll: I understand the special committee is not asked so much to consider what is contained in the report as to be given a hearing. Personally I feel that every organization and every delegate is entitled to the fullest hearing on any question. I am of the opinion that that hearing

should be had before the convention. If the Typographical Union has anything of interest to the convention I as well as anybody else should be entitled to that information. I have read the controversy and I know the concluding letters reaching an agreement as to the price to be paid for printing the proceedings. The printing concern itself, while originally having figured on a different price, agreed to a figure agreeable to the secretary of the Federation and upon that agreement proceeded with the work. The work has been done and the bill has been paid.

Is there objections on the part of any one that this Federation has not paid enough for the work? Then I take it this ought to come in a proper proposal to that effect. Or has the printing concern lodged a complaint to the Federation that not enough has been paid them for the work? Inasmuch as our secretary has done the best he could to secure the best price possible for this Federation, surely we should not condemn him, because by condemning things of that kind you will establish a precedent whereby your future secretaries will give out the work to the highest bidder instead of to the most reasonable bidder.

I don't know whether the price is fair or unfair, high or low, but I do know the printer ultimately agreed with the secretary upon a figure, and to my mind that matter is closed. However, I think the matter should be fully known to each and every delegate and every one should have the fullest opportunity to be heard. If there is something about which we ought to be advised in this question let us have that information here.

Chairman Connors: Your committee in considering this question took the matter up very carefully. In the end we found that there had been an agreement reached between the printing company and the secretary of the organization. In the beginning we noticed that the printing company had set a much higher figure than that ultimately accepted as a settlement; and we believe also if the printing company was fair and honest and its price was right it would have stuck to that price and

never come down. Therefore we commend and do commend the secretary-treasurer of this organization for being alert and heading off any possible attempt to defraud the Federation of Labor on the part of the Bush Printing Company or any other concern.

Delegate Jampel, Barbers: If that delegation asks for a special committee why not give it to them? They asked for a hearing and did not get it.

Delegate Connors: This committee went into session on this work last Sunday at 10 o'clock. We were in session until nine or ten o'clock that night, and with the exception of a few hours for sleep we were in session continuously until noon yesterday. Everybody knew where we met and if there was any question to be submitted to the committee or any suggestion to offer, delegates should not have waited until the special order had been set to hear the report and then ask for a hearing.

Delegate Wright, Typographical Union, Chicago: This is not a matter between the Bush Printing Company and the officers of this organization. We do not wish to go into any controversy which may involve the personalities of the individuals in the case; but as members of the Typographical Union we would like to see men belonging to our organization receive good pay for their work. We believe in high pay, short hours and good conditions in the Typographical Union, and when an employer has a difference with an organization such as ours we printers generally take the part of the workers. We do not wish any exorbitant charge on the part of an employer, either the Bush Company or any other, but we believe in order to safeguard the interests of the workers the employer should receive a fair return for his work.

I do not wish to branch off, as the chairman of the committee did a moment ago, and go into a discussion of the case. We would like to show that the wages are 11 per cent higher in Peoria where this printing was

done than they were in Decatur where the work of the previous convention was done. We have twenty other things better than that we can show to the committee. We would like to have some place where we can go before a trade union body and ask for justice for a body of workmen paying their dues into this organization and not subject them to criticism. We have no objection to going before the Committee on Officers' Reports or going before a special committee. It would take some time and patience to go into these points and explain them to this convention. We do not wish to take up your time doing that; we do not wish to be looked upon as obstructionists. All we wish is an opportunity to be heard.

We do not care to get into a quarrel on this matter, we do not wish to criticize any one, we simply wish to present the printers' point of view. Every one who has read the proceedings knows that a personal element has crept into the case and we printers wish to keep it out. If there is a difference between Bush, Connors, Walker, Olander or any one else, let them settle it; that is not the trouble of the Carpenters, the Miners or the Printers. If this bill is excessive the Printers will be the first to condemn it; if it is a proper bill we want to protect him. We just want a chance to explain our side of it.

I think the organization I represent—the International Typographical Union has a good many locals in the state—ought to have a hearing in this matter. We were not here Monday morning, it is true, we were looking for a place to stay while in the city. Most of us were sleeping on cots. As soon as we could do so we asked for a hearing. The chairman told me there were only two members present when they met at noon. I asked the chairman if he would agree to a special committee. Suppose I go into a cigar store tomorrow morning and the boss says: "This is a ten-cent cigar." I, with a trade-union banner on my coat, will say: "I will give you nine cents for it." Wouldn't that be an unfair proposition?

President Walker: The chair is, like the Printers, rather indirectly, or may be a little more directly involved in this controversy and he does not like to have a picture presented that leaves part of the facts out. The inference would be drawn from Brother Wright's statement that what they are trying to do is to see that union printers will be able to get the union scale, hours, conditions and treatment. That does not enter into this controversy at all. The label is on the work, and I expect that the men who did the work got the scale, got the hours and conditions under the Printers' contract they are entitled to. I expect if they had not received that the Typographical Union of Peoria would have taken the matter up with Mr. Bush as the employer and would have seen that he did it.

The question is not between Mr. Bush as a union man and this organization, but as between Mr. Bush as a contracting employer who made an agreement with this organization and whether he will live up to it or not. Mr. Bush made the agreement with Secretary Morris and myself in Peoria when this 11 per cent increase Brother Wright refers to must have been in effect as compared with the prices that existed during the Decatur convention. He made the agreement in plain, unqualified language, as clearly as it was possible for me to compel a man to make an agreement, that if he got the contract the work would be done for this organization at no greater cost to this organization, considering the amount of work, than it was done in Peoria.

Delegate Goodwin: I demand that the vice-president occupy the chair.

Delegate Curtis: Is it the intent of the president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to attack the Typographical Union only? If it is, I would like to answer on the floor.

Vice-President Allton in the chair.

President Walker: This agreement was clear, unqualified, and was thoroughly understood by Mr. Bush before he was given the right to do this work. He made the statement that the work should be done practically without overtime and that the minutes

would be here practically on time every morning. I think the delegates who were at that convention can recall how nearly the minutes came to the convention on time. I think it was some weeks after you got to your homes before the last of the minutes reached you.

Brother Bush and Employer Bush—there is where the employer who is a union man has got to act the Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde—knew the rules governing disputes between the officers or members of the labor unions in this state, or should, as well as any officer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. He was an officer of it himself some years ago, and he has been a pretty regular attendant at the conventions since that time. If he believed he had a just cause for complaint and there was merit in his claims he could easily have appealed to the president. If he thought his decision was unfair he could have appealed to the Executive Board, and I am sure no one, not even he, would make any pretense of claiming he would not get honest consideration from that board. I am sure that as a matter of the personal equation, if friendship would sway a majority either way, it would lean in his direction rather than in mine.

But he did not do either of the things I have mentioned, he made no pretense of living up to the contract, he made every effort to get more money that the contract called for, and then violated a contract he made afterwards with the secretary and tried to collect through a collection agency in Chicago more than he agreed to ask for. Then instead of taking the matter up through the legal channels he went into the newspapers.

Delegate Goodwin: I rise to a point of order. The motion before the house is to appoint a special committee. It is not a discussion of the case. I ask for a ruling.

President Walker: I am discussing the question.

Delegate Goodwin: I am addressing the chair, not you. This gentleman is talking on the merits of the whole case, not on the amendment to appoint a special committee.

Chairman Allton: This question has been discussed generally by the delegates, and President Walker is talking in opposition to the motion and will continue. The point of order is not well taken.

Delegate Goodwin: The amount in dispute is \$189.00.

Secretary Olander: I would be glad to know positively if that is the amount in dispute?

President Walker: When a member of a trade union movement who thoroughly understands the rules and procedures of that movement has a dispute and he positively refuses to take it up in accordance with the laws he helps to make, then my judgment is that you are not serving the best interests of the organization when you give him special consideration under those circumstances. It is only disputes that have reached the place where the member appeals from the action of the Executive Board, when they exist between the membership and the officials of the state organization, that are properly the property of a convention for consideration unless first taken away from them and those rules set aside by the convention itself. And when on top of all these things the only dispute—if there is one—in the face of the written letters—of course they are only signed "W. S. B.," he refused to sign his name to the correspondence toward the last, and it may be now he will repudiate the letter with the initials in which he agrees to do the work for \$300.00—if he does not then, according to his written statement, the only money that is in dispute is the \$189.00 he tried to collect through a bank in Chicago, before he delivered the work, in excess of the amount he agreed over his own signature to take and which our secretary refused to give him.

The only good reason why, in my judgment, a convention would want to consider the matter at all further would be for the purpose of trying to bring it to the attention of that gentleman, in the hopes that if it was in him at all some decency would develop out of the mistakes he has made—or worse. I don't want to do any man a wrong in this job or any other

job, and no man really can influence me to do it, but he has more money now than he agreed with Morris and myself he would ask for the job before it was given him. Further consideration would mean lending the name of this movement to the other things he has done, that, in my judgment, would not reflect credit either upon him, upon this organization or do any good, but would result in injury to the movement.

Delegate Keefe: I move that the motion to appoint a special committee be tabled. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Harding, Typographical Union: I arise simply on a question of personal privilege in this matter. If there is one thing this body should not do, and especially in a question of this kind, it is to choke off a member who has the right to speak by a motion to table. I realize that this entire question is so involved with other questions it is impossible that the question of whether the price is a fair price or is not can be considered fairly in this body.

The point of order was raised that the question being discussed by Delegate Harding had been laid upon the table.

President Walker: Delegate Harding is now discussing the motion to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Harding: I don't know why it is that in a convention like this delegates will insist upon putting words into the mouth of somebody with whom they do not agree. I think I have a right to express my own opinion. I am not asking you to go with me if you don't want to, but I have a right as a delegate to declare my own convictions. I arose to a question of personal privilege and I had a right to do that, but I will cut that out. I want to make this point.

The motion to appoint a special committee has been laid on the table. Necessarily the question comes back to the report of the committee, and on that question I want to ask if I have a right to speak.

Chairman Allton: Then I want to speak on that question.

Delegate Keefe: As a question of privilege. I was criticised by the delegate for making the motion to lay on the table.

Delegate Woll: I rise to a point of order. My point is that Delegate Harding has the floor and no other delegate may arise to a point of special privilege while he is on the floor.

Chairman Allton: Your point is well taken.

Delegate Harding: This whole question is so involved, and the president himself—and Mr. Walker in his cooler moments will realize the truth of what I say—did not discuss this matter in the manner in which it should have been discussed. He was out of order when he took the floor and discussed the main proposition, there is no doubt about that. I know I am speaking against an overwhelming majority, that I represent a lost cause so far as this particular proposition is concerned, but I want to make this point. So far as prices for printing are concerned we have always taken the position—and it is the only logical position any union man can take—that when a price is excessive any organization has a right to object to it; but a question which is largely technical, as this is, I claim on that question we printers have not been given a square deal. If we are wrong it can be easily proven, but we have not been given an opportunity to present our case.

I am not in a position now to say whether Mr. Olander or Mr. Bush is right in this one question as to whether the price is reasonable or unreasonable. I am not even in a position to say whether the contract was violated or not. It being largely a technical question, I believe the proper thing should be, not to accept the report of the committee—not as any criticism upon the committee—but because I believe all matters of this kind involving the intricacies of any trade should be referred to a special committee to get at the meat of the question and discover what the facts are.

Secretary Olander: I would like, if Delegate Harding will consent, to ask a question. Have you as a printer and one who understands the tech-

nicalities of the trade looked at the manner in which the work on the pages containing the president's report of last year is done, and do you as a printer think it ought to be paid for?

Delegate Harding: That is not a question, it is a slur on the manner in which the work has been done. There is too much of that running all through this organization.

Secretary Olander: I asked that question in good faith, Delegate Harding, and I am quite willing to accept your decision, if you will look at that book.

Delegate Woll: I want to say, first of all, something that may be displeasing to most of you, and that is in regard to the approbation expressed by this convention. I think we ought to be tolerant and permit even those most strongly opposed to us to express themselves without attempts to shut off debate. I disapprove of the convention's adopting motions to lay on the table, thereby curtailing fair hearing on the matter. I think the most extensive consideration of this subject would be the most beneficial thing that could be done by the organization.

I differ with the viewpoint of the delegates of the Typographical Union on this question, yet I feel they should have been given a full opportunity to discuss this matter before the convention. I differ with the idea of the Typographical Union introducing the question of a fair price with this concrete proposal before the convention. I will agree with the Typographical Union that after the disposition of this contract by the adoption of the committee's report, showing there is positively no connection between this case and the question of fair pay for printing, that in the future should any controversy arise regarding the prices of printing the Typographical Union be considered and their advice obtained, realizing that each craft, being more familiar with the technicalities involved in its work, may be more qualified to give a fair decision upon the worth of the work.

It may be the work has been paid for at an unreasonably low price. However, the bargain has been made,

and since when has this organization or any other organization assumed the position of breaking contracts? Surely not the Typographical Union! I believe their attitude is absolutely correct. I believe when men enter into contracts or obligations, good, bad or indifferent, they should live up to them. We take that position and I think all fair men ought to do it. Let this question of fair prices for the work of printers—and the question of price has relation to wages, no one can deny that—let it be taken up separately, apart from this concrete example, in order that our officers may not be slandered in regard to a question of this kind.

Delegate Bruce: I rise to move the previous question, because I think this whole discussion is out of order. The bills have been paid and I don't think there is any further use of discussing it. I would like to see it put to a vote right now.

Chairman Allton: After making a speech a motion to close debate is not in order.

Delegate Keefe: I moved to table the motion to amend by appointing a special committee and I was criticised for it. That did not mean closing debate by any means. I made the motion to table the request for a special committee because we would have this debate here again when the special committee came back. Let us have it now as long as the thing has started. We can decide as well as the special committee.

I understand a gentleman who was laying around this town for three or four days took a train today so he could not be called in to confront the convention on this question. I don't care to stay in this convention for days trying to satisfy some individual who is not man enough to live up to the contract he makes with our organization.

President Walker in the chair.

Delegate Wright, Typographical Union, Chicago: I am going to deal with this question for a very few minutes.

The point of order was raised that Delegate Wright had already spoken on the question.

President Walker: The chair will rule, unless the convention decides otherwise, that Delegate Wright has the floor.

Delegate Wright (E.): I spoke on the motion to refer to a special committee, not on the original motion. This is a question which deals with the proceedings of the State Federation of Labor. It was a trade union job. You heard it said from the platform but a few minutes ago that the understanding with Bush when this agreement was made with him was to print the proceedings of the Peoria convention at a price not in excess of the proceedings printed for the year before in Decatur. And no one ever raises a question as to the amount paid in Decatur, that was looked upon as a fair price. Now in Decatur the proceedings of the first day, consisting of the resolutions—I know, I handled them—were boiled down to the minimum. We cut out the overtime and the extra price; we confined it to twelve pages of type matter, which could easily be gotten out in the eight hours' work without discommoding the office or putting it to extra expense. For the twelve pages this organization paid \$3.75 a page.

On the second day of the Decatur convention the matter was also compressed into twelve pages and also no handicap was placed upon the office and again the \$3.75 was paid. The third day twenty-four pages were printed, the fourth day sixteen pages and the last day two pages. There was no great drag on the plant over there in order to get the work out. We paid without question \$3.75 a page.

The following year, with the understanding that the work should not cost more, here is the question: This work went to a town where the work cost the proprietor more. I don't worry about the proprietor much, I want the workmen to get it. The wage scale is 11 per cent higher in Peoria than in Decatur. I wish I could say it was 22 per cent higher, because when we find a town out of line we try to get it in line.

In Peoria we had this situation to contend with. Instead of having 12 pages to set at \$3.75 per page the officers sent in to the printer 47 pages

the first day, an increase of 35 pages, that is, four times as much work to get out in the night time at a higher scale, and the charge for this was not \$3.75 a page but \$2.50, \$1.75 less a page, because that was the agreement per page, less than it was gotten out the year before.

The second day 34 pages were printed, the next day 38 pages were printed, as against 24 pages the same day the year previous. On the fourth day 64 pages were printed, and again the price was \$2.50 per page in Peoria as against \$3.75 in Decatur. So we had in this night work, this rush work 66 pages that were paid for at \$3.75.

Delegate Lichtenstein: A point of order. I maintain that this controversy cannot be discussed unless you have a communication there or an additional bill from Mr. Bush, claiming money for services. Is there such a thing?

Secretary Olander: He wanted more money, there is no question about that. There is no protest to this convention through the secretary.

Delegate Lichtenstein: As long as Local 16 of the Typographical Union cannot show their working conditions have been violated the controversy has no place on this floor.

President Walker: The chair will rule that even although an operator agreed to pay a price the miners knew was not proper, if the miners wanted to consider it here in the convention, unless the convention ruled otherwise they would have the right to do it.

Delegate Wright: There were 66 pages at the night scale, at \$3.75, in Decatur and that was satisfactory. It was easily gotten out. Now, as near as I can ascertain, over in Peoria there were 250 pages gotten out at night, at rush time and over work, four times as much work under a higher scale, with a good deal of overtime, and, naturally enough, the employer turned in his bill on the same basis that the bill was turned in the year before—that is, on the completed job. The completed job in Decatur contained other items. In Decatur you paid \$50 for printed roll calls. The robber in Peoria charged you \$25 for the same job. You had attend-

ance cards and other matters, and you will find if you turn to the report that that matter was turned in at 50 per cent less than it was turned in the year before. The same work done at night, only a larger job, in Peoria cost you less than it did the year before when you had a smaller job, counting the overtime. Then it is said the committee should not take the matter up and we are not entitled to a hearing on the matter.

I still think this matter ought to be gone into a little more carefully. I don't believe we should concur in the report of the committee. Another section of the report of the committee says: "We commend the secretary for his business ability," and all that. That is all right to go along with that, except when the secretary throws out a printing bill. When he does that I would like to have a chance in committee, where we can get out our pencils and go through the bills and find out what is wrong. Some of the gentlemen may be able to tell me more about printing bills than I know, but I think I know a good deal. When a cigar maker says he gets so much for making cigars I say: "That is right," and I pay the retail price. I never criticize the wage scale of any organization. You put men on the salary list as executive board members for \$6.00 a day. I am not protesting, that is a fair price.

Delegate Argust, Mine Workers: I would like to ask whether or not this is an employers' convention. We have men here who are supposed to be employees defending employers who have not brought a case to this convention.

President Walker: Your point is not well taken.

Delegate Wright: I am not an employer and I am not speaking for any employer. I don't employ anybody.

Delegate Lawrenz: A point of order. He has had the floor more than ten minutes.

Upon motion Delegate Wright's time was extended.

Delegate Wright: I thank you. I am trying to protect the wage scale of my organization. Do you think

it is a joke when a trade union starts in to fight for a wage scale? I don't think so. This was a job done in a trade union way, trade union employer, trade union employees and a job carrying the label, and the customer comes in and bludgeons him down. If you will look into this you will see it is something that should not be tolerated by this convention.

You go into one of the big printing establishments in Chicago, go to one of the big offices in Peoria, to the men who can fight with the organizations and ask them to cut the price. If the secretary had gone to one of them he would have been told, "There is the door!". But this was a little man. What could he do? You beat down the price \$1.75 a page, that is what you did, and now you don't want to give us a hearing. If the Bush Company can stand for it I can, it will not make a great deal of difference to the company; but the next time we go to the employers we will have this thrown at us: "Why don't you fellows pay wages when you want work done? You go hawking your work about looking for cheap prices. Why don't you meet the employer half way?" That is what I have had thrown up to me time and again.

I have paid what I thought pretty good prices for printing. The proprietors usually charge a pretty good price when they do work for the Typographical Union. I don't question it any more than I question the work of a tailor. When I go in and buy a suit of clothes I am not going to haggle with the employer, I can't afford to do it. A man with a button on—I wear one—cannot do that. If the bill is unjust I would still pay it if it were my bill. I think, however, it is just.

Take a tablet and pencil and figure it up according to the wage scale, figure how much the pressmen, the bookbinder and the man who made the stock got. You heard the argument about union-made paper. Do you know how much the stock in that book cost? About one-third more than it would have cost if it had been printed on paper without the label. The wage scale for the printer is higher, it is higher for

book-binding and all the way through, yet we want to cut the price down to what it was the year before. If it was a question of any other organization but this Federation of Labor I would take the same stand. I try to apply my own code of ethics in my personal matters in the trade union movement.

Secretary Olander: Will Delegate Wright permit me to ask him a question.

Delegate Wright: Certainly.

Secretary Olander: What is your opinion, as a printer, as to the character of the work in that part of the book containing the President's report?

Delegate Wright: The work is not the work I would turn out as a workman myself. I will be just as fair as any one else. If I had read proof on that I would have turned out a better job than you had in the report you are complaining about. I have had that same complaint every time I have had it myself. I handled the proceedings for a number of years, I handled the proceedings of my own organization for a long time, and the only time I am going to get work that suits me is when I go over it myself and find it is correct according to my ideas. You never had that kind of a job before, Mr. Chairman, because a printer sat down and went over it.

Secretary Olander: What is wrong with it?

Delegate Wright: It was not proof-read.

Secretary Olander: They did not lead between some of the lines. The delegate has not looked at it. It is a matter of mechanical work, and the printer, after having agreed to send me page proofs, which would have enabled me to say to him, "You have got to do that properly before I will accept it," bound the pages before he sent me the proof.

Delegate Wright: If the chair had allowed us to take this up in a committee the secretary will have had a say.

President Walker: The chair is not going to have such a misleading statement made. The convention decides whether special committees shall be appointed and not the chair or the secretary.

Secretary Olander: I am sorry this has been brought into the convention as coming from the Typographical Union. I don't know how it would have come in here if I had not mentioned it myself. I don't think the Typographical Union is going to take up the complaint of some employer on a matter of this kind and, as some of the delegates have admitted, without even looking at the work, challenge the position taken by an officer of this organization in handling its funds. It is not a wage question, it is not a question that touches the Typographical Union as I see it. Had it been I would have consulted with them, and I did talk to men connected with the Typographical Union more than once on this question.

Don't get the idea that the Bush Printing Company that had the job got any too much for it. If they had that would have been my fault. I did not let the thing go that far. I have been advised that the amount in dispute is \$189.54. That is what I was informed by the company some little time ago is what they want. After a lot of writing on the matter, when the first price was gone over there was \$100 more they wanted, and if that is the price now it will be \$289.54.

This matter came up just as I took office. I had nothing to do with anything that occurred before that. I had met Mr. Bush in a personal way during the convention; had not seen anything about him that made me have any personal feeling against him, in fact, I thought we were rather friendly. After I took office and the bill was shown me I began to question things a little bit. I was then told that he had advised the president and the former secretary that the best way to do the work was to have the daily proceedings put up verbatim, and then the type being set it would be much cheaper to get out the books. On the 2500 copy item I think it figured up something like \$1300 or \$1400 when Bush got through figuring. I went to Peoria,

went to the Bush Company and said: "What about this bill? How much more for the book?" "Two dollars a page more." I said: "No, I know enough to know that is not right, that you are making a mistake." He talked to one of the men in the shop, came back and said: "\$1.75 a page." Vice-President Allton was with me. I said: "I think you had better wait until I find out what is doing here." He finally came down to the price we agreed upon.

After I told him to go ahead that work was held up for weeks and weeks. It had been agreed they were to furnish me with page proofs, which would have enabled me to insist upon the correction of such errors as appear here, which are mechanical, but after I wrote several times asking when I was going to have the job for indexing I got a copy of the book without the cover, but stitched. I had either to accept the work in that condition or throw the whole job overboard. That was not until April 5th.

There is no personal question involved in this. The first letter in this report is dated November 10, 1914, ten days after I went into office. Mr. Bush confessed in the beginning that he had asked too much. He came down. Then after he came down he juggled the job in such a way as to make the president's report have the appearance it has, he fixed it so I could not correct it, and then held up the job further.

He called me up on the telephone and said he was sorely in need of \$25, that it was a personal matter. I had already paid \$500 on the original job and I sent the \$25 on account. I got back a bill crediting that \$25 on the account I had declined to pay. Shortly after that a gentleman from the Central Trust Company of Chicago walked in and presented a draft on me for \$189.54. I asked what it was for. He said it was from the Bush Printing Company. I said I wouldn't pay it. Shortly after I got a telegram from Peoria saying, substantially, "The job is complete. Where shall I send the proceedings?" I replied to send them to my office. Shortly after a gentleman came in with a bill of lading and

a draft for \$300 against me and said: "When you pay this we will give you the books." I said "I won't pay it. I don't do business that way. I have a suspicion there is nothing but bricks in that box." I got a long distance call from Peoria—"What are you going to do about this?" I said: "I won't talk to you any more, I don't want to do business the way you do it." "There is storage running up against these things," said Bush, to which I replied: "I am through with the job, and I would rather go before the convention without the books, and without any possibility of any man questioning my honesty. If some may say I am unfair, at least they cannot say I am a thief, or that I have misused the funds."

The railroad company called me up. They said: "Write to the shipper and tell him to release that bill of lading." I said I would do nothing. Then I got a letter saying the goods were released. That didn't help because the bank had the bill of lading. Finally the bill of lading was handed to me. I sent a wagon over, got the boxes and paid the \$275, which with the \$25 I had advanced made the \$300, and there I stopped.

The character of the work is such the job ought not to have been paid for at all. As it was I had to take a chance on paying it and give you something for future reference. You will say that the man who looked that over ought to have been able to have it corrected. While of course I looked over the daily proceedings and made the corrections, and where these mechanical faults occurred I made corrections, when they changed the lines they did not lead them properly. I don't know that I am using the proper technical terms, but they did not separate the lines as they did in other places.

I had asked that when the first corrections were set that page proofs be sent to me. I wanted to look out for things of this kind, and in answer I got the bound book. That happened on April 5th, and I thought then there might be some personal question involved in that job, and against some particular man—the president in this instance—but last November there could have been no such ques-

tion because there was no personal feeling between Mr. Bush and myself except that of slight acquaintance-ship, we hardly knew each other.

Now you talk of referring this to a special committee and going into the matter carefully. No member of the printers' delegation has come to me and said one word, although my report and the letters that tell their own story have been in the hands of the delegates since Monday morning. There are men in the printers' delegation I would not hesitate to sit down with and go over this whole question, and they know it. Some of them have known of this report for some little time and have never raised the question. Now they come in and say—what? That they want to decide whether or not the Bush Company should have \$189.54 more! They want to look out! After they get that another \$100 might be wanted. I want to stop right where we are. If you say something different, that is up to you, but I would say stop right where we are and do no more business with that concern.

Delegate Werlik: I move as an amendment to the motion that the portion of the report of the committee that refers to this controversy with the Bush Printing Company be referred to the Executive Board to be taken up with the printers' delegates. (Seconded.)

Delegate Werlik: I approve of the stand taken by Secretary Olander, but I wish to prevent any delegation leaving this convention under the impression that they were not given a square deal. That is my purpose.

Chairman Connors: There isn't anything in the report of the committee touching on the Bush controversy at all. We have not said one word about the debt that is claimed to be owing Mr. Bush. We simply commend the secretary for his watchfulness in the interests of this union. That amendment is not in order.

Delegate Lichtenstein: I maintain there is really nothing of that kind before the house to discuss. They cannot show us that through the action of the secretary their craft has been in any way injured. These

printers did not at any time tell us that their contracts or their working conditions had been violated through getting the price down too low. As long as they cannot show us that I don't see what grievance they have or why they should espouse the cause of the employer. The same things happen in our craft. A man might take a job some time and be jewed down by the customer until he even loses, but as long as the conditions of our men have not been violated we will not espouse the cause of that employer. It is time enough for us to jump in when our agreement and conditions have been violated.

The amendment offered by Delegate Werlik was laid upon the table.

Delegate Halton: I wish to state that I approve of the position of Secretary Olander. A contract was entered into with Mr. Bush to furnish the proceedings at \$2.50. He should be made to live up to that contract. I have had some experience and I know what it cost our association to pay for the proceedings of the convention. Last summer in East St. Louis we paid \$3.00 a page and in Rochester we paid \$2.85, the cheapest we ever had. This convention ought to sustain Secretary Olander.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Vice-President Allton in the chair.

Chairman Connors continued the report of the committee as follows:

President's Report.

In considering the report submitted to us by President Walker, covering the past year, we find that it covers in a broad and comprehensive manner the many different problems confronting the workers of our time. We hope the delegates will give the matters submitted in this report careful consideration, and upon their return to their homes they will call the attention of the members of their locals to the many things contained in this report.

We consider this document of such value that we recommend to the convention, that the incoming Executive Board be authorized to have a sufficient number of copies of the report

printed in pamphlet form to be used for general distribution as an educational feature for our membership.

We are pleased to note the large increase in membership of the Illinois State Federation of Labor for the last year and we hope that it will continue until every organization in the State that is eligible for membership is affiliated with our Federation.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

Lovejoy Tribute.

Your committee approves very much of the splendid tribute paid to the memory of Elijah Parish Lovejoy, who suffered a martyr's death for the cause of human rights, justice and progress on the evening of November 7, 1837, in this city. And we, like Lovejoy, should pledge ourselves that as long as we live and as long as we pride ourselves in being American citizens, the noble sentiment expressed by Lovejoy shall live and as long as we pride ourselves at liberty to speak, to write, to publish whatever we believe on any subject, being amenable to the laws of our country, and we swear eternal opposition to slavery in any form, and we recommend that the delegates now rise and with bowed heads for one minute in reverent thought of him who gave his life for our cause.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in and all the delegates arose and for the space of one minute remained silent with heads bowed.

Chairman Connors read the portion of the President's report in regard to legislation and the legislature, and Secretary Shaffer read the following report of the committee:

Legislation and the Legislature.

We are pleased to note the good work that was done by the Joint Legislative Board of this State during the session of the 49th General Assembly. We believe that organization of this kind is a mighty force in bringing about the desired results and we recommend that steps be taken to perpetuate the Joint Legislative Board. We fully realize that it was the united strength of the organized

movement as represented in this board that prevented employers unfriendly to labor from getting vicious legislation passed, and this board was also responsible for the legislation that was passed that is beneficial to the workers of the state.

Your committee also desires to thank Brother Walker for the points contained in his report on pages 7, 8, 9 and 10, exposing the corrupt methods of the members of the Legislature to defeat meritorious legislation affecting the working people. We recommend that this convention go on record as condemning such tactics, and we further recommend that agitation be started by every organization in the state for a constitutional convention so that the state constitution may be amended to eliminate the Senate (State House of Lords).

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report and recommendations of the committee.

Delegate Woll: I rise, not to oppose the committee's report in any sense whatever, because I concur in it heartily and fully, but I do believe attention ought to be directed to the fact that a constitutional convention will not always accomplish that which labor wants. We have an example in the State of New York where the trade unions have advocated a constitutional convention to amend their existing fundamental laws, in the hope that that constitution might be amended in such a way that labor and social legislation may be sustained as being constitutional.

The constitutional convention was held. The convention proved nothing more than a convention of the interests, and the interests have succeeded in so amending the constitution in that convention that the labor movement of the State of New York is now compelled to go before the people and ask them to repudiate the work of that constitutional convention. I want to bring that particular point before this convention, because in advocating a constitutional convention we must also arouse the people to see that our interests are properly protected in a convention of that character.

Chairman Connors: Your committee took all those matters into consideration. We realize, and I know you do, that some change in our system of government is necessary if we expect to live at all. We believe the only hope we have is through the medium of a constitutional convention.

Now regarding the New York situation. I hold that labor in that state is probably as much at fault as anybody else. They should have had their representation the same as the employer did, but for some reason or another they were to some extent omitted. That was their fault, and I hope if there is a resolution adopted at the next session of the legislature for a constitutional convention in this state the working people of Illinois will insist that in drawing up amendments to be voted upon at election the things that labor stands for will be embodied in the matter that is submitted to the people.

The motion to adopt the report and recommendations of the committee was carried.

Chairman Connors read that portion of the President's report on pages 14 and 15, and the secretary of the committee read the following report:

Free Text Books.

Your committee believes that the agitation for the uniformity of school text books is a step in the right direction, and we commend the Legislative Committee for their efforts in trying to have this bill passed. We believe in the public free school as an absolute necessity for the preservation of our democratic form of government and we believe it should really be a free school, therefore, we favor legislation to provide for free text books for use in the public schools. Practically everybody now admits that it is right and necessary to erect school buildings and furnish seats, fuel, and some other apparatus at public expense, and we maintain that it is just as necessary and right to furnish text books the same way. The committee recommends that this convention go on record as favoring free text books, and we further recommend that the incoming Executive Board be instructed to have a bill

drawn to be presented to the next session of the Legislature and work for its passage.

The report and recommendation of the committee were adopted.

Delegate Jampel, for the Committee on Credentials, submitted the following report.

Moving Picture Operators, No. 323.
Springfield—No. 323.

Jno. A. Caldwell

Sheet Metal Workers.

Murphysboro—No. 398.

Geo. C. Yehling

Fraternal Delegates.

J. A. Culp, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

A. D. Burbank, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

D. McCarthy, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

The committee recommended the seating of the delegates.

Delegate Bruce moved that the report of the committee be adopted and the delegates seated. Seconded and carried.

Secretary Olander announced that 57 resolutions had been submitted and referred to the various committees; that the resolutions had been printed and would be distributed to the delegates when the committees were ready to present their reports.

After the usual announcements of committee meetings and meetings of locals in the city, which the delegates were invited to attend, the convention was adjourned under the rules, to convene at 9 o'clock a. m., Thursday, October 21st.

FOURTH DAY—Morning Session

Alton, Ill., October 21, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Thursday, October 21st, President John H. Walker in the chair.

Vice-President Allton was called to the chair to preside during the report of the Committee on Officers' report.

Report of Committee on Officers' Reports.

Delegate Shaffer, secretary of the committee, read the committee's recommendations. Chairman Connors read the portions of the report of the president upon which the committee reported.

Increase in Salary of Members of Legislature.

Regarding the manner in which the increase in salary to the members of the Legislature was brought about, we deplore the fact of the members of the Legislature opposing and killing every bill that was introduced favorable and beneficial to the working people. The selfishness and disregard for decency and human justice were plainly demonstrated by

them in opposing and defeating the Women's Nine Hour Bill (H. B. 195), the Child Labor Bill (H. B. 104), the One Day Rest in Seven Bill (H. B. 832), the Uniform School Text Book Bill (H. B. 697), the Women's Minimum Wage Bill (H. B. 404), and many other bills beneficial to labor.

In spite of their flagrant disregard for the people's interests, they voted themselves an increase in wages. While we are not opposed to an increase in wage, for men and women or even members of the Legislature, we do believe that they should at least have shown the same regard for the workers as they did for themselves. Your committee recommends that the convention go on record as condemning the selfish attitude of the members of the 49th General Assembly who voted in favor of measures which led to their own individual gain and entirely lost sight of the measures beneficial to organized labor.

Chairman Connors moved the adoption of the recommendation of the committee. Seconded and carried.

Chairman Connors read the resolutions adopted by the Joint Labor Legislative Board, and the Secretary

ILLINOIS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR

of the committee read the following report:

Your committee concurs in resolution Nos. 1, 2 and 3 as appears on pages 19 and 20 and recommends that this convention go on record as endorsing the subject matters therein contained that the incoming Board be instructed to carry out the intent of the resolutions. Your committee further concurs in the recommendation of President Walker relative to the election of a speaker of the House of Representatives by popular vote and we recommend to the convention that agitation be started at once to this end thereby minimizing the opportunity for insidiously influencing the members of the House on the part of corrupting agents for big business. Your committee further believes that it would prevent the disgraceful proceedings that were carried on at the last session of the Legislature where it took three months to elect a Speaker.

Regarding the proposition of railroad expenses and hotel bills for the members of the General Assembly being paid out of the State Treasury, your committee is undecided. We believe, however, that railroad fare should be allowed the members for attending the first session of the Legislature, and that the fare should be paid for their return home upon adjourning sine die. We further believe that the members of the Legislature should be required to work at least five and one-half days of each week of the session instead of one, two or three days as is the present custom. In this case, the State might be justified in paying the legitimate hotel expenses of the State Legislators.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Injunctions.

Upon the portion of the President's report (page 26) under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends the adoption of the recommendation of President Walker and further recommends that all men and women of labor at all times assert their consti-

tutional rights and defend themselves against any real or attempted abridgment of these liberties of a free people by unscrupulous and trust-owned judges.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Goodwin: I move that we dispense with the reading of all this matter and that the committee go ahead with its report. (Seconded.)

Chairman Connors: Yesterday you took action dispensing with the reading of this document, with the exception of the part the committee decided it was necessary to read in connection with their report.

The motion offered by Delegate Goodwin was lost, 103 votes being cast in the negative and 87 in the affirmative.

Changes in the State Constitution.

Chairman Connors read a portion of the president's report under the above caption (page 26), and the secretary read the following:

Your committee concurs in the recommendation of the president favoring the initiative and referendum or the adoption of a constitutional convention resolution and in the event of failure for the amending amendment. We further concur in his recommendation to defeat the infamous tax-dodging amendment and recommend that the incoming Executive Board be instructed to cause to be printed in the News Letter this proposed amendment so that it may be placed in the hands of every trade-unionist in the state, that he may become familiar with its full intent and meaning.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Margaret Haley: I did not understand the last recommendation. What is the amendment that is recommended?

Chairman Connors: It is the tax-dodging amendment that is referred to in the president's report.

Delegate Haley: What was recommended to the voters by the Legislature is not the tax amendment

that had been voted upon by the people of the state. Two years ago there was a tax amendment presented to the people of the state and they voted on it. I did not know myself, and I study such matters pretty closely, until after the Legislature adjourned that the advocates of the tax amendment which passed the Legislature and is going to the voters had been changed some place along the line, that something had been slipped in which makes the tax amendment more vicious than anything that was ever presented to the people. We defeated a tax amendment two years ago and it was not nearly so vicious.

I did not know why the advocates of the tax amendment said nothing during the session about the people voting on it. Two years ago when they had the tax amendment they kept throwing in our faces that the people of the state voted on the amendment. After the session adjourned it was printed in the Chicago Record-Herald and the changes were pointed out. I think when the News Letter prints this amendment it ought to be printed side by side with the tax amendment the people of the state voted on.

The connection between that tax amendment and our fight in Chicago is very close. I have personally fought that tax amendment for many years. It has been the pet measure of the tax dodgers of Chicago for fifteen years. One big firm in Chicago is expecting to put that over, Sears-Roebuck & Company. Mr. Julius Rosenwald, of Sears-Roebuck & Company is perhaps the most interested of any man in the state to put that through. He was indicted in Chicago for tax dodging and was sore about it. When the Senate Commission was sitting in Chicago Mr. Albert Loeb, of Sears, Roebuck & Company—and who has the brains of the Loeb family—came to the Senate Commission hearings and carried the bag in which his brother had his documents. He could not trust him even to carry the bag!

Mr. Albert Loeb saw that Mr. Jacob Loeb said what he had been rehearsing for nearly three months before the Commission. Mr. Albert sat there watching him, taking care

that he said every word that he was expected to say. Mr. Albert Loeb was looking after Mr. Rosenwald's interest. I reported to Mr. Walker that the man who gets \$10,000 a year for doing the dirty work of the Chicago Board of Education came to me and told me the conditions on which he could get our bill through—that we stand for the tax amendment. We did not stand for it. The Labor Legislative Board sent letters to every member of the Legislature telling them we did not want that amendment. I did the same in Chicago. Mr. Loeb got busy on an efficiency committee of the Board of Education and started a movement to cut the Chicago teachers' salaries. If I had not gone back on the job they would have cut the teachers' salaries $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. I was kept busy there fighting them and could not do the work I wished in regard to the tax amendment.

I saw Harrison Riley of Chicago, the head of a trust company, in Springfield and I knew he was there on the tax amendment. I went to the Speaker's desk before the adjournment and heard him announce a meeting of the Committee on Revenue. I went to the meeting of the Committee on Revenue and when I got there I heard Harrison Riley talking for the amendment. No committee meeting had been announced. They knew the Chicago Federation of Labor was watching for that. Ten minutes before that I spoke to Harrison Riley in the lobby. I asked him if there was a meeting of the Revenue Committee to discuss that amendment. He said he did not know. Ten minutes later I heard him talking for the amendment and I knew the committee had been packed and they were ready to report it out. I could not even leave to send for a member of the Chicago Board of Education.

I insisted on getting the floor and told the chairman of the committee what had happened, how I had talked to Harrison Riley ten minutes before, and told them if that was recommended out I would shout that from the housetops. We finally killed it. When they sent me back to Chicago to stop that iniquitous $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent decrease in the teachers' salaries and

kept me busy I knew what it meant. The members of our Legislative Committee know that it was slipped through in an iniquitous way. It is the one amendment that will kill the initiative and referendum for twenty years. If they have that they will have the power to put upon any one class they choose as much taxes as they choose and exempt the others. You may be sure they will exempt the same kind of corporations they have been exempting illegally for twenty-five years. We have driven them now to a place where they cannot get any more exemptions under the present constitution. We are going to make them pay the taxes the way the home owners pay or we will know why, and this is the way we can get the knowledge of this to the people.

In 1876 the railroads paid \$600,000 in franchise tax. They went to the Supreme Court of the state and of the United States to get that tax remitted and failed. They went to the Legislature in 1896 and came within three votes of getting it remitted. They stopped that thing after that and took care of the tax officials, and they are not assessed as railroads should be assessed. All over the state the school districts are being defrauded of that tax. The mine owners of this state are escaping taxation on their stock in mines under a law that was knocked out years ago. Your children are going without education in those mining districts and your mine owners are not beginning to pay the share of taxes they should.

If this amendment passes these mine owners can be legally exempted. I feel so strongly on this because I have so few opportunities to bring it to you. Since 1901 the Chicago Teachers' Federation has worked with the Chicago Federation of Labor to get the initiative and referendum. The Chicago Teachers' Federation circulated the first petition to give the people a right to vote on that initiative and referendum. We did the same thing in 1910. Twice the people of the state have recommended that the legislature submit an initiative and referendum to the people of the state.

If they get away with things like this and we cannot raise our voices sufficiently to be heard so that you people out through the state can defeat this amendment, then our whole purpose in being in the labor movement is defeated and they have accomplished their purpose whether they take us out or leave us in. We are in the labor movement for the interest of the children and the people. That is why they want to strangle our organization and take us out. Don't let them accomplish that purpose by your failure to understand what they are trying to do. I believe this is the greatest movement in behalf of organized labor in this state. I believe, too, that this matter of taxation, if we can get it rightfully before the people, will open up the resources of our state and take care of the unemployment question, which is one of the most important things we have today. That is the chief reason why I oppose this amendment the tax-dodging corporations want to put through. I believe there is no more important question today before you than this very tax amendment. I hope when the News Letter comes and they give you information about it you will see that your local papers take it. If they refuse to take it, hold them responsible.

Delegate Haywood: I move as an amendment that at the opportune time the two amendments be printed in the weekly News Letter, the tax dodgers' amendment and the proposition the people have already voted upon. (Seconded and carried.)

The report of the committee as amended was adopted by unanimous vote.

Compensation Law.

Your committee concurs in the recommendation of President Walker and moves its adoption.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate MacGowan: There is a certain feature of this compensation law that has possibly escaped the attention of President Walker in making his report. It may not be exactly germane to the committee's report, but I wish to call attention to an-

other one of the insidious practices of our courts. An appeal was taken by a railroad company to the Supreme Court of our state and that court, in its wisdom and good judgment, decided that the Illinois State Compensation Law did not apply to men working upon railroads or others engaged in the transportation of interstate commerce. They ruled that the Federal Liability Act covered that situation thoroughly. There was a question in the minds of many of those employed upon railroads as to where the Federal Liability Act leaves off and the Compensation Law begins.

In a large repair shop where engines are brought in, dismantled and torn to pieces they are then no longer in the minds of many a factor in interstate commerce. In the minds of many the said shop becomes a factory and is liable to the Compensation Law. None of us who have been employed upon railroads have been able to make a test case. I did succeed in scaring the claim agent of the Rock Island Railroad a few months ago by pretending to make a test case, and he came through and settled for more than the Compensation Law required.

I did not feel that I could introduce a resolution in this convention demanding any action that would have an intelligent foundation; therefore I thought I would leave it up to the Committee on Officers' Reports to recommend something. However, as they did not do so I offer as an amendment to the committee's report that the Executive Board stand instructed to investigate the conflict between the Employers' Federal Liability Law and the Workmen's Compensation Law and use their good offices to endeavor to get some measure to protect the railroad workers. (Seconded.)

President Walker: The question raised by Delegate MacGowan has been one of the perplexing things connected with the Compensation Law almost since its first introduction. The information I get from the Industrial Board which administers the Compensation Law is this: That there is hardly any work that can be done in connection with a railroad

but that an able and shrewd business man who is given all the information can place a construction on that work making it a part of interstate commerce, which would bring it under the Federal Law. At the same time, if they want to take the opposite side, and are just as shrewd and able and unscrupulous and get the information they can construe it to be state work.

They advised me that the State Supreme Court of Illinois in acting upon these matters has brought about this result: That wherever a man has a good case, where there is clearly liability on the part of the company and he could collect large damages under the Federal Law, they decide it is state work he was doing and it had to be settled under the State Compensation Law. In other cases where it may be no fault of the man himself, and at the same time the company has not violated a law, and under the Federal Liability Act they could not be held liable for damages, the State Supreme Court rules that he was working at interstate work and his case has to be settled under the Federal Liability Law, where with the evidence he has he cannot collect a penny.

That is the situation, and the only way that can be overcome is either by the enactment of a compulsory federal compensation law, or the election of decent, clean, honest, square judges. And I regret very much to say that the most vicious, bitter, and in my judgment conscienceless and unscrupulous person who sits on that bench was up for re-election since our last convention and was re-elected to his position on the bench to continue this kind of work by the votes of the men who are complaining about the decisions that are being made.

I want to say to you that there wasn't anything that lay in my power to do, or anything I could say that I did not do or say to defeat Judge Dunn. We did change the vote from an 8,000 majority on the Republican side in the county I live in to 1,000 majority for Fitzhenry, who has a clean record as a labor man. He was running on the Democratic ticket and very nearly beat Dunn. I am quite sure if the

labor movement had made a united fight we would have buried him so deep he would never have come to life again as a judge, and the effect of it would have made the others act decent. But there were some elements in the movement we could not get to fight him openly. And while they did not fight for him openly—a few who hold union cards did and publicly declared he was the friend of the working man, for anywhere from three dollars to five dollars a day and maybe a promise of a job—there was nobody in any big position that got out and worked for him openly, although there was a suspicion that some of them did under cover. There is no question if the active men and those in official position had stood together and agreed upon a campaign and worked for it that Judge Dunn would have been defeated.

The question of a federal compensation law can only be considered intelligently in the American Federation of Labor, and there are parts of the movement in the country that have not got to the place even yet where they favor a compensation law rather than a liability law. I cannot understand why there should be division in the judgment of the working men as to which principle should apply when working men are injured or killed in the course of their employment. Under one principle every man and every family will be taken care of. Under the other it is a question of fighting it out with insurance corporations, with the ablest lawyers money can buy and with venial courts.

While there may be defects in the compensation laws we are getting enacted—and most of those defects are due to the fact that competitively we cannot make them what they should be and allow the decent employers to live—because their competitors in other places are working where the courts are venial and there are no organizations established. But if we can ever get to the place where no element of that kind will enter into the making of a compensation law, even the ordinarily bad employer—the good ones will want a decent law—but the fellow who is not extremely

vicious will want it made that way, and with that element standing with us we will be able to get a compensation law that will take care of every poor devil who gets hurt and take care of the wives and children of those who get killed. The only way that will ever be established is through a compensation law.

I doubt, under the circumstances, whether we will be able to get the American Federation of Labor to make a fight for a compulsory compensation law. But the judges' question has been settled for six years; there is no hope for us in that respect until another election comes around; and the only way we can meet the requirements of the case Brother MacGowan mentions is to try to have the American Federation of Labor fight in the next Congress for a national compensation law. As the interstate industries will be the ones most active in the event the measure is introduced, and a large number of the organizations whose memberships are composed of men and women in those industries are opposed to it in principle, the chances do not look very bright to get them to agree to it, and even if they agree to make any substantial progress.

But until an understanding of what compensation means is more general we never shall be able to bring it about. I believe the best thing is to start; the sooner we start the sooner it will be done. I have no objections to the amendment. We can get what data is obtainable, keep close watch on the courts and show the unfairness of the courts. Perhaps that will influence them to do what is nearly right. But the real thing that will mean progress, in my judgment, will be to initiate steps in our convention here to introduce the subject in the American Federation of Labor convention and start them in the fight for a compulsory compensation law for the nation which, if it is ever enacted, will end this piece of injustice on the part of the supreme courts of the state. It will mean the enactment of a law that will secure for every injured man support for himself and his family, and make him feel that if he is killed his wife and children

will be taken care of. I think it is a good thing to include the amendment of Brother MacGowan in the report of the committee, and go further and ask the American Federation of Labor to start the fight now for a compulsory federal compensation law to cover every industry in our nation.

Delegate MacGowan: I would like to ask unanimous consent to introduce a resolution on the plan outlined by President Walker.

Chairman Allton: After the committee's report is disposed of.

Delegate Connors: The amendment is good but it should be made broad enough to bring this matter into the American Federation of Labor convention. That is your intention, is it not?

Delegate MacGowan: I will introduce an extensive resolution on the subject if I can get unanimous consent.

No objections being offered, consent was granted.

The amendment offered by Delegate MacGowan was carried and the report of the committee was adopted as amended.

One Day Rest In Seven.

Your committee heartily concurs in the President's recommendation under caption "One Day Rest in Seven," and moves its adoption.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Vice-President Whalen in the chair.

Delegate Seidel: Selfish interests within some of the unions in Springfield worked against that bill. They claimed if the bill passed the roundhouse would be shut down.

Delegate Peterson, Chicago: I would like to have the delegate from Northern Illinois know that Senator Olsen, of Woodstock, was against that bill from the start. He is in the dairy business. The bill ought to be passed. For three years at one time I did not have an hour's rest. We

have milkmen in Chicago whose children don't know them. I would recommend that all trade union men remember Mr. Olsen when he comes up for re-election.

Delegate Keenan: Our local organization already govern us. It is not for those people in the city of Springfield, and especially those machinists, to govern the necessary wants of the multitudes throughout the state of Illinois. The mechanics—I am representing about 2,400 in the eastern part of Illinois—are in favor of one day's rest in seven.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Co-operative Movement.

Your committee concurs in the recommendation of the President relative to the co-operative movement and moves its adoption.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Gori: We started a co-operative store, and I would recommend to every one here to try to get such stores in the different cities. The biggest fight we ever had was to get it started. There were 13 members when we opened. Now we have 139 members. The first few days we had very little in the store. Now we have \$4,900 worth of stock. The dividends are now about 8 per cent. The first three months we did not sell over \$100 worth of goods a day. I would recommend to every delegate here that he try to get this movement started in his own town.

Delegate Kelly: I have been an advocate of this movement for thirty years, and I cannot understand why the working people of this country have waited so long to take up this movement. I have said to my fellow workmen: "You have \$500 to invest and if some one offers you 6 per cent on it and another person says he would like to borrow but cannot give you any interest, which person do you suppose would get it?" Of course the man who offers the interest will get it. Every workman in this state who has the average family spends at least \$500 a year. He has

that \$500 to invest. If he takes a share in a co-operative store he has his \$500 invested. He must spend that amount of money, and if he can spend it in a manner that enables him to realize a good interest on it I cannot understand why he hasn't sooner taken this up.

Co-operation, organization and a strong defense fund mean the only salvation for the American workingmen. If we do not back our organizations up financially they will not be the power they ought to be. If we establish a defense fund in which every man has some money invested it will be a power for good, and we can do it if we only proceed in the proper manner.

Delegate Seidel: It is strange to me that the people here do not realize the benefit the co-operative movement will be to them. In Italy, Austria, England and Belgium they have made progress in their co-operative societies. I will tell of one incident that happened in my own community in 1905. The miners went out on strike without a cent. The miners' headquarters sent somebody to start a co-operative store. Up to that time they had to trade in the company store. You have that situation in the United States. The miners' organization stuck together and they accomplished something. There were 1,500 people there and there had been three grocery stores. The public press, the same as in the United States, was against the co-operative society because it would put the middle man out of business. I don't think a man has a right to be in business if he cannot pay decent wages and give a fair rate to the consumer. Our grocery started to reduce prices on coffee or some other article and the others on other articles. However, the miners were class-conscious and were not deceived. They finally ran the three groceries out of existence and today the community has only one store and that is owned by the people.

Delegate Haywood, Mine Workers: Brother Walker was giving an address at one time at Kortkamp. One brother stated he could show the prices that were being charged the

working people for coffins were exorbitant. I think Brother Walker recommended at that time that the people establish undertaking establishments of their own. I believe this convention should take some action along these lines. The mine workers have had experience with the charges of undertakers. Most of the money allowed for death benefits by our organizations in this state have been eaten up by the undertakers. The biggest graft we have to contend with is in that business.

I believe the co-operative movement should be given more serious consideration by this convention than is being given it. Probably some of you do not understand the co-operative movement. I am pleased to know that the mine workers especially are alive to their own interests. Our store has been able to pay large dividends after selling for less than the other stores sell. In Europe, especially in Britain, the co-operative movement has been a great factor in keeping the cost of living down to somewhere near normal in these abnormal times. If it had not been for the co-operative movement the prices would have been forced so high the workers would be on the verge of starvation. They have been a great factor in the trade union movement over there and should be here. I believe the co-operative movement and the trade union movement are schools for democracy for the working people. I would like to see this convention adopt something urging our officers to continue their efforts.

Delegate Goodwin: I move the previous question. (Seconded and carried.)

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Vice-President Allton in the chair.

Cooley Measure.

Your committee agrees and heartily concurs in all that is contained in President Walker's report in reference to the Cooley Vocational Bill and recommends that this convention go on record as being opposed to any system of education that in-

tends to make slaves of the children of the working people of the State of Illinois. There are powerful influences making an effort in Illinois to gain control of our public school system and make it subservient to the privileged classes. This was made evident during the session of the Forty-ninth General Assembly, when certain factory interests and captains of industry attempted to establish a separate system of schools for laboring men's children under the name "Vocational Education." We are unalterably opposed to this dual system of vocational education and favor the unit plan which will develop vocational education generally and naturally under our present system.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Teachers' Organizations.

We are glad to notice that many of the teachers are awake to the dangers threatening the integrity of the public school system and that they are organizing to keep it intact as the most democratic institution in the world's greatest democracy. Believing that the Chicago Teachers' Federation is imbued with this spirit, we heartily endorse its present stand for its rights to organize and to co-operate and affiliate with the Federation of Labor, to promote their common interests and protect the children, and we denounce as un-American any attempt to intimidate these teachers or otherwise force them to submit to any tyrannical power that presumes to dictate what organizations they are to co-operate or affiliate with.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Unemployment.

Your committee concurs in the report of the President, under the caption "Unemployment," and moves its adoption.

Delegate Seidel: Two years ago a former member of the Iowa Senate prepared an industrial army bill which he induced Senator Poindexter to introduce. I would therefore

like to offer as an amendment that the matter be referred to the delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Mary O'Reilly: As a member of the executive board of the Chicago Federation of Labor I was on an unemployment committee. The greatest difficulty we met was the lack of information from the working men. I therefore move that not only the delegate to the American Federation of Labor be instructed but that the delegates here be instructed to go back to their local organizations and do all in their power to start and assist the labor movement to collect data on the subject of unemployment and file with the central bodies so it will be available for those seeking reports upon which to base legislation. (Seconded.)

I have in my hand the report of the Painters' Local 194, Chicago, and it was the only report we were able to get hold of that was in any way complete. The Painters gave a benefit to their members. It was small, but they were enabled to get the information. Each member filled out a card showing the number of days of unemployment and other conditions. It was shown that the unemployment was usually on account of trade reasons and was seldom caused by strikes or labor troubles.

If you take care of in any way the exploitation of the low-paid element of society, if you work for the child labor law, the women's law, the law to prevent the competition of convict with free labor and immigration laws, you will eliminate the low-paid element from competition with labor that has established a high wage. The laws to place the laborer at work, that is, the laws to control employment agencies, is another element. Every law which adds to the public work controlled by the state is another element in controlling unemployment. We are coming to the place where the nation, the state and the municipality must give out employment to the unemployed. The present state of industrial society will always have a certain number

who must be employed part of the year. They must not be penalized because they occupy such positions, and they should be taken care of by a system of insurance. An insurance bill should be drawn up and carefully watched by the working men so that it will be controlled by the labor organizations and not the organizations at present in control of the industrial life of the community.

I was in hopes the President's recommendation would have something in it about insurance. I will not introduce anything now in the rush of the closing hours, but I hope it will come up in the American Federation of Labor, and I hope you will have a good, stiff recommendation on the subject of unemployment insurance, because that is the final step you must take in the solution of the unemployment problem.

Chairman Connors: I figure that there is a great deal coming out here this morning that tends to educate the members of this assemblage and those who may possibly come to our next convention. Your committee recognizes that the great evils confronting the working people of this country today are questions of hours of labor, of the children being employed at a tender age and unemployment, but there was nothing contained in the report that gave us an opportunity to bring in a recommendation here at this time. We hoped that somebody who had those things in mind and was familiar with what had been done in the past regarding the question of unemployment, long hours and child labor would come before this committee and give us something that would be so hot it would set fire to this old hall.

We hope in future conventions when committees are in session, those members who are familiar with the investigation that has been made along these lines will go before them and submit their proposition. I believe the stronger we are here in recommending and the stronger we are in showing our displeasure towards the employing interests that exploit you and me and everybody

else, the better it will be for all concerned.

Delegate Margaret Haley: At the meeting of the State Teachers' Association two years ago one of the speakers had a long, learned paper—he was a university professor, and I want to say before I say any more on that that the people of the State of Illinois elect the university trustees who select professors like this. He had a learned paper on "Industrial Inefficiency," and he pounded home and home again this one idea: "Industrial inefficiency is the cause of unemployment." When he had finished, this question was put to him: "Do you say that industrial inefficiency is the cause of the unemployment of the 125,000 idle men that are walking the streets of Chicago?" The audience consisted of the representatives of the 30,000 teachers of Illinois.

That professor of economics from the University of Illinois said without a blush of shame: "Yes, the 125,000 men walking the streets of Chicago that cannot get jobs are out of jobs because of their industrial inefficiency." He was advocating industrial education as a hope and a panacea and a cure for all unemployment. Do you wonder, when we have that kind of men in the universities who are feeding the minds of the teachers who will go out and teach your children, that you have to look entirely to your labor union movement for education on these questions? Should it not be a surprise to you when you see a public school teacher who was before you a moment ago, who can talk to you with a little sense or even a suspicion of sense on that question?

After that man's talk I arose and asked to have the secretary of the State Teachers' Association record my vote against insulting the economic intelligence of the teachers of the state of Illinois. As a result of that talk and the indignation it created in the State Teachers' Association, Mr. Robert C. Moore, who talked to you on Monday, was selected by the State Teachers' Association to represent the teachers of the state in the Legislature and elsewhere. I think it was a direct result of the

electrical shock at least a few of those people got out of having that man come before us and make such a statement.

If you go back to your homes and encourage the teachers that are in your homes to join the State Teachers' Association while it is in the kind of hands it is, while the insurgents have been active enough to get hold of it and drive the Tories and the pirates out and sustain such a man as Mr. Moore you can hope for some kind of intelligence being disseminated among your teachers, and that your children may not be made the stumbling blocks in the way of your getting something for the next generation that is coming into the labor movement.

In 1903 I was a member of the Legislative Committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and appeared before the committee that had charge of the child labor bill. A big delegation came down with me. A man from Alton by the name of Levis, from the Alton Glass Works, made this statement before the committee: "If you keep the children in the public schools up to the age that bill provides—fourteen years for day work, sixteen for night work—they will be of no use to us when they come to us." Let that soak in! It has been soaking into me for thirteen years. He was asked: "What is this work the children are doing?" He said: "Oh, it isn't very much." Mr. Clarence Darrow was on the committee. He asked what the work was. Mr. Levis said "We cannot get men to do the work, we must have children. It is just walking a little distance picking up a two-ounce bottle, walking another little distance putting it down." That is the kind of work they must have children to do.

Mr. Darrow said: "If you pay men's wages for that kind of work couldn't you get men to do it?" He didn't answer. I went to see Mr. Levis when he was taking his dinner at the close of that session. I said: "Mr. Levis, I would like to ask you a question. I heard what you said this morning. Have you ever thought what it is in the public schools that makes those children unfit to do your

work when they come to you?" "Yes, I have thought it all out." I said: "Would you mind giving me the benefit of your thought?" "Not at all. I have made up my mind that it is all this literature, and drawing, and physical culture, and such things you have been teaching them that make the children unfit to work when they come to us. The reason I think that is because the children who come from the schools where they don't have those things are perfectly willing to stay with us."

I have told that story many times and will keep on telling it. In the report that was passed on vocational education you have another keynote. It isn't industrial efficiency they want. With real industrial efficiency goes human intelligence; they will have enough sense to get back what belongs to them from their exercise of industrial efficiency. What they want is what the Levises have seen and are seeing, good automatons, men, women and children that get in line like those creatures I saw coming down the street, with a bugle in front of them, showing their forms and uniforms. They want us to get in line and go when they tell us to go and stand where they tell us to stand. They want to have us do over and over one thing until it sends us to the insane asylum.

I heard of a man that came to Chicago upon the invitation of the Chicago Commercial Club. He was from a university. They thought they were going to get a man who would make us ashamed of ourselves, but he told those men the time had come when if the captains of industry did not change their system and stop sending human beings to the insane asylum and the scrap heap society would rise up and do it. That is what the discharge of Dr. Scott Nearing means. That is what the teachers are waking up to, and what their coming into your labor movement means. We are going to make our fight in the labor movement because we belong there. We ask you men who have the vote, when we haven't got it, to stop putting men on the bench throughout the state who will take us out. We will say to you every time we get a chance that the

question of unemployment is a question the teachers of the United States are taking up.

I saw a teacher a few days ago in the garment workers' strike come to my office, put her head down on the desk and cry. She said: "I can't stand it any longer! I can't look into the faces of those poor little children whose families are out of employment. Our school has done all it can do now, we have got to start some kind of general movement throughout our entire school system to help them, for we can not stand to look at them any longer." That is what is coming to the teachers, it is the appeal from the poor, little, hungry, starved faces that are looking into their faces. That is why they are telling you today that you have got to protect the schools, why you have got to help the teachers to whom the appeal of the children is so strong that nothing on earth can keep them from doing something to remedy the lives of those children.

They are following those children, not only into their poor, little empty homes but into the workshops from which they see them come back with maimed fingers. They follow them into the filthy conditions of the Loop of Chicago, that is sucking the life blood out of Chicago. That is what the teachers are seeing and suffering from. When you vote for another University trustee don't vote for Meeker. They put up Ed Tilden on one ticket and Meeker on the other. They are both Stock Yards men.

The Stock Yards wanted to sell their refuse to fertilize the farm lands of Illinois, and a professor in the University of Illinois signed a statement that Stock Yards refuse did not add a particle of value to the fertilizing element, that the soil itself furnished all they needed. Immediately come out two Stock Yards men for university trustees, Meeker on one ticket and Tilden on the other. No matter which you elect the Stock Yards will be in there. Today they are selling their refuse and no university professor is telling that stock yards refuse is not good fertilizer.

Delegate Lichtenstein: I feel we do not impose upon this convention when we deal with this unemployment question. To my mind there is no doubt it has the greatest bearing upon the conditions, the hours and wages of organized labor and labor outside of the unions. The more men there are on the outside the more they are pinching you and oppressing you on the inside. The unemployment question ought to be taken up by every labor body. At the last convention of the Brotherhood of Painters in 1913, in Rochester, a resolution was brought in that all this data that Delegate O'Reilly spoke of should be collected in every locality by the Painters. You have heard that Local 194 of Chicago did so.

We started to gather this data before the law was enacted by the Brotherhood. We issue a time book to every member in which he is expected to enter his hours of employment, the time he is employed during the year, the time he is unemployed through not being able to get employment and the time he is unemployed because of accidents, sickness or strikes. By collecting this data we have been able for the first time to furnish information to those who go before the law-makers of this state and of the United States and ask for laws to remedy prevailing conditions.

In Chicago winter before last there was great unemployment. The Painters of Chicago appointed a committee on unemployment and tried to remedy it. After being in session four months the committee brought in a recommendation that the hours of labor during the slack time of the season for building trades be shortened to six hours. It was submitted to the referendum, and when it came to a final vote it was rejected on account of the selfishness of a few of the men who had steady positions. We have 10,000 organized painters in the city of Chicago, and by taking 1,000 out of the ranks of unemployment we would have alleviated the conditions in the families of those painters. Shortening the hours as we recommended would have given employ-

ment to a thousand more men in our industry during that season. I think we cannot appeal too strongly to all the laboring men to lay aside selfishness for the common good.

Delegate Werlik, Chicago: I move that a committee of five be appointed by the chair to take up the question of unemployment, collect data and present a report to the next convention. (Seconded.)

Delegate Mary O'Reilly accepted the amendment as part of her motion.

Upon motion of Delegate Keenan debate was closed.

The amendment of Delegate O'Reilly was carried and the report of the committee as amended was adopted.

State Government Institutions.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Prison-Made Brooms.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

State Factory Inspection.

Your committee has carefully considered this proposition and we firmly believe that the State Factory Inspector's Office should be supplied with sufficient funds to enable them to carry on this great work, and we recommend that this matter be referred to the Committee on Resolutions with instructions to draw up a suitable resolution to be presented to this convention for further action.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Walker in the chair.

Secretary Olander: I want to call to the attention of the delegates some of the work ahead of the convention. Last year we had to ref--

a good many resolutions to the Executive Board for action after the convention adjourned. I have here a sheet with fifty-one resolutions printed on it, and there are more in the hands of the printer. I hope the convention will find some way to adjust itself to the needs of the situation and act upon all these resolutions before we adjourn. I have had the resolutions printed in order to help matters along, so that when we get to acting upon the committees' reports the delegates will have copies of the resolutions in their hands.

President Walker: The committee informs me that the next subject will take some time to read, and suggests that it be deferred until the afternoon session. We have with us four fraternal delegates from the railroad brotherhoods. We can stay in session now to hear them. We have selected Brother McCarthy, of the Firemen and Enginemen, to speak for the entire delegation, and unless the convention rules otherwise the chair will take advantage of this opportunity to hear from them at this time.

The fraternal delegates are D. W. McCarthy, Secretary of the Joint Legislative Board of the Railway Brotherhoods and also Secretary of the Illinois State Legislative Board; Arthur D. Burbank, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; J. A. Culp and Peter Brady, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. I take pleasure in introducing to you Brother D. W. McCarthy. He has served with us on the Illinois State Legislative Board for a number of years and given his best efforts to promote the legislation we were seeking. He has been with us also in every effort to prevent the enactment of legislation inimical to our interests. I don't know anyone in this state who has nearer to his heart the cause of common humanity or puts in more of his time or does more effective work in the interest of humanity than Brother McCarthy.

Fraternal Delegate McCarthy: Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor—It is indeed a pleasure for me to have the opportunity to come be-

fore you at this time and extend to you the fraternal greetings and good wishes of the Railroad Brotherhoods of this state. There was a time when we did not understand each other as well as we do now; but, as is the case in the entire labor movement, it is a matter of education, it is a matter of understanding between the various organizations, before we can come to a proper foundation and work to the best interests of all concerned. I realize that you haven't much time for speeches, therefore I will try to be just as brief as possible and confine myself to the action of the last General Assembly and the work of the Joint Labor Legislative Board.

Prior to the last session of the Legislature we had a Joint Board, but it was organized so late in the session we did not get the real effectiveness of it. At the opening of the last session of the Legislature the representatives of the various labor organizations at Springfield, recognizing the importance of co-operation in legislative work, reorganized the Joint Labor Legislative Board, and through the efforts of your President we are able to have with us the Farmers' organization. It was the first time in the history of this state that the Farmers' organization assisted. Before that time they generally opposed the labor movement. With them, as with others, it was a matter of misunderstanding of the principles we stand for. But they have realized now that they need our assistance and that we need theirs. Realizing that fact, they have had the good common sense to come into the labor movement in a legislative way at least. Undoubtedly the time is not far distant when they will come farther in legislative matters.

While we were not able to secure the enactment of all the bills that were presented—and I might say that we were unsuccessful in securing the very important ones—nevertheless we were successful in defeating some of the most notorious bills aimed at the interests of labor that were ever introduced in the Illinois Legislature. Those bills were fought harder, the forces behind them were better organized and they went to a

greater extent to pass them than they did in any previous session.

You will realize that when I refer to the convention that was held under the name of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, which comprised nearly every manufacturer in the state and the insurance corporations. They reached out into the insurance field and took in the big insurance corporations with their millions of dollars to back them up; they reached out into the book trust and took them in to support their measures. Then do you realize why the measures that you asked for, that you prayed for, that you begged for to give you some relief, were not passed? They even went so far in many cases as to intimidate and coerce the members of the Legislature. Members came to me and told me their bankers at home had pressed down on them for the debts they owed if they dared to vote for certain bills. That business interests had told them they would shut off doing business with them if they dared to vote for bills they mentioned.

The whole proposition is that corporation had its hand upon the throat of every man in that General Assembly it was possible to get it onto. But I trust under the present conditions that in the next General Assembly there will be a sufficient number of men elected to it who will at least have the courage to stand for right and justice, that will be sent down there, not by the money of the corporations that binds them and obligates them to their wish and will, but will be sent there by the united efforts and the votes of organized labor. And there isn't any doubt in my mind that if the proper course is resorted to, if you will take the proper interest at this time and proceed under proper plans to get into the political game—and I don't mean partisan politics—go into it as a business proposition, we will have more success. It is a cold business proposition to protect your own interests, to seek your own welfare, to send men down there you know are not under obligations and will not act at the wish and will of the corporate interests.

I have knowledge at this time that those interests are starting an organized effort to coerce every man that has at least mentioned himself as a possible candidate for the next Legislature. Word has been sent out already through the channels of the corporations that they intend to control the next Illinois Legislature, and thereby defeat the demand that labor may make upon it. But it is a matter of education to our membership.

At the last Legislature the Railroad Brotherhoods asked for a law limiting the number of cars hauled in a freight train. While we had several other bills introduced, among them the full crew bill for switching service, we were particularly interested in that bill limiting the number of cars hauled in a freight train. It meant safety to our membership, it meant more safety to the traveling public and the property owners along the right-of-way. What did the railroads do? Shortly after that bill was introduced and prior to any committee hearing, they circulated through their emissaries petitions throughout the state, and in less than three weeks' time they secured over 100,000 names to those petitions protesting against legislation of that kind.

It is true the caption of the petition was misleading to the average man; he did not understand it, had little realization of what it meant. The caption read: "Half Train Bills." "Extra Crew Bills." "Double Header Bills." Now, there is nobody who has any conception of what a train is that says fifty or sixty cars is half a train; but with seventy-five to one hundred and thirty cars that are being hauled now there are no five men in existence that can properly or safely handle it over a division. You wonder sometimes why the freight you receive in small shipments is smashed. It is because of the handling of the train. You wonder sometimes why it is a train takes so long to pass a crossing when you are going to work. Those trainmen are overburdened with work, and it is impossible for them to handle the train as it should be handled.

Under the pretext that it would cut the trains in half they went out to the manufacturers and the employing classes of the state and got them to assist in their work. They gave banquets at the various division points in the large cities, and after getting the men in there told them what a disastrous thing it would be if such a law were enacted. But they never told them that they built the railroads of the country and created enormous dividends hauling small trains. They never told them that it was not until they hauled the big tonnage train they were ever able to get an increase in freight rates because they could not show on their books they were entitled to an increase while they hauled small trains.

It is through the manipulation of the tonnage sheets they were able to get an increase in freight rates in several districts. When they tell you the shorter train means an increase in freight rates it is an absolute falsehood. What it does mean is that you can get the train over the division quicker and you can deliver the freight in better shape. At the next session of the Legislature I trust we will have men in there, or at least a sufficient number of men, who are bona fide labor men, not in name only but in spirit as well, who will have the courage to stand up and vote for labor measures when they come before the General Assembly.

While possibly we did not get all we asked for—in fact, we got very little we asked for—we did better in the State of Illinois than we have done in several other states. I find from the reports of other states that are unable to maintain some of the humane laws they already had, that through the organized movement of the corporations they were able to tear from the statute books some of the laws that were enacted to save life and limb and in the interest of humanity.

I am glad to see that you have concurred in the recommendations of your president and in the resolution adopted by the Joint Legislative Board advocating that active workers be placed in the field. That means more than the word implies; it means that we have come to a realization

of the fact that in legislation rests the very foundation of our future protection; that in legislation rests our future progress; that we must protect ourselves in the legislative halls and also in the courts. All we ask is a fair deal; we are asking no favors, but we do want justice, and I trust and hope that the labor movement in this state will take an active interest from now until after election at least in seeing that every man who showed himself a traitor and an enemy to organized labor will have the pleasure of staying at home the next time.

Those men especially who come from labor centers do not represent you, they do not represent your interests, they have nothing in common with you. Why, then, should you send them there as your representatives? Why should you send lawyers and doctors and judges down there to represent the laboring people? Have they anything in common with you? Is there any reason why you should expect them to be on your side instead of on the side of the corporations? Have they been reared in your class? They have been reared in colleges and universities supported by donations from Standard Oil and Carnegie. They are not with you—they cannot be. If they are, they are exceptions and there are few of those. At the next primary I trust we will get labor representatives; that the various committees that were appointed and placed in the various districts will meet and decide who they are going to support in the primaries and after the primaries in the election. If you do that it means more than you have any conception of at this time. If that had been done prior to the last legislature the teachers in Chicago would not be having to put up the fight they are putting up for their very existence, and you would have not had a school board in Chicago that would dare to attempt to deny the teachers rights granted to them by the constitution of the United States and by the State of Illinois. But it is not too late, and I trust that every delegate here will take it upon himself when he goes home to ascertain the record of the members of the last General Assembly.

A voting record of a man in the General Assembly is not always an indication of his attitude toward you. Some of them make it a practice to see that their voting record is kept pretty clean, although in reality they are enemies to organized labor and its interests. You ask how that can be. Let me tell you. I will cite an instance in connection with the Car Limit Bill and the Anti-Injunction Bill. Under the present rules they have adopted in the House in order to get a bill out of the regular order on the calendar—and practically all bills are advanced in that manner—the introducer of that bill will move to call the bill up. Somebody will object. If objections are heard, if one man objects, they cannot call it up without suspending the rules. In order to suspend the rules they must have 77 affirmative votes. You cannot get it advanced even though not a man votes against it unless you have the 77 affirmative votes. They will sit in their seats and when the roll is called those who do not want to vote will not vote. After the roll is called once somebody will suggest that absentees be called. They will call all those who did not vote. When that is completed the vote is announced. In more than one case after the vote had been announced, and it was seen there were not sufficient votes to advance the bill, men who were outside the hall, who had sneaked out prior to taking the vote, got up and had their names placed on the roll call, and still they are shown in the roll call as voting for you. Under that condition they will go back to you, take their records and say, "We are your friends," although they opposed your measures from their introduction to their final defeat.

I have a record at home in my files of every one of them. Your President and every member of the Joint Labor Legislative Board is familiar with these things. If you doubt a man, despite what his voting record will show, before you go out and support him, find out whether he was your friend at the last session of the General Assembly. When you do that, when you get that information, I trust you will act accordingly, that you will lay aside all personal

feeling in the matter, all partisan politics, and remember that the labor organization is the foremost, it is the one organization, the one institution that provides for your bread and butter, the one organization that comes into your home and takes care of your dependent ones when you are taken away from this world, it is the one organization that sees that you get a decent burial. Then why should that not be closer to you than any other organization you belong to or have any knowledge of?

I want to say to you in parting that for the connection I have had with your President, for the noble work he has done—for I know there is no man in the State of Illinois that was more sincere in his every effort, he has worked night and day for the interests of organized labor—there is no man in my acquaintance who is more honorable or whose heart throbs more warmly for the interest of humanity. He is a credit to the labor movement wherever he goes; he is known throughout the land, and there is no doubt in my mind that he will lead you to victory and will put the labor movement of Illinois on a pinnacle above every other state in the Union. I trust I will live to see the day that Illinois will be foremost in the ranks of labor legislation, leading the other states and showing them that the labor movement of this state is united, that it recognizes its rights and will have justice for itself and equality for humanity.

President Walker: I know that every delegate here who has given the matter any thought understands the value and the vital importance of having all the organizations of labor in Illinois in the State Federation working together for the common need. And of the organizations that are not affiliated with us that will be most helpful to the general labor movement and be most helped by the general labor movement, because of their greater strength and greater numbers, the Railroad Brotherhoods are more important than any other division not in the general movement. The only way we can bring them in is through their getting an

understanding of what we are and what we are trying to do. And the only way we can bring that about is by mingling with them, reaching them and getting to know and understand what they are and what they are trying to do.

There is not a man on this Board representing the Railroad Brotherhoods that is not anxious to see the day come when we will all be united. They have talked it over with individual members, meetings have been arranged to enable the officers of the State Federation to be present and discuss the question, and today I honestly believe if the question were to be submitted by an Australian ballot system to the membership of those organizations they would become part of our great movement. I believe that influence is going to continue to develop and grow and spread, and in the future—and I hope not very far away—we are going to bring about the affiliation of these great organizations with the general movement and link up with the different state organizations and central bodies. And when that day comes you will not need to be chasing up and down after the individual politicians, you will not need to be on your knees in the different legislatures, you will not need to be begging and petitioning Congress and being put off by every sort of excuse, pleading they do not understand—you will get what you are entitled to without half the work the active ones are now doing in the movement.

I hope you men and women who are here as delegates will get better acquainted with these men who are here now as fraternal delegates, that you will get their point of view and take it back to the general membership. I hope when you go home that you will give them an opportunity in your different communities to speak to your members; I hope you will give them the opportunities they have been giving us, and that you will invite Burbank, Carroll, Lawrence, McCarthy, Brady and others to come and speak at your different meetings, get acquainted with your members and be able through that to arrange for reciprocal meetings, and that joint meet-

ings will be held in the towns where the lodges of these brotherhoods are located.

When that day comes we will make progress, we will make greater progress than the labor movement has ever made before in all its history. I would like to do this for what it means to the men and women who work, for their children and for the future generations. And I would like it for another reason. I would like to be able, when that day comes, to walk up into the Legislature and find some of those gentlemen who have been treating us

as has been described in the past, for the personal satisfaction I could get out of it.

I know I can speak for the delegates when I say that from our hearts we are glad you are with us and we hope the time is not far distant when we will be sitting in one convention as delegates, and then when we leave whatever has been decided upon we will act as nearly as a unit for the common good as is possible.

At 12:30 the convention was adjourned to 2 p. m. of the same day.

FOURTH DAY—Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Thursday, October 21st, President John H. Walker in the chair.

Delegate Kinsley presided during the early part of the session while the report of Committee on Officers' reports was being presented.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON OFFICERS' REPORTS.

Chairman Connors read the portion of the report of President Walker under the caption, "Disruptionists," and Secretary Shaffer read the following report of the committee:

The Bush Matter—Disruptionists.

"Your committee, realizing that serious and unfounded charges have been lodged against the President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in a cowardly way, through the medium of the Peoria Labor Gazette, a paper whose editor and manager, Walter S. Bush, is a discredited member of the Central Labor Body of Peoria, Ill., reports as follows: Your committee does not believe that the charges referred to can be substantiated and were intended to injure President Walker in the eyes of the labor movement for political purposes. Your committee places explicit confidence in the honesty and integrity of John H.

Walker, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

"We therefore recommend that said Walter S. Bush be cited to appear before this convention to substantiate the charges he makes against President Walker, and in the event of his failure to prove the aforesaid charges, or fails to appear, that he be henceforth expelled from the labor movement so far as the Illinois State Federation of Labor is concerned."

Chairman Connors moved the adoption of the report of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Brooks, Peoria: A correction should be made in the President's report. The report states that Mr. Bush was secretary-treasurer of the central body in Peoria. Mr. Bush has been secretary but not treasurer.

Delegate Goodwin, Typographical Union, Chicago: I desire to make a few remarks in connection with this. I am not going to stand here as a defender of Walter Bush, especially, but I want to say to the delegates that these few pages contain several misstatements; for instance, that Walter S. Bush incited Typographical Union 29 to secede. That is false. He did no such thing. As a matter of fact he took the floor at a meeting of Local No. 29 and used his best efforts to keep that body from seceding. He tried to stop it, but he could not do it.

The printing bill, of course, was threshed out yesterday. The statement of the President about the printing bill is also absolutely wrong and, as we said yesterday, we can prove it is if we get a chance. I for one decline to be a party to any such methods as this—for the president of an organization like this to turn his official report into a campaign document is beneath his dignity. If he has a personal fight with Walter S. Bush, who is a candidate against him in the coming election, let him fight it out on the outside. You never heard in any reputable labor body of the president taking his annual report to make an official screed out of it.

President Walker: The inference left by the last speaker is that this section in my report is put in there because Walter S. Bush is a candidate against me for President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. If that is true the only reason I have it in that report is because I want the office of President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. I honestly believe that the delegate who made that statement does not believe it himself.

Here is a bunch of newspapers. They contain the things I have said in that report that Bush has done, and if this convention wants to go into them I am willing to have it done. I would like to have Brother Goodwin in the committee to go over the papers, if that sort of thing is done, and if he can agree with those things I will be glad to find out he is that kind of man, and I can protect myself from him in the future. But I don't think he will justify the things he will find in these papers. If a man can declare himself a candidate against a man he is attacking and lie about him in the most vile kind of way, attempt to blackmail him to make him misappropriate money that is entrusted to his care, and give it to him rather than stand up and fight—the man who will do that is the most cowardly, yellow, dirty cur there is on the top of this earth.

I am not going to charge Delegate Goodwin with consciously supporting a man in doing that sort of thing,

but I do say that a man who will publicly, consciously, knowing what he is doing, endorse that kind of work, is dirtier and viler and lower than the original malefactor. I have been in this movement now for something like eighteen years, and rather than put myself in a false position when it might injure the movement, a movement I think everybody who knows me will agree I love dearer than anything else on top of this earth, and put myself in a position that would give me more money, and the position that so far as I am personally concerned I would rather fill than any other job on top of the earth, I declined it rather than injure the movement by allowing men of this same type to distort my act in a way to make it appear personal or selfish.

I don't need to go outside of this convention to prove that I declined positions that would give me more money in one year than I would get in ten in the position I am holding now. I declined rather than leave the organization I am a member of, and I would not need to subject myself to the abuse of people of this type, nor do the work, undergo the worry and responsibility that a man in this position has to do.

This should not be allowed. The fact that a man will announce himself as a candidate for a job should not be allowed as a reason why he should not be held responsible for the things he does. I don't want to hurt Walter Bush. My judgment is that a man who has the mental attitude, who has the disposition and character that will do these things, if he got everything there is in this world he wanted, could not get as much out of life as a tramp who is half-way decent can get. I don't want to injure him. Nature has inflicted, in my judgment, a severe enough penalty on him. And although I do not want to injure him, much less do I want to injure some poor innocent, who may be depending upon him, and would not want this convention to do anything that would deprive him of making a living for himself and his family. I hope the only thing you will do, and the only thing you would do with any other poor devil who

was born unfortunate and who may be deficient or vicious, is to injure him no more than you can help in order to protect yourselves. And I would rather help him after I had protected myself than to injure him.

If Brother Goodwin has any respect for himself—and I think he has—he will not attempt to justify any living man who would publish in his paper, maliciously, without a particle of foundation, such statements as were published in Bush's paper. I will be glad to furnish them to you. This is the only opportunity I have had to protect myself. I have no paper, and I would not dirty the News Letter by answering him; but I do want the trade union movement of this state to know the facts, not only that they may do justice to me, but protect themselves. I don't know anything in this report that is not right.

So far as Mr. Bush not advocating secession in his own union, that may be true, but if you read these papers you will find he has publicly appealed to all the trade unions in Peoria to withdraw from the Peoria central body, and I think there are members of the Typographical Union getting copies of that paper gratis; and whatever he may have done in local meetings, there is the statement spread publicly through Peoria asking the trade unionists to withdraw from that central body. I don't know what more evidence you want.

I dare any living human being to deny a single charge made in my report and get the proof before an impartial, competent body of men, and the thing that will vindicate me best in the minds of the trade unionists of this state will be for them personally to investigate and get the facts. As I said, I don't want to take up your time; I am not going to unless the other side invites it. If they do I expect to give them all they want and have enough to pass around.

Vice-President Allton in the chair.

Delegate Harding, Typographical Union: Mr. President and Delegates—I can, fortunately, discuss this question without any personal bias whatever. That is remarkable of me, be-

cause as a rule I display considerable heat on any question I may discuss. I want to say that I respect both President Walker and Walter Bush. There is a phase of this matter I wish to call your attention to. I can sympathize with President Walker, and sympathize with him keenly for the heat he has displayed. I know how I have felt when I have been attacked in a similar manner, as I have been frequently. So far as I am personally concerned, talking of the political issue of it, my opinion has been for a year past that there isn't a man in the state of Illinois, no matter what his ability may be or his standing in the labor movement, who is strong enough in an election for President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor under the referendum system, I don't think there is any man who has any chance to beat President Walker. I say that to convince you I am not discussing this from a political standpoint.

Walter S. Bush happens to be a printer, and when the proposition came up to endorse him as President of the State Federation of Labor, and when several members scoffed at the idea of his having a chance, he was given a chance to run. In the labor movement we all know we must cultivate, and in the course of time we are bound to cultivate a certain spirit of sportsmanship. The man who goes through the labor movement for any length of time is bound to get the worst of it.

A Delegate: I rise to a point of order. This man Bush is an employer of labor. He seems to be representing a hostile organization.

Chairman Allton: I think your information is based on an improper understanding of the question.

Delegate Harding: Speaking to the report of the committee. The recommendation is that Walter S. Bush be cited to appear before this convention for trial, and in the event he does not appear that he be expelled from the labor movement.

Chairman Connors: That is not the recommendation of the committee; it is that he be cited to appear before this convention to prove the charges against Brother Walker, if

he can, and if he appears and cannot prove his charges, or does not appear, that he be banished from the labor movement as far as this organization is concerned. You don't need to throw him out of your printers' union.

Delegate Harding: If this organization by majority vote decides that under no circumstances will I be seated as a delegate in this body, I claim the body has no right to take such action. Each organization has a right to elect any member it wishes to represent it. That should settle the matter. I haven't any doubt but that the recommendation of the committee will be adopted, but I want to call the attention of all of you gentlemen to this danger: The one thing that Alton stands for, the one thing that Alton should stand for, is what President Walker referred to in his report. You will remember that yesterday, in response to a request of President Walker, we stood here for one minute with bowed heads out of respect to a man who was killed in the streets of this city because he was an abolitionist, and insisted upon uttering his sentiments irrespective of popular clamor and prejudice.

The more contemptible Walter Bush is the less you have to fear. The one thing you have to fear and guard against is the abuse of free speech, the abuse of tolerance. This organization is based upon mutual toleration and respect and regard for the rights of the different local unions represented here.

A delegate arose to a point of order and stated that the speaker had exceeded ten minutes.

A motion was made to extend the speaker's time. Delegate Harding stated that he did not wish to speak any longer.

Delegate Jessen: I believe we should give Brother Harding further time.

Chairman Alton: I will put the motion.

President Walker: I hope the convention will not attempt to shut off anybody in the discussion of this question. There is only one thing I am afraid of in any of these matters,

and that is doing any wrong even to the man who opposes me. I think those who know me know that the men who are taking greatest chances are the men who are closest to me. I don't want to do anything wrong to anyone involved in this matter.

The motion to extend Delegate Harding's time was carried.

Delegate Harding: I will not take up your time. I will leave the question to your own honor, your own judgment and your own sense of what is right, but I want to make one point. Consider what may happen in the future. Build for the future. Never mind any individual. This movement is greater than individualities.

Delegate Dunn, Painters: It seems to me that whatever action we may take in this matter will result in discord. If we vote to adopt the report of the committee without giving everybody a chance to be heard, the Printers will go away from here with strong feeling against the action of this convention. To clear this matter up and in justice to President Walker, in justice to the Typographical Union and the other delegates to this convention, I move that a special committee be appointed, three members to be appointed by the chair, three members to be appointed by a representative of the Typographical Union, and those men to go into session, elect a seventh member, and consider this matter and report back to the convention.

Delegate Bruce: I rise to a point of order. The delegate made a speech before offering his motion.

Chairman Alton: The point is well taken.

Delegate Walt, East Peoria: We took action in our local union expelling Walter Bush from the Trades Assembly, and we got it from his friends outside that we had not done right because he was not there. Now I want him here, I don't want it said the Federation did not give him a fair trial. I am in favor of the report of the committee.

Delegate Bruce, Street Railway Employees: I don't think there is a delegate here who is desirous of do-

ing an injustice to Walter Bush or President Walker. I think the convention is in favor of bringing out every issue there is in this controversy. I am sorry Mr. Bush is not present this afternoon to defend himself. He was here in the city of Alton from the first of the week until yesterday noon. Walking up Fourth street about 12:30, after the convention adjourned yesterday, I met Mr. Bush with a suit case, a grip and an umbrella. I asked if he was going to leave the city, and he said: "No, I am going to be here the rest of the week. It has been so far to walk up to the room that I am going to move down to the hotel." He went straight to the train, boarded it and left the city. He knew at that time the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports was a special order of business for the beginning of the afternoon session.

Why did Mr. Bush not remain here? He knew this was coming up; he knew what President Walker's report contained. If he wanted to be on the square why didn't he stay here and defend himself? Why did he tell me he was not going to leave the city? He had no occasion to tell me a lie. I asked him a fair question and he told me he was not leaving. Now if there is anybody who has any more information, we should have it. From what I have heard on all sides, Mr. Bush is guilty beyond all doubt, and this convention should go on record putting him out and never let him come back.

Delegate Haywood: I move as an amendment that Mr. Bush appear to defend his position and the matter of penalty be left until the delegates have had an opportunity to hear all the facts in the case.

Chairman Connors: In behalf of the committee I want to make a statement. I think the recommendation of the committee covers everything Brother Haywood has embodied in his amendment.

Chairman Allton: There is no second to the amendment.

Delegate Goodwin, Typographical Union: I desire to offer an amendment to the report of the committee. I move that we strike out the last

three or four words that provide a penalty. Let us stand for the investigation and let those who make the investigation fix the penalty and not fix it in advance. Let the penalty remain to be fixed until the man has had a fair trial and is found guilty.

The amendment offered by Delegate Goodwin was seconded.

Chairman Connors: The words Brother Goodwin wants stricken out are: "or fails to appear that he be henceforth expelled from the labor movement so far as the Illinois State Federation of Labor is concerned."

Delegate Goodwin: If he fails to appear it is a confession of guilt and I myself will wash my hands of it if he fails to appear.

Delegate Jones, West Frankfort: I think in all fairness to the Printers we should support the motion. These fellows seem to think Mr. Bush was not given a fair deal. I favor giving him a chance to appear and if he does not appear this convention can go on record.

Delegate Goodwin: That is the intention of my amendment.

Delegate Barry, Carpenters: How many times has a man to come here and plead guilty before you convict him? The evidence is all there.

Delegate Schaffer, Secretary of the Committee: The recommendation of the committee is giving this man a trial. We are citing him to appear before this body. He never gave Walker a trial, he never invited him to appear before a trial committee. He simply opened him up in the paper. He never gave Walker any consideration. I cannot see how the committee can be fairer than to invite the man here to defend himself for having assassinated a man's character. He has been here all week. He stayed here until thirty minutes before this report was to be opened up and then he beat it out of Alton like a dirty cur—and they know it. Men who are taking his part are going arm in arm with Walter Bush until thirty minutes before the report was to be made and then they had him beat it out of town.

Delegate Harding: So far as I am concerned that statement is a false one.

Delegate Schaffer: Why didn't you bring him in if you are so interested in the affair? You can't bring him in. The committee makes one request and that is to bring him in here. We demand that he come in here. We have a right to expect him in here to prove what he has said, and any one who is trying to put the soft pedal on this isn't fair.

Delegate Plummer, Typographical Union, Chicago: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—I desire to state that so far as I am personally concerned I never saw this man Bush in my life until the other day when I met him in the hotel. I came to this convention uninstructed by my organization, and I certainly do not like the attitude assumed by some delegates here who are casting reflections upon my organization. I have remained silent, I have not said a word up to this time; and when it comes to the point that delegates insinuate it is a frame-up among the printer delegates to protect this man the impression is entirely false. I never saw this man, I did not know anything about this until I read it in President Walker's report, and when the previous speaker stated that we rushed Mr. Bush out of town it is an injury to us.

I do not know why Mr. Bush left town; I did not know he had left town until a fellow said so yesterday. I want to be fair in this thing. I came here and heard about this thing and was willing to go to the committee. This thing would have been avoided if you had given us a hearing. You can say whatever you want about this Printers' delegation, but I ask you in the name of justice to withhold judgment against my organization, the International Typographical Union, and especially Chicago Typographical Union No. 16. If there are any politics in this I am not a party to it, and there are other members of my delegation that are not. We knew absolutely nothing about it.

Delegate Carlson, Carpenters: As a member of the Committee on Offi-

cers' Reports I desire to say we thought the recommendation brought in would be just about the proper thing. If Bush comes here and states his case and you think he is right, then that part of our reports falls. If he fails to come then we know that by his own act he pleads guilty.

Delegate Cahill, Chicago: Mr. Bush may have done things that are directly in opposition to trade union ethics, but we in turn ought to give the man a chance to defend himself. Yesterday there was a discussion as to whether the Typographical Union had been given the proper consideration. They asked for a meeting of the committee. The chairman of the committee said there would be a meeting at one o'clock. The delegates of No. 16, Chicago, insisted that they be allowed to present their case before a Committee on Officers' Reports. That was denied.

Delegate Plummer, Typographical Union: I beg to make a correction. That is not Chicago Typographical Union's case.

Delegate Cahill: The leading spirits in asking for the committee were members of No. 16. They were not given a hearing.

Chairman Connors: I want to settle this. The brother is mistaken or he is deliberately trying to besmear this committee. They did come before the committee and they were given a hearing. The committee did just exactly as it agreed to do. I agreed to present their case to the committee. I did so, but the committee did not see its way to agree and stood pat on the proposition of submitting this report. The Printers' delegates did not come to the committee until the last hour, when they thought they could create some dissension that would cause a fight on this. They did get a hearing.

Secretary Olander: If you will permit a minute's interruption. I think I am justified in offering this suggestion now, that in a matter of this kind we ought to be tolerant with each other and allow a little discretion. When we have strong feelings on a matter we are apt to

get a little heated and it is best to let the steam blow off.

Delegate Cahill: My proposition in this matter is honest. I never knew anything about this man Bush until I saw the report of the President. The Committee on Officers' Reports has not said they asked Mr. Bush to appear before them. Why didn't they ask him to appear and defend himself? They knew he was in the city. Now they want to take snap judgment on him. It is now Thursday. The convention will probably adjourn before Saturday noon. It looks like a physical impossibility to get him here before adjournment.

President Walker: Here is a headline in the "Peoria Labor Gazette," July 30, 1915: "Exposure of \$50,000 Co-operative Swindle." And then goes on to say: "Last week the Peoria Labor Gazette began its exposure of the fake co-operative company's store being fostered in Illinois by John Walker, who utilizes the time and money of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in traveling about the state stumping for these co-op fakes now being promoted via the gullible labor union route by smooth promoters who first secure (for a consideration) the endorsement of prominent labor officials and then sell stock in get-rich-quick swindles to the deluded wage workers who are induced to invest by the fact that such and such a prominent leader has given his unqualified endorsement to the scheme. These promoting stock salesmen take down from 50 to 80 per cent of the subscriptions received as pay for selling the stock, and of course divide with the men higher up."

Delegate Lawrenz: I want to know if the trial is going on now, or are you going to wait until Mr. Bush is here and then have the whole thing over again. It seems President Walker's statement coming at this time would prejudice the convention against Mr. Bush. There is not a delegate here who has not been elected by his own body as a just man to come here and conduct its affairs. It seems to me every man should keep his mouth shut until another brother is through.

Chairman Allton: That is the position the chair takes, and does not like to have the speakers interrupted.

President Walker: There is another lot of stuff in there connecting Walker with these "fake co-operative stores." Another headline is: "Colossal Swindle," and connects Walker with it. Another is: "Walker Must Answer." "Co-operative Swindle. Light Turned On."

These things were circulated not alone in Illinois, but they went to every state in the Union, to men who knew nothing about the local situation and who could not get information unless they went to considerable expense and trouble and in their minds Walker is a traitor, a swindler, a Judas and is working the men and women in the labor movement for all he can get out of it.

The only statement I made—and Walter Bush has it published in his paper—was that I would answer for my conduct to the Illinois State Federation of Labor. I believe that was where I should make it. He carried that in his own paper and he knew I was going to answer for my conduct here. He convicted me without investigation, he didn't give me any trial; he sentenced me and inflicted the penalty everywhere in our nation, and possibly in foreign nations as well, because exchange labor papers carried this statement. He did this without giving me any trial or hearing. He knew from a personal letter written in reply to those charges that I would answer here. He came here and stayed until the motion was made providing that this particular portion of the work of the convention would be a special order. He stayed here two or three days—I saw him and talked to him myself—and the minute he was sure it was coming up he left. I think I have borne patiently with this thing. You don't want a president of this organization with charges of this kind hanging over him in the minds of decent people throughout the country, and I tell you I am not going to stand for it.

I make this proposition to you—and I don't care whether you accept it or not, I will be governed by it anyhow—adopt the report of this

committee, let Bush come here if he will. I don't think you will get him to come here unless you go over and carry him over—let him come here and if this convention does not exonerate me from every scintilla of truth in them, I have this regard for the labor movement, that I would refuse to remain in a position here where the enemies of labor could use it. He could have stayed here, every one here knows it. The only reason he left is because he knew these charges in my report were true and he did not want to face them and everybody knows that, too.

I make this proposition to you: That if he can prove one one-thousandth part of a fraction of truth in his charges, if he can prove a scintilla of a charge reflecting on my honesty in these matters, then I will quit whether you want me to or not. And if he can prove charges of that kind that he makes publicly and circulates throughout the entire world without giving a man a hearing, a trial, an opportunity to be heard, without investigating, I say to you he is getting off very lucky if the only thing that happens to him is to be condemned for what he is, and the labor movement refuses to injure itself by permitting itself to be publicly known in connection with that kind of gentleman.

If the statement of a delegate on the floor is true, that this is in my report because I love my office and want it, in the event I withdraw he and Brother Wright will be the only candidates eligible. If I give it up it will mean an almost assured election of him. That is a fair proposition, it is giving him an equal break. If he will come here and prove any of those charges, if this convention does not give me a clean-cut, clear exoneration of everything charged in the papers I will quit the job and will not be president longer than the session that refuses to do that for me, and I will not be a candidate for reelection to any office in the labor movement until a convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor does free me from that stigma.

And, gentlemen, I think if Mr. Bush refuses to do what is right voluntarily he cannot say he has been

treated unfairly if he is expelled from the movement he has injured to that extent. If he has done wrong and will now do what is right voluntarily I will fight as well as I know how to keep the convention from inflicting any further penalty. But if he has done wrong and will not do right voluntarily—and he did what he did to me without giving me a chance to defend myself and you are giving him that chance—if he refuses to do right voluntarily I don't think any fair man, any decent man, any friend of the labor movement can complain if they protect themselves to that extent from him by preventing him from being a delegate or an official in this organization until he does what is right.

Delegate Wright, Typographical Union: As I said yesterday, and as I said in writing, I am not a candidate for any office in the Illinois State Federation of Labor—absolutely off the slate.

President Walker: Then that makes it all the better for Bush. It is a cinch if he can come here and make good.

Delegate Gaude: I am a believer in free speech, I am a believer in liberty. I want to build up this organization, but if any delegate here or any member affiliated with the Illinois State Federation of Labor can accuse one of its officers, John Walker or any executive board member, and cannot make good he has got to get out, and if he can make good the other fellow has got to get out. That is the only way you will be able to build up the State Federation. The sooner you get rid of those fellows the better off we will be. If you don't get rid of those fellows they will get rid of you, they will tear the organization down.

Delegate Golden: I move that debate cease. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Keefe: I move that the amendment be tabled.

Chairman Allton: A motion to close the debate has been carried and no delegate will be recognized to make a motion or a speech.

The amendment offered by Delegate Goodwin was voted on and lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Lohn: In view of the fact that the vote is so overwhelmingly in favor of the recommendation of the committee, I would move that the records of the convention make the vote unanimous. (Seconded.)

Delegates Goodwin and Freeman objected to the vote being made unanimous.

Chairman Allton: There is objection to the vote and it cannot be made unanimous. The motion was not a proper one in the first place.

Delegate Argust, Mine Workers: I move you that a telegram be sent to Walter S. Bush, stating that his presence is desired in this convention tomorrow afternoon at 2 o'clock. (Seconded and carried.)

Secretary Olander: Is it satisfactory to send this telegram to Mr. Bush, in accordance with the instructions of the convention?

Alton, Oct. 21, 1915.

Walter S. Bush,
225 N. Adams St.,
Peoria, Ill.

You are cited to appear before the convention at 2 o'clock tomorrow (Friday) afternoon to substantiate the charges you have made against President Walker and in the event of your failure to prove the aforesaid charges, or your failure to appear, you will henceforth be expelled from the labor movement so far as the Illinois State Federation of Labor is concerned.

V. A. OLANDER, Secretary,
Convention, Illinois State Federation
of Labor.

Secretary Olander: Brother Harding, as a favor to me will you step to the telegraph office and be a witness that I send this telegram?

Delegate Harding: I will, certainly, but I don't believe it is necessary.

Delegate Pace, Mine Workers: I move that Secretary Olander wire

Mr. Bush to come at the expense of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. (Seconded.)

Delegate Finlay, Mine Workers: Did Bush publish that stuff in the paper at the expense of the State Federation of Labor.

Delegate Pace: No; but there is something more to consider in this proposition than Walter S. Bush or any other individual. If we wire him to come at our expense he will have no excuse for staying away. I really don't think he will come, but if we ask him to come at our expense he will have every prop knocked out from under him. The acts of this convention are what settle the future of the State Federation.

Delegate Jones, West Frankfort: What is the matter with sending a special train after him?

Delegate Argust, Mine Workers: I am opposed to the motion of Delegate Pace. I know Walter Bush and I know he isn't broke. I know if Jack Walker has as much of the goods on Bush as Bush claims to have on Walker, Jack would ride a freight train to get to the place where he could defend himself.

The motion offered by Delegate Pace was lost.

Delegate Kain, for the committee on Credentials, submitted the following report and recommended the seating of the fraternal delegates named:

Fraternal Delegates from the St. Louis Women's Trade Union League.

Sarah Spraggon
Maggie Smith
Edith Barriger
May Smith
Lee Pearce

Retail Clerks Dist. 1.

H. J. Conoway.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The report of the committee was resumed as follows: (President's report.)

Labor Press.

Your committee recommends that this convention goes on record as branding Representative Thomas N. Gorman of the 18th Senatorial District, as being a traitor to organized labor, and a buccaneer who is the servile tool of big business, particularly the railroad interests, a man whose mood cannot be relied upon. Gorman promised, prior to his election as representative of his district, that he would support a full crew bill and other labor measures; but during the session he reversed himself and proved himself one of labor's most bitter enemies. And we further recommend that all trade unionists in his district be made familiar with Gorman's treachery through the medium of the News Letter and other honest labor papers, and urge them to use all honorable means within their power to defeat this vicious buccaneer for re-election, should he be a candidate.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The Decatur Friend.

Regarding the matter under the caption "The Decatur Friend," your committee realizes that in some cases it is wise to spread the mantle of charity over the shortcomings of some men realizing that there are times when they are irresponsible and cannot and should not be called to account for their misdeeds? We therefore recommend that this convention go on record as pitying rather than censuring John H. Ryan, who publishes the "Labor World" of Decatur, Ill., and urge all honest trade unionists to refrain from subscribing for this paper; as your committee believes papers controlled by individuals who sell advertising space to corrupt political aspirants, who have shown by their acts that they stand ready to crucify organized labor, makes the paper a menace and unworthy of consideration.

As to the labor press of our State, your committee would recommend that in districts and cities where labor papers are published the organized workers should, as far as they can, get hold of the controlling interests so that these mediums, which are of

inmeasurable value when published for the workers' interests, may not be used to further the interests of our enemies.

Delegate Connors moved the adoption of the report of the committee. (Seconded and carried.)

Political Activity.

Your committee deplores the growing dominating influence that the business and employing interests are wielding over the law-makers of our State, to the detriment of permanent improvement in the condition of the workers. With this knowledge at hand we recommend to the workers to use every power at their command to remedy this evil by investigating carefully all facts in connection with the attitude towards the labor movement of every individual candidate, what he has done in the past and what he is likely to do in the future. No trade unionist is doing his full duty either as a member of organized labor or a citizen unless he knows what his representatives in law making bodies are going to do. You have a right to demand of them in advance their stand upon public questions.

We further recommend that the delegates of this convention instruct the incoming officers to publish in the News Letter the records of the different candidates, as far as they are known, so that the voters will be in possession of facts that will assist them in voting intelligently.

Your committee desires to call your attention to the deplorable condition that exists. Out of 204 members of the Illinois Legislature at the last session only six were actively connected with the organized labor movement. There must be something radically wrong. This proves that the laboring people that represent the largest organized force in this State, do not use their political power for themselves and for their own interest. Your committee again reiterates its former recommendation that the subject matter of Resolution No. 1 (page 19 of the president's report) should be unanimously concurred in and that active workers should be kept in the field so as to thoroughly organize the entire State in each Senatorial District.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Seidel: In central bodies if they give their endorsement to men with union cards they should prove they are union men. I think the locals that endorse such a man as this, who has worked against labor measures, are wrong. This man should have his card taken away from him.

Delegate Dunn, Painters: Steps have already been taken in Chicago to work along those lines. The Chicago Federation of Labor has formed what is called the Public Ownership League and has sent Frank Buchanan to address the delegates on this subject. I hope the delegates whose unions have not already joined the movement have noticed that there will be a meeting at the Chicago Federation headquarters the last Sunday of this month. We have already organized the movement and have it in working order.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Labor Temples.

In the Peoria convention this matter was thoroughly discussed by the Committee on Officers' reports. At that time your committee recommended that the matter be referred to the incoming Executive Board, with instructions that they submit plans to the delegates at the next state convention. Therefore your committee refers this matter to the present Executive Board to submit their report as instructed by the Peoria convention to be acted upon by the delegates at this convention.

Chairman Connors: The President made no recommendation, but the committee submits this recommendation and moves its adoption. (Seconded and carried.)

Legal Department.

Your committee is of the opinion that a Legal Department is necessary, so that in all matters that require legal action and advice it can be had at a minimum cost to the Federation and affiliated unions; and we ask that this question be referred to the

incoming Executive Board for investigation, their findings to be reported at the next convention, and that this convention empower the President to employ counsel when necessary for the protection of the interest of the organization.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Union Label (Page 71).

Referred to Committee on Union Labels.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Bricklayers (Page 73).

Referred to Committee on Organization.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

The Lawson Case (Page 74).

Your committee fully realizes the injustices that have been done to the laboring people of the State of Colorado by the Rockefellers and their hirelings, such as judges, city, county and state officials. We believe that the conviction of John R. Lawson on trumped up evidence before a Standard Oil owned judge, Granby Hillyer, was a travesty on justice. We recommend that an expression of condemnation of those acts, and the people responsible for them, be made by this convention. We therefore recommend that the President appoint a committee to draw up suitable resolutions covering this case to be presented to this convention for action.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Conclusion.

In conclusion your committee would like to again recommend to the delegates of this convention, and to all who are interested in the labor movement of the state, a careful study of the report of President Walker to this convention. As stated in the introduction, your committee gave full consideration to all matters laid before it in the report of the President and Secretary-Treasurer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. In submitting these matters to the convention for final disposition

we have done so with the firmest conviction that the judgment of the committee has been reached, and is here expressed, after hearing fully and carefully and giving an impartial consideration to the merits of all matters presented to it. We here and now bid the workers of the State of Illinois to be of good cheer for their cause is right. Right may have lost many battles but never any wars, and in the end right will prevail.

JAS. B. CONNORS, Chairman.

JOHN R. SCHAEFER, Sec'y.

P. J. CARLSON,

JOHN P. M'GRATH,

H. BOGASKE,

ELIZABETH CHRISTMAN,

ALBERT PETERSON,

Committee on Officers' Reports.

The last section was concurred in as reported.

Delegate Jessen, Painters: I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Bruce. I move that we give the Committee on Officers' Reports a rising vote of thanks. (Seconded and carried.)

President Walker in the chair.

President Walker appointed the following special committee on the Lawson Case, as provided for in the report of the committee:

James Lord, Mine Workers, Chairman;

John Fitzpatrick, Horseshoers,

John S. Plummer, Typographical Union,

Elizabeth Christman, Glove Workers,

Agnes Johnson, Boot and Shoe Workers.

President Walker: There are a number of the teachers from the Chicago Teachers' Federation who will be compelled to leave tonight or lose their jobs. As the Committee on Schools and Education is ready to make a report we will have it read now.

Report of the Committee on Schools and Education

Delegate O'Reilly, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the Delegates of the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor—Greeting.

The efforts of the great commercial interests to control the educational policy of the country and their vicious attacks upon all who interfere with their plans, have become a menace to the public school system. Some of the interests which are opposing our trade union movement are also identified with the attacks upon the schools. The welfare of the workers and their children demands that a close watch be kept upon all legislation concerning schools, upon the acts of Boards of Education and all educational tendencies and policies.

Your committee recommends the appointment of a permanent committee on schools to safeguard the children of the workers, to secure for all students the right to mental freedom in education, and to secure the expression in the educational system of the ideas of organized labor.

The selfishness of the business interests greatly retards the development of the public school system and the maintenance of sufficient schools by opposing any increase in school taxes and by gaining possession of school lands, at much less than their value. It has been impossible so far to get the full two-mill tax restored, although a combined effort of the labor unions and the teachers has been exerted for many years. Nearly all the valuable lands that should now be supporting the school system have been sold, and the remainder is in danger of being taken at much less than their value. If our children are to have the educational advantages to which they are entitled, we must insist that more of the wealth we are creating is devoted to public education, and less of it drained into the coffers of these privileged interests.

But schools are practically useless if the teachers are not at liberty to teach the truth. And just now we have some striking examples of the activities of these powerful privi-

leged classes endeavoring to control the expression of the teachers, to frighten teachers into servile submission to their ideas, so that these teachers will teach such ideas, and fallacious principles as these privileged classes want taught.

Many teachers and professors have been dismissed from the service in high schools and universities because they persisted in teaching the truth in such branches as sociology and economics, and the danger of such dismissal has influenced the teaching of many a teacher so that the very source of our intellectual life has been poisoned and the foundations of our democracy endangered.

Another attack upon the freedom of teachers is the recent assault upon the Teachers' Federation of Chicago by the Board of Education, which was evidently instigated by these same powerful interests.

This attack is absolutely un-American, undemocratic, unfair, and illegal. If the Board of Education can dissolve the Teachers' Federation and is allowed to do it, then no organization of any kind is safe. Justice will become a byword, and our liberties will be at an end.

It has been a tremendous fight by the combined forces of labor and the teachers to prevent these privileged interests from establishing a separate system of schools for the poor man's children. They openly avow that a separate system of schools should be established and maintained by the state for the purpose of teaching trades to children of fourteen years of age and over.

This is unfair to children to fix them permanently in some particular trade before they have development or judgment or taste to decide upon their life work, and we believe that vocational education should develop gradually and naturally in the present school system and that it will do so if given the proper financial encouragement and support.

Therefore, we must prepare to fight for the rights of childhood by opposing this selfish plan of the factory and corporation interests.

The form of vocational education desired by the commercial interests is

not only an attack upon the children of the workers, but upon the present organization of trade unions themselves. It attacks their power to control the conditions in the different trades, the training of apprentices, the conditions under which they may work, the employment in the public schools of members of unions as teachers of the trades, and all measures relating to the control of apprentices. Back of the legislation which the commercial interests seek is plainly seen an effort to turn out from the schools the large numbers of half-skilled workers over whom the unions will have no control and use them to beat down the wage scales of the skilled workers to the level of those of the unskilled workers.

The efforts made by the selfish interests, unless opposed and defeated will strongly influence the ideas and ideals of the future citizens now in the schools and will eventually undermine our form of government and change our democracy into a tyrannical plutocracy, and our citizens into slaves.

The best defense of the schools is a free, courageous, intelligent force of teachers organized and affiliated with the labor movement of the country and co-operating with the workers for the protection of democratic ideals in education.

Delegate O'Reilly: In addition to this report we have a number of resolutions submitted by delegates. Before taking up the resolutions I move that this portion of the report be accepted. (Seconded and carried by unanimous vote).

Resolution No. 6.

Introduced by Alonzo Savill, Staunton Trades Council.

The Staunton Trades Council of Staunton, Ill., desires to present for consideration the following resolution:

WHEREAS, We believe that in the education of the children of the working class, owing to the high cost of education and the present system of supplying books to the children, the expense is beyond reach of the working men, and

WHEREAS, We believe that a better system should be inaugurated, thereby lessening the cost of educating the children of the working classes in the grade schools; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as instructing its Legislative Committee to prepare a bill and submit it to the next General Assembly, and urge its passage, to have a law placed upon the statute books of this State providing for free universal text books for all children attending the grade schools in this State.

JOS. H. RIZZIE, Pres.

WM. MENK, JR., Sec'y.

Secretary O'Reilly: The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution with the proviso: "and that the state own the copyrights of said text books."

The report and recommendation of the committee were adopted.

Resolution No. 24.

Introduced by Mine Workers' No. 2656.

WHEREAS, We believe that in the education of the children of the working class, owing to the high cost of education and the present system employed in supplying books to the children, the expense is beyond the reach of the working people, and

WHEREAS, We believe that a better system should be inaugurated whereby the cost of educating the children of the working classes in the graded schools would be lessened, thereby permitting the children of the working class to obtain a better education; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record, instructing its Legislative Committee to prepare a bill and submit to the next general assembly, and urge its passage, to have a law placed on the statute books of this State providing for universal text books throughout the State, same to be furnished free to the children.

Secretary O'Reilly: The committee finds that this resolution is identical with No. 6 and is covered by the adoption of that resolution.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 36.

Introduced by Delegate W. A. Turner.

WHEREAS, The Federation of Labor realizes that the future of our citizenship, and the welfare of the masses depends very largely upon a proper elementary training in the schools, and

WHEREAS, This cannot be secured unless the fundamental grade work is of high order, properly equipped, and performed under not overcrowded conditions, and

WHEREAS, The wealth per capita outside of cities and naturally rich districts in our labor communities is small, making the tax rate excessive and almost confiscatory, and yet not sufficient for the demand, and

WHEREAS, Labor produces wealth;

RESOLVED, That we affirm our declarations of two years ago that the education should be largely a state affair, and that the two-mill tax for the distributable fund should be immediately restored:

RESOLVED, That this fund should be constantly increased in the future, until at least one-third of the Educational fund comes from the state, and that the local fund be correspondingly decreased, and

RESOLVED, That the distributable fund should not be diminished by the deduction of High School tuition, or any other deductions after reaching the county: That High School tuition for non-High School Districts, taken from the fund belonging to High School Districts, which are already paying high taxes and almost relieves the non-High School District from High School tax: If not class legislation, it is grossly unjust, inequitable and double taxation. We demand an amendment to this law.

RESOLVED, That communities, taxing themselves to the limit and yet unable to maintain an efficient term

of school for eight months, with rooms not overcrowded, should be aided by the State out of a fund especially for this purpose. Some method should be found to secure this end.

RESOLVED, That we shall use every honorable means to secure equal education privileges, with equitable tax rate, to every part of the state through ample state funds, and

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to members of the legislature, county superintendents and state officers; and that our legislative committee shall push for their realization.

Secretary O'Reilly: The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Secretary O'Reilly: There is a part of the resolution that may be a little confusing. It seems that throughout the state if a district has no high school then the children from that district are sent to a district which has a high school. The tuition of those children is paid out of the distributable fund before it is divided in that school district. The people who have built and maintained high schools say it is a favor to those who do not maintain high schools. It discourages those districts from building high schools and puts a double burden on the districts that maintain high schools.

Delegate McGuinn: That resolution was adopted in the Mine Workers' convention of 1910 and has been adopted in previous conventions of the State Federation of Labor.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 11.

Introduced by Delegates Mary Anderson, Emma Steghagen, Elizabeth Christman.

WHEREAS, The Board of Education on September 1st, 1915, adopted a rule which prohibits teachers in public schools from affiliating with any labor union or organization affiliated with a labor union, and

WHEREAS, In adopting this rule they have not only assumed arbitrary power over the lives and activities of the teachers outside of their school rooms, but have deprived them of rights guaranteed them by the Constitution of the United States, and

WHEREAS, Teachers harassed by such unjust rules cannot give their best service to the children in their care, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the thirty-third annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in meeting assembled, that we do protest against this most arbitrary rule and urge that in fairness and justice to the teachers, and for the sake of the children in the public schools that this rule be rescinded.

Secretary O'Reilly: The committee finds that this resolution covers the same ground as Resolution No. 58, and will be covered by the adoption of that resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 58.

Introduced by Delegate Matthew Woll, Chicago Photo-Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, Public lands, situated in the most valuable portion of Chicago, originally granted by the United States Government to the State of Illinois, in trust for the support of the Public Schools and the education of the children of Chicago, have been sold to private interests for such low prices and under such circumstances as seriously to question the honest motives of those members of the School Board responsible for this apparent mishandling of Public School land;

WHEREAS, The continual increase in the number of children each year necessitates the building of new schools. In the purchasing of land for same selected by the Board of Education, numerous opportunities have been and are now afforded members of the Board and their friends so to manipulate the purchasing of school sites as to net for these private interests handsome profits. This results in a proportionate loss to the

Public Schools and the people generally, a condition which has been charged against former members of the School Board;

WHEREAS, In maintaining old schools and constructing new, a rich field is offered for the making of contracts for building, repairing old school buildings and purchasing building materials. Opportunities to profit at the public expense have not been overlooked in the past and there is no effective means of preventing similar evils under our existing form of administering Public School affairs.

WHEREAS, In the purchasing of school books and supplies, unlimited opportunities present themselves to school book publishers and others to profit enormously in the making of contracts. As such contracts are entered into, not for the good of the public schools, but for private and corporate interests, this results in embarrassment and financial loss to our Public School system—a condition which has cast serious reflection upon past members of the School Board in the administering of our Public School affairs.

WHEREAS, An additional menace to the proper administering of our Public School system has been and is the constant and continual efforts of the commercial interests of this state to dominate and completely control the teaching force of our Public Schools. Added to this is the effort to shape the curriculum of our public schools. The latest attempt of this kind found complete expression in the recent ruling of the Chicago Board of Education, wherein it seeks to destroy the Chicago Teachers' Federation and to deny the teachers the right to associate with each other and such other organization as they deem beneficial. This ruling would deny to all members of Trade Unions the right of fraternizing and associating with the teachers of our Public Schools and deprive the great mass of workers of the state of an opportunity to safeguard the kind of teaching their children are to receive.

WHEREAS, The Public Schools are now maintained by interests and rents derived from public funds and lands and by revenue obtained from

taxation, which taxation has been constantly opposed and evaded by large commercial and financial interests. Against this evasion of taxation by the privileged interests the Chicago Teachers' Federation has been a persistent and effective force.

WHEREAS, The mal-administration of our Public School affairs and many other abuses not herein enumerated have been possible by reason of the existing method of appointing instead of electing members of the School Board. Appointments carry no authorization for removal from office and place appointees absolutely beyond public control or influence, creating one of the most vicious forms of bureaucracy in a most important and vital governmental function.

WHEREAS, Instead of destroying this existing bureaucratic form of administering our Public School affairs it is now proposed by commercial interests to restrict the selection of members of the School Board and to remove the appointees farther from public influence and criticism, thereby strengthening the existing control of the commercial interests and weakening the voice of the teachers and that of the parents of school children in matters of education.

WHEREAS, The only effective agencies having constantly opposed this bureaucratic management and mal-administration of our Public School affairs has been the Chicago Teachers' Federations and the organized labor movement of this state. The existence and power of those agencies is now challenged and their influence threatened by the Chicago School Board.

WHEREAS, This rule of the Chicago Board of Education, if maintained, not only jeopardizes the teachers' organization, but endangers the fundamental right of all municipal and governmental employes to organize and federate.

WHEREAS, The responsibility for this rule and the continuation of the policy inaugurated in Chicago subject to extension if allowed to prevail rests directly upon the Mayor of Chicago, who appoints the members of the School Board;

RESOLVED, Therefore that this, the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor emphatically expresses its determination to protect and promote the Teachers' Federations, that we declare that it is our determined intent and purpose that the right of the teachers to organize and affiliate with organized labor shall not be abridged or annulled. To this end we instruct the officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to call on every Central Labor organization, every affiliated Local Union and every member throughout the state to urge Public School teachers to organize, federate and affiliate themselves with the organized labor movements, and

RESOLVED, That this convention calls on Mayor William Hale Thompson to put an end to the usurpation of the right of American citizens by appointing to the Board of Education seven Trustees who will rescind the rule ordering teachers to withdraw from the Organized Labor movement; and

RESOLVED, That we strongly disapprove of the existing bureaucratic form of administering our Public School affairs; that we look with grave suspicion upon the future management of all school matters unless a more democratic method prevails. Members of our School Board should be directly responsible to the people of each School District, and this renace to our Public Schools, its teachers and children should be removed. The President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor is hereby authorized to prepare such legislation as is necessary to have the members of our School Boards elected by the people and subject to recall; and

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Mayor of Chicago, to every member of the Chicago City Council, to the members of the Legislature, the Governor and other executive officials.

Secretary O'Reilly: The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in and the resolution adopted.

Delegate Woll: I move that the report of the committee as a whole be adopted. (Seconded.)

Delegate Aspengren: I wish to offer an amendment to the report of the committee. It is in regard to military training in the public schools.

Delegate Woll: I rise to a point of order. The motion is to adopt the report of the committee as a whole as reported. The delegate now rises to introduce a new subject which, under the rules of this convention, must receive unanimous consent, be referred to the proper committee and then reported to the convention.

President Walker: The point of order is well taken.

Secretary O'Reilly: I don't see how I could ever become so busy as to forget that resolution on militarism. I hope it will come up in a separate resolution.

The motion to adopt the report as a whole was carried.

President Walker: It is pretty evident to the entire delegation, and I know it is to the officers, that if we expect to get through tomorrow night we will be compelled to have a session this evening. The local committee informs us that we can get Dreamland Hall, but it will be necessary to give some notice in advance.

Delegate Keefe: I move that when we adjourn we adjourn to reconvene at Dreamland Hall this evening. (Seconded and carried.)

Secretary Olander: This comes as an entire surprise. With the small force we have here we have been handling a convention larger than the American Federation of Labor. Holding a night session tonight will tie us up completely, but holding a session tomorrow night will not.

The motion to hold a night session was reconsidered.

Upon motion of Delegate Woll the report of the Committee on Resolutions was made a special order of business for Friday morning.

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE BRICK AND CLAY WORKERS' APPEAL.

Delegate Harding, Chairman, reported as follows:

We, your special committee on Brick and Clay Workers' appeal, beg to submit the following report and resolution:

We find that at the last convention of the American Federation of Labor the matter pertaining to the Brick Makers' internal dispute was taken up and the following decision rendered: That the seceders be instructed to re-affiliate with their old international union by Feb. 1, 1915, or be denied recognition by all State and City Central bodies.

Since Feb. 1, 1915, a mass of new evidence has been introduced that shows the officers of the international union are not giving their best efforts, as all true union leaders should, towards bettering the conditions of labor or increasing the wages of the men employed in the brick and clay industry. We find from the evidence introduced that the United Brick and Clay Workers of America has made steady progress since Feb. 1, 1915, even though denied recognition by the American Federation of Labor. We find that these union brick and clay workers are working honestly and earnestly for recognition from the American labor movement, so that they may prosper under the guidance and protection of the American Federation of Labor. We feel that if the American Federation of Labor is desirous of having a good, true, loyal, progressive Brick and Clay Workers' union they should grant a charter to the United Brick and Clay Workers of America, or allow state and city central bodies to give them recognition so that the unorganized clay workers can be organized and no obstructions placed in the path of progress; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor request the American Federation of Labor to reopen the Brick Makers' secession dispute, make a thorough investigation, and if conditions exist such as the

evidence submitted shows to exist, grant a charter to the United Brick and Clay Workers of America, or give all state and city central bodies the privilege of recognizing them as union men and worthy of consideration, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate representing the I. S. F. of L. at the next convention of the A. F. of L. be instructed to do all in his power to bring about the above desired end, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all delegates to this convention be requested to write to their international headquarters and ask their delegates to the A. F. of L. to request an investigation and if the evidence submitted is not refuted, insist the A. F. of L. grant a charter to the United Brick and Clay Workers of America.

JOHN C. HARDING,
DAVE WILSON,
EDW. HAMMOND,
JAS. T. PATTERSON,
Committee.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Patterson: As a member of the committee and a delegate to the American Federation of Labor from the Decatur convention I desire to say that like resolutions were adopted there. I was instructed to take the matter up, and did so, and did my utmost towards getting recognition for the Brickmakers. That resolution was referred to the Committee on State Organizations, of which I was a member. Brother Kasten appeared before that committee and handled his case in a very masterly manner. He requested that the committee give the matter fair and impartial hearing, which they did. They in return referred it to the adjustment committee. Brother Kasten worked two days and nights before going before that body and again handled his matter in a very masterly manner. After consideration the Adjustment Committee recommended that the matter be referred to the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with the request that they take the matter up with the Brickmakers and their in-

ternational officers with a view to settling the controversy. That was taken up in the City of Chicago, with no results whatever to the Brickmakers.

I am not going into detail, but I will say there are several points in which the Brickmakers are right. If an International organization removes its office from a business district to a flat building—and Secretary Butterworth moved it into his own flat and charged the organization \$20 a month, when he was paying \$25, and engaged his wife as stenographer at \$50 a month and his own salary was \$175 a month—I think the matter should be looked into.

Here is a fight that has been put up by a body of men who should receive some recognition. At the Philadelphia convention of the American Federation of Labor the matter was taken up. Instead of the pillow the plank was slipped to them to the extent that they were told: "We cannot recognize your troubles, because if we would do so we would be establishing a precedent against international organizations."

I trust this convention will go on record concurring in the action of the committee. If there is any way to make the resolution stronger I would like to have it done. In justice to those men you cannot make it too strong.

Delegate Brooks: The American Federation of Labor is pretty well tied up with the law and precedent, and it seems to me that in view of the fights of organizations in the past, and what has been done when there has been a split or a secession, the prospects are not as bright as they might be. If charges could be preferred against the present recognized organization and that organization ousted, the road would be cleared for the recognition of the other men.

President Walker: The American Federation of Labor considers that those matters are for the international organizations themselves to take up. The only one who could make charges, so far as the American Federation of Labor is concerned, would be a member of that organization, paid up and in good standing. That organization would have to pass judg-

ment upon it. All the precedents are against the American Federation of Labor handling this matter, but at the same time the American Federation of Labor is not always governed by past precedents or present law—they sometimes rise above that, when the thing is obvious, and act and do the right thing anyhow.

There are a number of other cases where there are dual movements and secession movements, and I suppose the officers of these organizations will be opposed to this being reopened, but this smells so strong, it is so glaring and apparent that I doubt very much whether they will be able to prevent it. In fact, if I were an officer of one of them and wanted to protect myself, and they did not have the goods on me, I don't think I would oppose having this case reopened.

When it becomes clear that men are selling out the interests of their members and lining up with the employers to fight them, and then the movement refuses to recognize that kind of case and do justice, it is apt to result in the rank and file standing up on their hind legs and saying they will all have to be reopened. In view of what has happened I am rather of the opinion that these brickmakers are going to get a hearing. So far as I am concerned, unless I can get proof that I don't think exists to dispute the word of these men who work in the brick-yards and have told me the story themselves of what happened, I don't ever expect to recognize Van Bodegraven as a trade unionist until his mental attitude has changed. I believe the thing is so raw the men in the labor movement who are delegates to the American Federation of Labor will reopen this case, make an investigation and decide it upon its merits. If they do that there is no question that these men will be seated, the other organizations repudiated and its charter taken away.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Nockels: I move that the secretary be instructed to send a telegram to the governor of the state requesting that in sending out the call for a special session of the legislature it include an investigation of the so-

called Baldwin Commission, which was supposed to investigate the Chicago Board of Education, but which tried to put the Chicago Teachers' Federation out of business. Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Aspengren obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution in regard to military training in the schools.

During the previous session President Walker read a telegram from Miss Agnes Burns, of Harrisburg, Ill., now a pupil in the Training School for Women Organizers of the National Women's Trade Union League, a delegate to the Peoria convention of 1914, sending best wishes for the success of the convention, and stating that she was recovering from an operation for appendicitis.

Delegate Richards obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution for immediate action, and moved:

Resolution No. 62.

WHEREAS, Miss Agnes Burns has shown her loyalty to the labor movement by sending greetings and best wishes to the convention while suffering from a severe illness; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention extend to her our appreciation of her message and our hopes for her speedy recovery.

The resolution was adopted.

At 5 o'clock the convention was adjourned under the rules to reconvene at 9 o'clock a. m., Friday, Oct. 22.

FIFTH DAY—Morning Session

Alton, Ill., October 22, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Friday, October 22, President John H. Walker in the chair. Delegate Kain, for the Committee on Credentials, reported that a credential had been received for:

Joseph Lauer, Brewery Workmen, No. 172, Springfield, and recommended the seating of the delegate. The report of the committee was concurred in.

Secretary Olander read the following telegram:

Peoria, Ill., Oct. 21, 1915.

Victor A. Olander, Secretary,

Mineral Springs Hotel, Alton, Ill.

I will be at convention at 2 p. m.

WALTER BUSH.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE.

Alton, Ill., Oct. 21, 1915.

To the Officers and Members, Illinois State Federation of Labor, in Convention Assembled:

We, the undersigned committee elected by the thirty-second annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to audit the books of Secretary-Treasurer Victor A. Olan-

der for the year ending September 30, 1915, beg leave to submit for your consideration the following report:

We find that all moneys are credited to the different organizations in conformity with the rules laid down by the constitution, and that all bills and vouchers are properly kept on file in the office of the secretary-treasurer, and after a thorough examination of the same, we find them correct. We also find the treasury of the organization in a healthy financial condition, therefore we submit the following report.

Recapitulation.

Balance in treasury Oct. 1, 1914	\$ 3,326.37
Receipts for year ending Sept. 30, 1915	16,310.54

Grand total	\$19,636.91
Disbursements for year ending Sept. 30, 1915	\$16,640.99
Leaving a balance in treasury Sept. 30, 1915	2,995.92

Grand total	\$19,636.91
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Respectfully submitted,

J. A. KAIN,
WM. JAMPEL,
TILDEN BOZARTH,
Auditors.

The report of the committee was adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Delegate Woll, Photo Engravers, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

Mr. President, before proceeding with the committee's report I want to be advised as to whether it is the sense of the convention that the committee read the resolutions in full in making the report. The committee has approximately fifty resolutions in its hands.

Delegate Williams, Mine Workers: I move that the resolutions be read in full before being acted upon by the convention. (Seconded.)

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: If I am in order now I want to raise a point of order. My point of order is that when the committee makes its recommendations it is not in order to offer amendments of any kind; the recommendations of a committee must go to a vote and be accepted or rejected. If a recommendation is rejected the resolution is open for amendments. A lot of time was consumed yesterday offering amendments. We have been here as long as we ought to be here and there should be some order as to how we shall accept these recommendations of the committee.

Delegate Lohn: I do not believe it is necessary to read all the resolutions, because many of them deal with practically the same subjects. I feel satisfied if the committee refers to the numbers in the pamphlet that is in the hands of the delegates we will expedite matters.

Delegate Williams, Mine Workers: It is generally understood that where there are two or more resolutions on the same subject the committee selects one and reads it.

Delegate Argust: I believe the chairman of the Committee on Resolutions should have brought in a recommendation as to whether or not he deems it advisable to have the resolutions read. I believe every delegate who brought in a resolution did so be-

cause it contains something of interest to the organization.

Delegate Bogaske moved as an amendment that the preambles be omitted and only the resolutions read. Seconded and carried.

Delegate Goodwin, Printers, moved that debate on any resolution be limited to three minutes for each delegate. The chairman referred to the rules, which provided that each delegate have ten minutes to discuss a question, and stated that the motion would not be in order without a reconsideration of that rule.

Chairman Woll: In behalf of the Committee on Resolutions I want to request those introducers of resolutions upon whose propositions the committee reports favorably, if it is not absolutely necessary to discuss a favorable report, to not talk on the question. We ask this in order to expedite the work of the convention.

President Walker: Delegate Connors raised a point on the procedure of the convention I think ought to be understood. He asked whether or not it would be in order to amend a committee's report. The usual procedure in conventions is that it is not in order, the only motion that would be in order would be a motion to refer. If a committee's report and recommendation is voted down then the matter is open for whatever disposition the convention cares to make of it. Unless the convention desires to rule to the contrary that will be the procedure in disposing of the rest of reports of committees that are to come before the convention.

Chairman Woll proceeded with the report of the committee, as follows:

Resolution No. 1.

Introduced by Delegate Harry Walldorf, I. M. U. of N. A., Local No. 412.

WHEREAS, Believing the present system of employers' physical examinations is an absolute injustice to the employed classes, in so far as it incapacitates the employed by shortening the period of usefulness to an alarming extent, and

WHEREAS, The statutes of the state make no provision for those who are so unfortunate as to be declared incapacitated by the physical examination, be it

RESOLVED, By the 33rd Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that the Legislative Committee be empowered to draft a suitable bill to be presented to the next general assembly of the State of Illinois covering the limitation of the examination and compensation for those that are incapacitated.

Chairman Woll: The committee, having been advised by the introducer of this resolution that the physical examination referred to in this proposition related to the operation of the workmen's compensation law and inasmuch as your committee deems it essential for the best interests of the workers that whatever changes are proposed for amending this law should be predicated upon thorough and careful investigation of whatever complaints have or may arise from time to time, in order that the most intelligent and efficient measures may be proposed intended to amend legislation of this kind, your committee recommends that this complaint be referred to the executive board for a careful investigation and such further action as the executive board may conclude essential and necessary in fully protecting the interests of the workers of this state under the operation of this law.

The report of the committee on Resolution No. 1 was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 3.

Introduced by Delegate Frank C. Spelman, Typographical Union No. 444, Champaign-Urbana.

WHEREAS, Under existing laws a great portion of state printing is being done in the penal institutions of this state, and

WHEREAS, This brings about a serious injury to the printing crafts of Illinois, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we solicit the co-operation of the State Federation of Labor in securing the enactment of a law which will make it manda-

tory that all state work, whether printing or that of any other craft, be prohibited from any penal institution.

Chairman Woll: Your committee is of the opinion that this resolution includes in its scope the entire subject of convict labor. Your committee is of the further opinion that whatever final attitude the Illinois State Federation of Labor shall express on this question should be predicated upon a comprehensive survey of this subject in all its phases and as it affects the work of all free workers. Your committee therefore recommends reference of this proposal to the executive board of the Illinois State Federation of Labor with instructions that the executive board or its duly accredited agents cause an extensive and comprehensive research to be made of this question of convict labor and report the results of this investigation to the next convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, together with such recommendations deemed advisable and essential in fully protecting free labor of this state from competition with convict labor in all their industrial and commercial pursuits.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 4.

Submitted by mail—Federal Labor Union No. 7087, Belleville.

WHEREAS, The State of Illinois annually appropriates monies for hard roads and considerable work is going on in different counties at the present time in the making of said hard roads; and

WHEREAS, Most of said hard road building is being done by unorganized labor, with no recognized wage scale, working ten or more hours per day, to the detriment of organized labor and to the benefit of certain contractors, and Federal Labor Union No. 7087 feels and believes that such work should be done by organized labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the officers and Legislative Committee of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to put forth their best efforts before the next legisla-

ture, in securing the passage of a law that will specify that no more than eight hours shall be allowed in one day by any labor on such work of hard road building, and that the law specify that the union or prevailing rate of wage be paid for such work, and that the law specify that all County Boards, Supervisors, County Superintendent of roads or any other person or persons empowered to let bids for said work, that eight hours and the union or prevailing wage rate be specified in the letting of bids and that contractors be fined for violation thereof.

JOHN TOTROH,
WM. MALLMANN,

Committee, Federal Labor Union,
7087.

Chairman Woll: Your committee recommends the approval and adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 10.

Submitted by mail—Mine Workers, No. 1391, Thayer.

To the Officers and Delegates of the State Federation of Labor, assembled in convention at Alton, Ill.

Greeting: Owing to so many appeals for aid coming from the different organizations in connection with the State Federation, our local takes this method to ask you to try to eliminate this as much as possible as we have the same coming to our Local Union every meeting and we do not like to turn any one down that is fighting for a just cause, and as our laws forbid us from making donations it becomes necessary to assess ourselves, so that we have an assessment against us every two weeks. The way the mines are working it comes hard on our members to keep it up. Our local would like you to take this matter up at the convention, and would also submit the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the State Federation of Labor in convention to formulate some plan for a fund to assist Brothers on strike for a just cause, either by some per capita arrangement or by having a strike fund simi-

lar to that of the United Mine Workers of America, the same to treat all alike.

Signed on behalf of the Local No. 1391, Mine Workers.

JAS. CROOKSTON,
THOS. EMERSON,
WM. DAVIDSON,
Committee Local 1391.

Chairman Woll: Your committee does not believe that any action that the Illinois State Federation of Labor may adopt of the nature referred to in this resolution will deny those organizations in distress of the opportunity of an appeal for financial assistance, nor do we believe such a course desirable. Your committee is also of the opinion that the remedy proposed in this resolution will not eliminate or minimize the appeals for financial assistance upon our local unions, but is inclined to the viewpoint that the adoption of this proposed remedy will aggravate, intensify and make compulsory the very self same condition complained of in this resolution. Your committee further believes the adoption of a provision of this character at this time would be in conflict with the rules and laws governing the State Federation of Labor and prove detrimental rather than helpful to the Federation. Your committee therefore recommends disapproval of and nonconcurrency in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 12.

Introduced by Delegates Mary Anderson, Emma Steghagen, Elizabeth Christman.

WHEREAS, The Governor of Illinois, Honorable Edward F. Dunne, has dismissed from the Factory Inspection Department Miss Lulu Holley, Deputy Factory Inspector, without charges, admitting the dismissal was for political reasons, and

WHEREAS, Miss Holley has for the past four years filled that position in a capable manner and has the confidence of the women workers of the State and did not receive her appointment because of any political affiliations, but at the request of the

Women's Trade Union League received a temporary appointment and when the first civil service examination was held for that office she not only passed the examination but stood highest on the list, and

WHEREAS, The Women's Trade Union League stands for the Factory Inspection Department being placed on a non-political and scientific basis and the men and women inspectors to be persons with a practical knowledge of the work, under civil service, and for an increased number of women inspectors, and

WHEREAS, We deplore the fact that the Department of Factory Inspection is being used politically, capable inspectors being dismissed for political appointees, and the number of women inspectors being reduced, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-third annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in meeting assembled, protest to Governor Dunne against the misuse of the Factory Inspection Department.

Chairman Woll: Having heard all parties represented at this convention directly concerned in this resolution, your committee is of the opinion that the greatest good will be accomplished by reference of this proposition to the executive officers of the Illinois State Federation with instructions that these officers do everything within their power and within the power of this Federation to bring about an adjustment of the difficulties mentioned in this proposal satisfactory and in justice to all concerned.

Your committee also expresses extreme regret that the state factory inspectors are not included in the civil service rules of the state, and is of the firm belief that necessary steps be taken by the officers of the Federation for the preparation, presentation and enactment of such legislation necessary to the accomplishment of this end.

Your committee therefore recommends reference of this resolution to the executive officers of the Federation and full compliance with the opinion and conviction herein expressed by your committee.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 14.

Introduced by Delegate L. P. Straube, Commercial Artists, No. 14286.

WHEREAS, The experience of organized labor has ever been, that the antagonism of misguided business men opposed to trades unionism is largely, if not entirely, based upon the assumption that the claimed solidarity of organized labor is a fictitious statement not worthy of serious consideration, and

WHEREAS, It is an undeniable truth that inasmuch as the men and women toilers of any community constitute 95 per cent of the consumers whom the merchants and business enterprises are dependent upon for their business welfare, the purchasing power of labor constitutes a weapon of defense, that will, when judiciously exercised, prompt a reversal of opinion on the part of organized labor's most obstinate enemy, and

WHEREAS, The business of firms engaged in the work of portrait copying and bromide printing is composed, in the main, of orders received from territory outside of the particular town or city where their headquarters are located, and

WHEREAS, The largest, as well as the most vindictive and unrelenting enemy of the Commercial Portrait Artists' Union, No. 14286, A. F. of L., has been and is the Chicago Portrait Company, located at 509 South Wabash avenue, Chicago, Illinois, which firm has bitterly fought every attempt to secure recognition for the Union, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in regular convention assembled, that it instruct its President and Secretary to aid and assist the officers of the Commercial Portrait Artists' Union, No. 14286, A. F. of L. to attain by all honorable means, the recognition desired and in the event of inability to achieve such purpose by pacific measures, the President and Secretary of the Federation be authorized to place the Chicago Portrait Company on the unfair list of the Illinois State Federation of La-

bor and all affiliated organizations be notified of such action, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in event of the Chicago Portrait Company of Chicago, Illinois, be placed on the unfair list of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, every organization affiliated with the Federation, write the firm in question acquainting them with the receipt of such information and the readiness of its members to comply with the dictates of self-preservation, and forward two copies of such letter to the Secretary of the Illinois State Federation, one to be retained for the Federation files, the other to be forwarded to the Commercial Portrait Artists' Union, No. 14286, A. F. of L.

Chairman Woll: This resolution being in the nature of a boycott, and the laws of the American Federation of Labor requiring as a condition preceding the placing of any boycott on any person, firm or article of production a careful investigation by the executive officer of such affiliated Central or Federated unions. Your committee therefore recommends reference of this proposition to the executive board of the Federation for proper attention and consideration.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 15.

Introduced by Delegate L. P. Straube, Commercial Portrait Artists' Union No. 14286.

WHEREAS, It often occurs, under pretense of press of business, that communications received from other Trade Unions, are either hurriedly read or very often entirely ignored, to the detriment, not only of the particular organization incurring the expense of acquainting other locals in the trade union movement of its difficulties, but also the organized labor movement as a whole, and

WHEREAS, Most, if not all, labor organizations, to partially minimize this existing evil, have adopted stringent legislation making it obligatory to read and earnestly consider all written or printed matter submitted by either the American Federation of

Labor or the State and City Central Labor Federations, Councils or Assemblies, and

WHEREAS, Trade Unions do not, as a rule, inflict communications upon sister locals merely for fun or the purpose of squandering their funds, but rather because the subject matter in such letters affects their progress and prosperity, and

WHEREAS, In conformity with the declaration of the American Federation of Labor, "That an injury to one is the concern of all," such communications should be entitled to greater consideration than is usually accorded them, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor in regular session assembled, that its Secretary be authorized and empowered to include in his notices sent to affiliated Unions such matter as any Union, in good standing, identified with the Federation, may be desirous of bringing to the attention of organizations affiliated with the Federation, provided such Union shall furnish such copies in sufficient amount to meet all requirements, and prepared as the Federation Secretary may direct.

Chairman Woll: It being the opinion of your committee that the terms employed in this resolution will make it obligatory on part of the Secretary of this Federation to circularize and to do the clerical work of all affiliated local Unions and the expense of this Federation whenever requested to do so by affiliated local Union and believing this work can be done more efficiently and should properly be done at the expense of local Unions themselves, recommends therefore disapproval and nonconcurrence in this proposition.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 17.

Introduced by Delegate V. A. Olander, Seamen's Union.

WHEREAS, It has been enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that hereafter forty-five minutes night work performed by clerks and carriers in first

and second class postoffices shall be computed the same as one hour day work: Provided, That for the purpose of this act, night work shall be defined as any work done between the hours of postmeridian and six antemeridian, and

WHEREAS, That in cases of emergency, or if the needs of the service required, clerks and carriers in first and second class postoffices can be required to work in excess of the forty-five minutes per hour schedule between the hours of six postmeridian and six antemeridian, and for such additional service they shall be paid extra in proportion to their salary as fixed by law, and therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Illinois Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do hereby endorse this bill to reduce night work in the postoffices and urge its passage and instruct our officers to assist and co-operate with the officers of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks to secure its enactment.

Chairman Woll: Your committee recommends the approval and adoption of this proposal.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 18.

Introduced by request by Delegate V. A. Olander, Seamen's Union.

WHEREAS, Under the present Civil Service laws government employes may be removed from the service or demoted without the right of a fair trial before a tribunal where witnesses for the accused may testify, and

WHEREAS, Under the Constitution of the United States, the meanest criminal, whatever his crime, is assured a trial by jury; and

WHEREAS, It appears to be simple justice that when the Government employe's removal or demotion in rank is sought, that he be given an opportunity to have his case reviewed before an impartial board of review, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois Federation of Labor in convention assembled, endorse, and request our National Executive Officers to seek, the

establishment of a Court of Appeals to be created in the Civil Service Commission, consisting of three members, one of whom shall be an employe of the United States under the classified Civil Service law, with the power to review and hear testimony in cases where employes in the Civil Service have been demoted or dismissed.

Chairman Woll: Your committee recommends approval and the adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 19.

Introduced by Delegate V. A. Olander, Seamen's Union.

WHEREAS, We are duly impressed with the fact that the question of obtaining legislation that will provide for the superannuated federal civil service employes is of vital importance to the service as well as to the employes, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That while we do hereby reaffirm our belief in the principle of a direct contributory retirement plan as embodied in the Austin Bill, we recognize the impossibility of securing any retirement legislation unless the civil service employes of the federal government present a united front on the question; and be it further

RESOLVED, That therefore in compliance with the recent action of the Ninth Convention of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, we, the Illinois Federation of Labor, in regular convention assembled, most emphatically endorse such unity of action as recommended by the National Federation of Post Office Clerks in behalf of an equitable retirement plan for the federal civil service employes, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the Illinois State Federation of Labor, do hereby endorse and urge the passage of a feasible retirement bill based upon unity of action of all organizations in the Federal Civil Service, and instruct our officers to assist and co-operate with the officers of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks to secure the enactment of such legislation.

Chairman Woll: Your committee recommends approval and the adoption of this proposition.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Olander: The reason these resolutions are introduced by me is to prevent some postoffice employe being discharged for doing it.

Resolution No. 21.

Introduced by Delegate R. P. Tickell, Local 89, A. F. of M., Decatur.

The machine has finally invaded the field of music, and today there are concerns manufacturing machines that are displacing musicians all over the United States and Canada. In many instances such machines have displaced orchestras of as high as fifty musicians, and the American Federation of Musicians has determined to do as the printers did with the Mergenthaler machine, when it was introduced, namely, control it.

The American Federation of Musicians passed a resolution at their convention, held in San Francisco, Cal., in May, 1915, to the effect that all locals were instructed to resist, not the use of these machines but their displacement of musicians. The American Federation of Musicians has absolutely no more objection to the music machine than the printers had to the Mergenthaler, but have decided to insist that wherever these machines are placed, that they shall be operated by members of the American Federation of Musicians, and that they shall not be permitted to displace musicians, that is to say, where the rule is that a certain minimum number of musicians shall be employed, that minimum shall not be ignored. These machines are being placed more generally in picture and vaudeville houses. In many instances the regulation of the minimum number in picture houses is but one musician, from that on up, according to the size of the building, seating capacity, and price of admission.

In this critical moment the American Federation of Musicians needs the support of organized labor. In recognizing that their demands are just, be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Alton, Illinois, October 18, 1915, that all organizations affiliated with the Illinois State Federation of Labor, be requested to extend every possible assistance to the American Federation of Musicians in enforcing their demands upon the employers of musicians where machines are placed.

Chairman Woll: Your committee recommends approval and the adoption of this proposal.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 22.

Introduced by Delegate Wm. Nebgen, Jr., I M. U. of N. A., No. 182.

To the officers and members of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled:

WHEREAS, Under our present law it is compulsory to serve on a jury when summoned; and

WHEREAS, We believe it is beneficial to have the workers serve on the jury, that the ends of justice may be met; and

WHEREAS, At the present time a worker's job is placed in jeopardy when serving on jury; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that the legislative committee stands instructed to work for the passage of a law to insure the worker from being discharged when serving on jury.

Chairman Woll: Your committee is of the opinion that the subject referred to in this resolution is now covered by law and that therefore the necessity of this resolution is entirely removed. Your committee, however, is not unmindful of the possible evasion and abuses of this law and therefore urges all affiliated unions, who may have just cause for complaint in this regard, to immediately inform the executive officers of the Federation of any infractions or abuses of this law so that the officers may take such steps necessary in intelligently advising local unions affected and take such other necessary steps as to fully protect all workers of this state in affording them the fullest possible op-

portunity in responding to their civic duties without fear or jeopardy of their individual relations with employers. Your committee recommends the adoption of this procedure in lieu of the resolutions offered.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report and recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Christopher, Belleville: Conditions arose that brought this to our attention. There is no law on the statute books that provides we cannot be discharged. The law makes it mandatory for us to serve when we are summoned as jurors. Some of the foremen down there say if the men do not get excused they will be discharged. We took the matter up with the judge and he said he was perfectly helpless, that there was nothing on the statute books to protect the men. We think it is necessary for working men to serve on juries. If the boss can say we cannot serve on juries without being discharged it will mean that juries will be composed of the enemies of organized labor.

Delegate Harding: What is the name of that judge?

Delegate Christopher: Judge Crow.

Delegate Harding: He must be a mighty poor judge who will not protect a jurymen.

Chairman Woll: The committee has not been able to look up the statutory laws of the state. It expresses the opinion that this matter is covered by law. I feel confident of this, knowing the rules of the judiciary somewhat, that any action of any employer which tends to interfere with the administration of justice—if there is no statutory law against it, it is absolutely covered by the common law of this and other states—and I feel the judge who rendered such an opinion is not fulfilling the duty of administering the common law. The recommendation of the committee will cover the delegate's complaint, because we ask that all other organizations that have cause for complaints advise your officers so that they may in turn take all steps necessary to protect the workers of this state in the full per-

formance of their civic duties without fear of jeopardizing their positions.

Delegate Schug, Teamsters, Chicago: I would like to ask the delegates if they have had the experience of being summoned to serve on a jury? I have been summoned six times. I have been notified by individuals and also through the mails. I have filled out the application blanks but I never heard anything further about it. Our bosses don't discharge us, but the bosses don't want us to serve on juries to give the working men a fair and square proposition.

Delegate Nebgen: As the introducer of this resolution I desire to say this matter came before us twice. We are a strong organization, but in one case we could not hold the man's job. He was discharged and the judge said he had no power to hold the job for him. Sometimes these workers haven't any organization and therefore cannot hold their jobs. A few weeks ago a man got excused from jury service because his job would be in jeopardy. This body should protect the workers who have no organization.

Chairman Woll: The committee's recommendation is that this be taken up by the executive officers, predicated upon such complaints as may be filed with them, so that they may take intelligent action upon the very thing you desire.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 23.

Introduced by Delegate W. T. Christopher, I. M. U. of N. A., No. 182.

To the Officers and Members of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled:

WHEREAS, Our present wash-house law is in itself not complete, and

WHEREAS, By experience we have learned that the employers of our state are as it seems determined not to provide any of the comforts and conveniences so necessary to the workers' health and comfort unless compelled to by law; be it

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the Illinois State Federation of Labor stands instructed to labor with the end in view of having the present wash-house law amended so as to provide that in mines, mills, work shops or any manufacturing establishment in which the employes become covered with perspiration, grease or dirt, that the employer, owner or lessee of such mine, mill, workshop or manufacturing establishment shall provide and maintain a dry room of proper dimensions and to be well heated, lighted and properly ventilated

Chairman Woll: Your committee recommends approval and the adoption of this proposition.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 26.

Richard Corbridge, Local Union No. 705, U. M. W. of A.

WHEREAS, There is being constructed in Illinois at the present time what are known as hard roads, said work being constructed under the supervision of the state, and

WHEREAS, These roads are being built by scab and other labor which is a detriment to organized labor in the communities where this work is being done; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the resident officers of the S. F. of L. interview Governor Dunne and those in charge of said work and endeavor to devise ways and means whereby this evil can be eradicated, and let it not be said of the Democratic party in Illinois that they erected the great Lincoln Highway to the memory of the great Lincoln by scab labor at starvation wages.

Chairman Woll: Your committee approves and recommends the adoption of this resolution.

Delegate Wilson (D.), Mine Workers: A contractor was employing men at 20 cents an hour. We took the case up and he said he was paying good wages; that in the Decatur district they were paying fifteen cents and he was going to complete that job at 20 cents an hour if it took the state militia to do it, and if the state

militia wasn't sufficient he would get gun men. That man was working under the supervision of the state.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 28.

Introduced by Delegates John Mulien and Jack Miller.

WHEREAS, There was a fatal mine explosion at the north mine in Royalton, Ill., on October 27, 1914, resulting in the death of 52 of our fellow miners, 21 of whom were single and 31 of whom were married, leaving their widows and 72 fatherless children, and

WHEREAS, The law firm of Chicago known as the Frank A. Rochold & Co. law firm came into this mining camp immediately after the explosion and posed as capable attorneys pretending to sympathize with the dependents of our unfortunate brothers, promising them efficient service in recovery of ample damages from the Franklin Coal and Coke Co., in whose mine the disaster occurred, and working upon the sympathies of the bereaved and helpless widows and orphans these so-called lawyers, through false representations and wolfish cunning, procured the signed consent of a large number of the heirs of the unfortunate victims of the mine disaster to handle their cases for damages against the Franklin Coal and Coke Co., and

WHEREAS, The said Frank Rochold & Co. proceeded to make a settlement with the Franklin Coal and Coke Co. of \$300 damages for single men and \$600 damages for the married men, charging them 33 1-3 per cent in each and every case and advising the public administrator, J. S. Taylor, to settle on the same basis, which he did in 27 cases placed in his hands, and

WHEREAS, The entire settlement was made without the knowledge or consent of the heirs in most cases, the said Frank A. Rochold & Co. even appointing the administrator themselves, but nevertheless the signatures of the heirs appearing on the settlement papers to which they had no knowledge and deny signing the same, and this settlement further be-

ing effected in the face of a protest by the Westbrook law firm of Chicago, representing the Italian consul before the public administrator, the said J. S. Taylor, and the county court of Franklin County, Ill., at the time and place of the final settlement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the members of Local Union No. 1782, U. M. of A., in regular session, that we denounce in the most scathing terms the law firm of Frank A. Rochold & Co. of Chicago, Ill., and brand them as ambulance chasers, human wolves, preying upon the tears and misfortunes of innocent and helpless women and children, legally trained highwaymen who do not hesitate to rob defenseless widows and orphans, parasites who live upon the life blood of the victims of industrial misfortunes, helping to defend the greedy, mammonized plutocracy whose servants they really are; and be it

RESOLVED, That we warn the workers of the entire field to shun this unprincipled law firm as they would a band of common thieves, and that we give their true character wide publicity in the labor press; and as this is not the first and only cases of this kind of which we have knowledge, we ask all the workers in all industries to co-operate with us from this time on in keeping a close watch on these legally trained pickpockets and common shysters, of whatever name and firm and wherever they may ply their nefarious trade, to the end that we may stigmatize them with infamy and rid ourselves of these human vultures, and be able to approach more nearly to a just compensation for the fatalities incident to industry; and be it also

RESOLVED, That we call attention to the fact that the attorneys for the British consul, the Italian consul and the U. M. W. of A., of District No. 12, in looking up the records of similar cases before the Supreme Court, discovered that the proceedings laid down by this court would not permit of any appeal or further recourse against the Franklin Coal and Coke Co., and that we call upon all workers possessing the ballot to elect workingmen to the law-making bodies and to the judiciary, to the

end that we may have laws enacted and interpreted in the interest of the producers of wealth; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we present these resolutions to the state convention of the Federation of Labor, to be convened at Alton, Ill., on October 18, 1915, and request their favorable action upon them.

Chairman Woll: While your committee strongly disapproves of shyster lawyers and so-called ambulance chasers in the bar profession, and protests against their wrongful practices, nevertheless your committee, being strongly imbued with that principle of trade union ethics not to denounce or condemn any man or woman without first having thoroughly investigated whatever charge of wrongdoing may be alleged against them, recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Board for the purpose of investigation and such advice and assistance as the Executive Board may conclude essential in doing full justice to surviving heirs of all these unfortunate miners, and that if the charges contained in this resolution are found correct, to then take such steps as will debar those men responsible for a miscarriage of justice from continuing such practice in the future.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 31.

Introduced by Delegates James A. Short and Arthur Dougherty.

WHEREAS, The stone entering into the construction of the state building known as the Second Regiment Armory, now being erected in the city of Chicago, is being cut in Bedford, Ind., where labor is much cheaper than in our own state, and

WHEREAS, We do not deem this to be conducive to the best interests of the citizens of our own state, who pay the taxes making it possible to erect such buildings, and should at least be given employment in such construction work wherever it is possible; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the thirty-third annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor that instructions be issued to the Legisla-

tive Committee to frame an act for presentation to the next session of the State Legislature, to the end that all work for state institutions is to be performed by citizens of the State of Illinois wherever possible.

Chairman Woll: Your committee approves and recommends the adoption of this proposal.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 32.

Introduced by Delegates James A. Short and Arthur Dougherty.

WHEREAS, Owing to the fact that the stonecutters of the State of Illinois find it increasingly difficult to earn a livelihood at their honorable trade because of unfair conditions obtaining in the quarries of neighboring states, especially the adjoining state of Indiana, where wages are scarcely 50 per cent of that obtained in our state, and owing to the fact that the freight rates on rough stone and cut stone are identical, although there is a waste of 25 per cent on rough stone, thus making competition practically impossible; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the thirty-third annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, that we instruct our incoming executive officers to invoke the aid of the Interstate Commerce Commission that a readjustment may be had on the said freight rates so that it may be possible that the rough stone be brought into the Illinois market and our citizens be given an opportunity to cut such stone for the buildings erected within the confines of our state.

Chairman Woll: Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 33.

Introduced by Delegate Albert Peterson, Engineers No. 401, Chicago.

Resolutions unanimously adopted by the local joint Executive Board of the International Union of Steam

and Operating Engineers in regular meeting assembled September 25, 1915, and concurred in by Local Union No. 401 of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, in regular meeting October 15, 1915, with the request that they also be approved by the convention assembled in Alton, Illinois, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In a recent issue of the Chicago Daily Tribune, a vicious, scurrilous attack was made to depreciate the Chicago Teachers' Federation, and by innuendo, misrepresentation and malicious false statements, the effort was made to show that the teachers were in bad standing with the labor movement, and that the officers misrepresented, rather than represented the teachers, and that instead of the Teachers' Federation having four (4) thousand members it only had a few hundred, and

WHEREAS, One George Lighthall was the individual quoted as bringing the information to the Tribune, and in doing so he tried to convey the impression that he was a union man, respected by his fellows, and had the confidence of the labor movement in general, and

WHEREAS, The local joint Executive Board of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers of Chicago, Ill., and vicinity, is the organization having jurisdiction over engineers and which organization is recognized by the Chicago and the American Federation of Labor, and under whose jurisdiction George Lighthall should hold membership at the present and while he is employed as an engineer, and

WHEREAS, We, the Local Joint Executive Board of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers of Chicago, Ill., and vicinity, feel it incumbent upon us to so far as it is within our power, to undo the great injustice which we believe was deliberately planned to injure the welfare and the future of that noble group of our fellow co-workers, who are at once the most unselfish, self-sacrificing, aggressive, public spirited, intelligent advocates of justice and right in this community; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we denounce and condemn the activity and misrepresentation of George Lighthall in this instance, as that of an informer, a pin-head, and a bigot, and absolutely unworthy of an American citizen, and such action would only find conception in a callous mind, a cold heart and a vindictive nature; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we make it clear to our fellow citizens and our fellow trade unionists, that George Lighthall is not a member of our organization, and we repudiate his actions in this matter, as we were compelled to repudiate his membership in this organization, and we bespeak for the Teachers' Federation the united support of every liberty-loving citizen and every advocate of a square deal for justice and right, and for ourselves we pledge our individual loyalty to the Teachers' Federation in all their trade union activities; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Teachers' Federation, a copy to the Chicago Federation of Labor, a copy to all daily newspapers, and a copy also be sent to George Lighthall.

Chairman Woll: Your committee, in considering this resolution, deems it inadvisable and unnecessary to pass judgment upon the description of the character of the men involved in the subject of this resolution. Indeed, your committee holds that greater good can come to the Chicago Teachers' Federation by the repudiation and denial of statements made by George Lighthall, wherein he attempted to discredit the Chicago Teachers' Federation and organized labor in the matter of attack by the Chicago Board of Education against the Chicago Teachers' Federation and organized labor.

Your committee, therefore, offers the following substitute resolution in lieu of the original resolution, and recommends approval and adoption of this substitute proposal:

WHEREAS, George Lighthall has been quoted in one of the Chicago daily newspapers as having denounced the Chicago Teachers' Federation and its officers and the offi-

cers of trade unions, in the attack made upon them by the Chicago Board of Education, and in so doing has attempted to lead the public to believe that he was a union man and expressed the opinion of organized labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, To make clear to our fellow citizens and to our fellow trade unionists that George Lighthall is not a member of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers or any of its affiliated local unions, the organized engineers truly state that his membership has been repudiated by this organization and that likewise his actions in this matter have been repudiated by the organized engineers. On the contrary, the joint executive board of the International Steam and Operating Engineers bespeaks for the Teachers' Federation the united support of every liberty-loving citizen and every advocate of a square deal, for justice and right, and for themselves pledge their individual and collective loyalty to the Chicago Teachers' Federation in all their trade union activities; be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Teachers' Federation, the Chicago Federation of Labor, to all Chicago daily newspapers, and to George Lighthall.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 34.

Introduced by Delegates T. K. Ball, Wm. Hall, Henry Bogaske, and J. E. Sanks.

WHEREAS, James W. Gullett of Springfield, as a candidate for the office of Secretary of State, is asking the support of union men, claiming to be a strong friend of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The said James W. Gullett has taken a stand directly the opposite, as on an apartment which he is having erected he has discriminated against the union carpenters, and at this time the work is being done by scab carpenters, and

WHEREAS, All honorable measures have been used to unionize the said job, Mr. Gullett has turned down every proposition that we have of-

ferred, stating as his reasons for so doing, is based on the following reasons: First, that failure to obey his instructions given the architect, and second, diplomacy in securing votes from every source, caused him to work scab carpenters, as there were quite a number of scab contractors in Springfield; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the election of Mr. Gullett to the office of Secretary of State, after having taken the stand that he has, as shown by his action in unjustly discriminating against the union carpenters, would be one of the worst mistakes that organized labor can make, as the Secretary of State is the custodian of the capitol building, and we feel that union labor would receive unjust and unfair treatment at his hands; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the members of the Springfield Federation of Labor, pledge our support to the union carpenters, to use all honorable means to defeat the candidacy of the said James W. Gullett at the primaries, and should he receive the nomination, to work for his defeat at the election; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the convention of the State Federation of Labor to be held at Alton, beginning with the 18th-23rd, be and are hereby instructed to carry this resolution to said convention and urge the endorsement and support of the same.

Chairman Woll: Your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Board with instructions that the Executive Board co-operate with Carpenters' Union No. 16, of Springfield, Ill, in adjusting the grievance alleged in this resolution, and in the event of failure in accomplishing this end, that the Executive Board be empowered to take necessary steps in preventing the nomination of James W. Gullett as Secretary of State.

Delegate Bogaske, Springfield: Mr. Gullett is one of the fellows we are going to try to defeat unless he comes clean. Don't let us forget him. This is the kind of man we are going to try to defeat in the future.

Keep his name under your hatband, and unless he comes clean don't vote for him.

Delegate Ball, Carpenters: Mr. Gullett has utterly failed and refused all of the honorable measures that were proposed to him by myself, acting for the Carpenters' Union, in regard to a settlement. He went ahead with the job over our protest. The keynote was sounded by Brother Roland Adams at the time of the opening of this convention, when he said if we paid half the attention to the election of our executive and judicial officers we did to the election of officers of our organizations we would be better off. I hope the Executive Board will take this up immediately and not let it drag.

Delegate Daley: After going over the case with me, Mr. Gullett at first agreed that he would place union carpenters on that job. Just prior to coming to this convention Mr. Gullett called me up and said he was going to fight it out and fight the Carpenters' Union; that he would make no change or put on union men. I was with Mr. Gullett and did all the work politically in his behalf, but I notified him if he opposed the organization and put up the building with non-union help, I would not be with him. He said he would fight it out on its merits.

Delegate Barry: I don't like the part of the motion that intimates if he comes fair he will be supported. Any of them will come fair when they are running for an office.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 39.

Introduced by Delegate V. A. Olander, Seamen's Union, Chicago.

WHEREAS, On July 24th, 1915, the excursion steamer "Eastland," her decks packed with human beings, capsized while lying at her dock in the Chicago river, drowning nearly 900 men, women and children; and

WHEREAS, Four officials of the Chicago-St. Joseph Steamship Company, owner of the vessel, are named in an indictment returned by the

grand jury in Cook County, said indictment containing five counts, charging substantially the following:

1. That they knew the "Eastland" was unseaworthy and had no stability.

2. That they permitted 2,500 passengers aboard the vessel, which is more than its carrying capacity.

3. That they were negligent in hiring an incompetent engineer, and that because of his lack of skill he was unable to control the boat properly.

4. That there was not sufficient help on the ship to manage and control her properly.

5. That the ballast tanks were allowed to be out of repair, and not filled with water.

WHEREAS, The United States Steamboat Inspection Service, a bureau of the U. S. Department of Commerce, is, under the law, charged with the duty of correcting the very faults mentioned in every one of the five counts; the officials of the inspection service are required by law to examine into the seaworthiness of such vessels; they are required by law to determine the maximum number of passengers to be allowed on board; they issue and may revoke the licenses under which the engineers and the master serve; they are required by law to determine the number of crew in the deck and engine departments of such vessels; and it is their duty under the law to see that the vessels are kept in proper repair; and

WHEREAS, It is proper that the owners should be brought to the bar of justice to answer for the terrible loss of life, but the government bureau which permitted the owners to operate the vessel under such dangerous conditions should also be made to answer for its negligence, particularly since it is the same laxity and disregard of the law made possible the terrible disaster in New York several years ago, wherein about 1,000 persons lost their lives in the burning of the excursion steamer "General Slocum"; it is the same bureau, with exactly the same personnel, whose disregard of the law was admitted by its officials after the disasters on the Great Lakes in November,

1913, when twelve ships were lost with every person on board; it is the same bureau that remained inactive while many other disasters have occurred; and

WHEREAS, The uselessness of the Steamboat Inspection Service cannot be justly charged to underpaid subordinates, but must be laid at the door of the higher officials, particularly to those whose decisions have affected the actions of the subordinates; and

WHEREAS, The law is such that the higher officials cannot be reached under the criminal statutes; and

WHEREAS, It has been announced by the Hon. Wm. C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, that as soon as Congress convenes steps will be taken to bring about a general and thorough investigation of the entire United States Steamboat Inspection Service; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the senators and congressmen from the State of Illinois be requested to insist upon the selection of an impartial commission to conduct such investigation, and to oppose the creation of any alleged investigating body having in its membership any official of the inspection service; further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States and to the senators and congressmen from the State of Illinois.

Chairman Woll: Your committee recommends the approval and adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 41.

Introduced by Delegates F. G. Hopp, A. E. Adloff, J. A. Kain, O. S. Kelley, H. Goebel, Fred Bose, Fred A. Lohn, Ben Meyer.

WHEREAS, The State Board of Arbitration of Illinois was established as a result of the demands of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The act creating the board for the investigation or settlement of differences between em-

ployers and employes was approved and in force August 2, 1895, and is of necessity and condition closely connected with the grievances arising from time to time within the ranks of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Paragraph 6a of the statutes provides that, "It shall be the duty of the president or chief executive officer of every labor organization, in case of a strike or lockout, actual or threatened, involving the members of the organization of which he is an officer, to immediately communicate the fact of such strike or lockout to said board, with such information as he may possess, touching the difference or controversy, and the number of employes involved"; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor may make use of this public function to the fullest extent and to its best interest; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers be requested to urge a generous co-operation between organized labor and the State Board of Arbitration.

Chairman Woll: While your committee approves, endorses and fully concurs in the idea of arbitration as expressed by the organized labor movement time and again, your committee is not in accord with the idea of enforcing any arbitration procedure which conflicts and interferes with the rules and regulations of all international trade unions relating to strikes, lockouts and methods of adjusting industrial disturbances. Your committee further believes that organized labor of this state has in the past generously co-operated with the State Board of Arbitration. On the other hand, just cause for grievance in this regard may be directed against the employing interests of this state. Your committee is therefore of the opinion that any further request along the lines indicated in this resolution is unnecessary, and recommends disapproval of this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 43.

Introduced by Delegate Herman Jessen, Painters' Union No. 275, Chicago.

WHEREAS, The employers' section of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, appointed by President Wilson, has, after a careful investigation, found that the National Erectors' Association was as much to blame for the disturbances for which 34 union men are in the federal prison at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas; and

WHEREAS, Said employers' section finds that the union men did not deserve a prison sentence; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the thirty-third annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, that we ask President Wilson, in the name of humanity and justice, of which he is an advocate, to pardon the 34 labor officials, open the doors of the prison and give the wrongly imprisoned working men their liberty.

Chairman Woll: Your committee approves and recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 45.

Introduced by Delegate V. A. Olander, Seamen's Union, Chicago.

WHEREAS, After 21 years had elapsed since the Seamen's bill was first placed before Congress, after testimony filling many printed volumes had been heard, in the taking of which the shipowners, including representatives of foreign shipping interests, in person and by attorneys, were given every opportunity to disprove the claims of the seamen, after careful consideration by Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Commerce of the Senate, and after having been the subject of debate in both houses on numerous occasions, the Sixty-third Congress enacted the bill into law now known as the Seamen's Act; and

WHEREAS, The said act provides freedom and an opportunity to secure justice for the sailor; promotes safety of life at sea for the traveling public, and will make possible the upbuilding of the American merchant marine without the aid of subsidies; and

WHEREAS, The shipping interests are clamoring for a repeal of this act, the shipowners of foreign countries using their American partners as press agents to influence the public mind against the law, and the shipowners in the American coastwise trade who have a monopoly by law (no foreign vessels being allowed to enter coastwise trade, although there are no such restrictions as to the nationality of the men employed on such vessels) are opposed to the upbuilding of American merchant marine in the over-sea trade because more American vessels means more competition in the coast-wise trade; and

WHEREAS, The shipping interests, both American and foreign, continue to insist upon the repeal of the law and the re-establishment of the slave system under which seamen can be and are forced to endure involuntary servitude, the shipping interests claiming that such slave system is necessary to their business; and

WHEREAS, There is now before the country, introduced in the last Congress, and will be re-introduced in the next Congress, a bill known as the Ship Purchase Bill providing for the purchase and operation of merchant ships by the United States government; and

WHEREAS, Private shipowners, by their insistent demand for the repeal of the Seamen's Act and the continuation of the slave system on board ship, have again furnished proof that they are unfit to control the sea commerce of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, protest any and every attempt to repeal or emasculate the Seamen's Act; and further

RESOLVED, That this convention also hereby urges upon Congress the necessity for the enactment of the Ship Purchase Bill, providing for the operation by the government of properly constructed, equipped and manned vessels in the merchant trade, as a safeguard to the nation, to the traveling public, and to the seamen, against the greed of private shipowners; and further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the members of the President's cabinet and to the Senators and Congressmen from the State of Illinois.

Chairman Woll: Your committee approves and recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 46.

Introduced by E. N. Nockels, Elevator Conductors, Chicago.

RESOLVED, That the President and Secretary be instructed to bring to the attention of affiliated unions the necessity of urging upon the Senators and Congressmen from this state to vote and work for the appropriation for the printing of the Industrial Relation Commission report in sufficient numbers to permit its wide public distribution.

Chairman Woll: Your committee approves of this proposal and recommends its adoption; in so approving this resolution your committee also urgently requests that members of this Federation read this report carefully, and reflect seriously upon the recital of conditions of labor set forth in this report as existing today in our industrial and commercial life, and give particular attention to the remedies proposed and approved of therein.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Buchanan, Ironworkers: This report is important to the labor people. It throws light on the methods that have been practiced by one of the strongest foes of the working people and the fundamental principles of our government. The opposition is so strong against certain portions of the report, especially on the part of the chairman of the committee, who has been headlined as an enemy to society simply because he treated Rockefeller as a human being, treating him when he was on the witness stand the same as you or I. For that he has been attacked as dangerous to society. That same force in Congress—and I am afraid it is go-

ing to be quite strong unless labor is active—will try to obstruct any resolution providing for the printing of a sufficient number of these reports to supply the demand for them.

I have had some experience in this sort of thing, and I know something about it. It is my intention when Congress meets to not only make an effort to secure a sufficient number of these reports to supply the demand, but to carry out the recommendation of Chairman Walsh and make that arch enemy of labor come to time. You must be awake on these questions and demand of your representatives in Congress that this report be printed. My information now is that the copies already printed have been exhausted.

Delegate McDonald (D.), Mine Workers: In the event Congress fails to make the necessary appropriation will there be any objection to organized labor having copies printed?

Delegate Buchanan: There can be no objection; there is nobody who has a right to object. Of course, the methods that have been used by the system among the Rockefeller interests has been to deny the working people their constitutional rights. I have never known them, however, to go so far as to deny the right of labor to have those things printed that are of interest to them. There is no law they can invoke to prevent it. If organized labor will wake up on these questions and not stop simply at passing resolutions, but follow them up as they do in many other things, there will be very little trouble in securing a sufficient number of reports.

Delegate McDonald (D.): I have a copy of the summary. I have read the greater portion of it and am very much impressed with it. I would like to have every member of every trade in this country get a copy. If that cannot be printed in sufficient quantity because of the influence Mr. Buchanan has spoken of, I think the labor organizations should have them printed. A number of my friends have asked for copies, and I know some of them were refused because the number printed had been exhaust-

ed. We should make every effort to get either the American Federation of Labor or some branch of organized labor to get these printed for distribution if we can get them in no other way.

Delegate Buchanan: If any organization decides to have it printed, it is a frankable matter, and if it should happen to be in my district or in any other district in the state where they are unable to get the frank of any one else, I will be happy to permit them to use my frank. It would save postage in case they wanted to save the postage.

Delegate Margaret Haley: Is it possible to have more copies printed from the type that is set up now? Could we not pay for the press work and paper, get copies and have them franked out?

Delegate Buchanan: The Government Printing Office charges only for the cost of printing, and while it is done by union men they do not use the label; I understand at this time the Government Printing Office hasn't a non-union printer in it. They charge only the cost of the paper and the work that is done. The government does not desire to make any money. If any labor union desires this printed in larger numbers, and will notify me, I can have it printed in the Government Printing Office at the cost of labor and paper, and it will be franked out.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 48.

Introduced by Delegate Geo. F. Golden.

WHEREAS, Our members are compelled to take an examination as chauffeurs and wage-earners; and

WHEREAS, Members of the rich classes operating automobiles, are never asked to take an examination, or pay a fee of from five (\$5) dollars to three (\$3) dollars, as our members are; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the legislative body of the Illinois State Federation work in co-operation with the officers of the State Federation, to have the fee of five (\$5) dollars for the first

license reduced to two (\$2) dollars, and the renewal of the second license and all renewals to one (\$1) dollar.

Upon information of the introducer of this resolution that this proposal as drafted did not fully express the thoughts of its introducer, your committee, with the approval of the introducer, submits the following substitute resolution in lieu of the proposal originally presented:

WHEREAS, Our members are compelled to take an examination as chauffeurs and wage-earners; and

WHEREAS, There are women and children and men of the rich classes operating automobiles who are never asked to take an examination or pay a fee of from three dollars to five dollars as our members are; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the legislative body of the Illinois State Federation work in conjunction with the officers of the State Federation to have the fee of five dollars for the first license reduced to two dollars and the renewal of the second license and all renewals to one dollar.

Chairman Woll: Your committee approves and recommends the adoption of this substitute resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 49.

Introduced by P. S. Cahill and John Semeran.

WHEREAS, The firm of Rand-McNally Co., of Chicago, general printers and publishers of school books, has refused to employ men of the Chicago Printing Pressmen's Union No. 3, and Assistants' Union, or grant the working conditions established by mutual agreement between the Employing Printers' Association and the Chicago Printing Pressmen's Union No. 3, and Assistants' Union; and

WHEREAS, Several of the states new enjoying uniform school books use one or more of the publications printed by the Rand-McNally Co.; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the thirty-third annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to direct

the Executive Board to co-operate with Chicago Printing Pressmen's Union No. 3, and Assistants' Union, in a campaign looking toward the unionizing of the Rand-McNally Co. plant, and use all honorable means within their power to bring the matter to a satisfactory adjustment.

Chicago Printing Pressmen's Union No. 3.

Chairman Woll: Your committee approves and recommends the adoption of this proposal.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 50.

Introduced by Delegates H. C. Curtis, W. M. Goodwin, John S. Plummer, Barney Kischell, Edwin R. Wright, Chicago Typographical Union No. 16; W. E. Wagoner, Galesburg Typographical Union No. 288; J. E. Rogers, Decatur Typographical Union No. 215; J. F. Jabusch, Springfield Typographical Union No. 177; C. P. McQuaid, Tri-City Typographical Union No. 107; F. C. Spelman, Champaign - Urbana Typographical Union No. 444; G. T. Russell, Peoria Typographical Union No. 29.

WHEREAS, The firm of Rand-McNally Company, Chicago, general printers and also publishers of school books, have for some years declined to recognize the Typographical Union, and to pay the scale of wages or grant the working conditions established by mutual agreement between the Employing Printers' Association and the Chicago Typographical Union, which conditions are enjoyed by more than 4,500 union printers in that city; and

WHEREAS, School books printed by this firm are used in many of the school districts of Illinois, thereby necessitating trade unionists to purchase these text-books for their children; and

WHEREAS, School books of an equal or superior merit both in educational value and in workmanship can be had at no additional expense either to the parents of the children or to the school authorities; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor calls upon every affiliated central body and local union in the State of Illinois to present this grievance of the Typographical Union to the authorities responsible for the selection of school books in use in the public schools, with the request that such authorities use their good offices with the firm of Rand-McNally Company looking to the production of school books by workmen receiving the scale of wages, hours and working conditions standardized by Chicago Typographical Union No. 16, and observed by the Employing Printers' Association of the city of Chicago; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in any city or school district where Rand-McNally school books are in use the central body or local union be requested to notify Chicago Typographical Union No. 16 of such use of books, and to use their good offices to remedy the unsatisfactory condition.

Chairman Woll: Your committee approves and recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 51.

Introduced by Delegates O. Lorch, Jas. Williams and John C. Harding, Allied Printing Trades Council of Chicago.

WHEREAS, R. R. Donnelley & Sons Co., printers and publishers, have been opposed to the printing trades unions since the inauguration of the eight-hour day in the printing industry, and have been and are now operating a non-union establishment in all branches of the printing trade, and

WHEREAS, There is about to be placed on the market a new edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, reduced in size, especially designed for sale among working men; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to co-operate with the officers of the Chicago Allied Printing Trades Council in the effort to place the facts in relation to the

manufacture of this new edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica before the membership of all unions affiliated with organized labor, and also to take such other steps as may be deemed necessary.

Chairman Woll: Your committee approves and recommends the adoption of this proposition.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 52.

Introduced by Delegates E. J. Aspengren and J. S. Milton.

WHEREAS, Congressman Frank Buchanan has introduced a bill in the Congress of the United States to revise the Postal Savings Bank law, providing for the removing of the restrictions governing the present law so the government will have the right to loan money to farmers and workmen home-builders for long terms at a low rate of interest; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do hereby indorse and urge the passage of this bill.

E. J. Aspengren, representative Tri-City Federation of Labor.

J. E. Milton, representative Machinists' Union No. 695.

Chairman Woll: Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Buchanan, Ironworkers: This is another matter of great importance. The simple passing of a resolution will have little result. The reason this is the opportune time, in my judgment, for labor to start its activities for education of this kind, so that they may some time in the future be able to educate their own kind to the need of exercising and centralizing their influence on the Legislature to get laws that will protect them, is that the farmers of the country have already started a movement to secure what is known as rural credits legislation.

There has been some consideration of this bill in Congress and, as is usually the case when they don't desire to go on record as opposing the wealth producer, and at the same time do not want to pass such legislation because the monied interests of the country are against it, they appointed a commission to investigate. The commission will probably report to this Congress. I put in the Congressional record on Wednesday, January 20, 1915, a very broad statement as to the benefits of legislation of this kind to the working people, showing what the European countries have done in the way of government aid to home owners, as well as showing what some of the states of the United States have done in the way of loaning money to farmers. I will read a part of that statement. I want to say, however, that I had intended to circulate this statement of facts so that the people of this country might learn what they are entitled to from this government, but my financial resources did not seem to justify me in going so far at that time.

Delegate Buchanan read the following from the Congressional Record of January 20, 1915.

"The Bureau of Labor Statistics, in its Bulletin 158, on 'Government aid to home owning and housing of working people in foreign countries,' goes fully into the laws and the machinery through which foreign countries exercise their activities in the matter of loaning public money on long-time mortgages to workingmen for home-building purposes. This bulletin is for free distribution among our people, and by the time the next Congress convenes everyone will have an opportunity to convince himself of the practicability of a law such as I have proposed in H. R. 8472.

"I will not, therefore, go into the detail of this phase of the subject, except to say that if Germany, as you will see from the bulletin referred to, page 20, can use \$114,867,745 of its workingmen's old-age and sickness insurance fund to loan to workingmen on first mortgages to build homes, then we can take these postal savings bank funds, picked up from the poor of our cities, and reloan them to the

workmen of our cities to enable them to have homes of their own. I tell you now that H. R. 8472, or some revision of it, will be introduced by some one in the next Congress, and by some one in the next and the next, until a real home-owning Nation is built up out of this foundation of the people's money. I have no doubt that in the next Congress my bill will again be referred to the committee and there remain unconsidered and unreported, and maybe the next man's bill will be, too; but in time some power, the power of public opinion and public poverty, will force consideration and favorable action upon legislation of this character. Cato voted alone in the Roman Senate for 40 years, and then secured a majority for his, at first, lonely measure. There will be a few men in this House from now on that will vote and talk until we shall no longer as a Government collect trust funds and institute reserve banks to loan money to banks to reloan to "big business" and the despoilers of men, but until the Government shall loan its funds direct to those who wish to borrow for the ownership and development of our farm lands and for the building and owning of our homes.

"As I have said, the machinery used by foreign countries to loan State funds to workingmen in cities can be easily studied in and ascertained from Bulletin 158 of the Bureau of Labor Statistics; as to what is being done in the way of laws and legal machinery for loaning public money to farmers in foreign countries, I propose to submit a brief outline here. But, first, let us consider what are the facts as to farm mortgages and farm tenancy in this country.

"There were 6,361,502 farms reported in the census of 1910; of these, 2,354,676 were operated by renters, 1,312,034 were operated by men who, while nominally owning them, were carrying mortgages on their farms, and 2,588,596 were operated by their owners free from encumbrance. There is hardly a State in the Union that does not show an increased percentage, not only of renters but of mortgaged farms, if we compare 1910 with 1890.

"Even my own State of Illinois, with the best soil to be found on earth, has 104,379 rented farms out of a total of 251,872; and of 145,107 farms operated by nominal owners, 55,792, or 39.2 per cent, were mortgaged, whereas in 1890, 36.7 per cent were mortgaged."

I want the people to know how they are being neglected by their government and are not given what they are entitled to. The Postal Savings Bank at this time is only an excuse for a bank; it is only a limited safe deposit-month and not to exceed \$500 as a whole. The Postal Savings Bank pays the depositor 2 per cent, the money is redeposited in banks at 2½ per cent; it does not permit a depositor to deposit more than \$100 in one cent, one-half per cent less than the depositor would receive if he had deposited it there himself.

When these laws were taken up for consideration the bankers and money changers of the country always had their agents on the job to hamstring and chloroform the laws so they would not have the effect the people expected of them. When this law was passed in 1910 the people were told they had a postal savings bank, and they thought they had. They really got a subterfuge.

My bill provides that instead of re-depositing in banks every one who wishes to deposit in the Postal Savings Bank can put in as much as he desires, and instead of redepositing it in the banks of the country it will be loaned to home owners at not more than 3 per cent. The government can do that and pay the depositor 2½ per cent and keep within the expense of the Postal Savings Bank. Therefore, I would like to have the Illinois State Federation of Labor start a movement and keep working at it until the laboring people of the country become awake to the need of legislation of this sort and unite their forces with the farmers, who seem to be active now.

Instead of passing a rural credits bill, pass a bill of this character, which will not only take care of the farmers but of the workers also. It covers the whole question. Of course this is a very big, comprehensive and broad bill; it reaches out to the state

school districts and municipalities. If the money can be loaned to states, school districts and municipalities they will get it at much less interest than they are paying at the present time.

Delegate Werlik: I move that the resolution and the portion of the statement read by Congressman Buchanan be published in the weekly News Letter.

Secretary Olander: I am already preparing the figures that appear in that report for publication.

Delegate Buchanan: The information was secured in Bulletin 158 prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. This bulletin goes fully into the question. This is compiled in a way that perhaps is easier to get at, with all the information that is in here and more, too, is in the bulletin, due to my suggestion to the chief clerk of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the information was compiled. I had some difficulty in getting it printed. My experience in Congress is that we can not get sufficient funds appropriated unless there is some fellow there to push the fight for it.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 54.

Introduced by Delegate T. Ayers, Local No. 149, I. A. T. S. E. & M. P. M. O

WHEREAS, Injuries often resulting in death frequently occur in the handling of stage appliances in theaters, and

WHEREAS, Theater managers throughout the state decline to take precautionary measures necessary to safeguard stage workers against such injuries, therefore

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor that the President and Secretary be and are hereby instructed to consult with the various locals of Theatrical Stage Employees in the State of Illinois with a view of having a bill drawn for introduction in the next session of the Legislature to require that managers or others in charge of theatrical stages must provide such safeguards as may be found essential to safety of life and limb.

Chairman Woll: Your committee is of the opinion that the Theatrical Stage Employees, the work and places of work they are engaged in, are included under existing state factory laws and that therefore new legislation of this kind is unnecessary. Inasmuch, however, as there may be a possibility of these workers not being adequately protected under existing laws, your committee recommends reference of this subject to the Executive Board and requests the co-operation of the Theatrical Stage employees with the Executive Board upon this matter so that the Executive Board may take such steps as will give adequate protection to this division of labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 56.

Introduced by Delegate Dennis Lane.

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 543 of Peoria of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen endeavored to have the City Council of Peoria enforce the city ordinance which provides that groceries and meat markets must be closed on Sundays, and

WHEREAS, When such an effort was being made, Brother John Irish, a member of the Executive Board of the State Federation of Labor came before the Council Committee and opposed our efforts to get one day rest in seven, and

WHEREAS, Our Local Union No. 543 feels that the action of Brother Irish is most unworthy of a trades unionist and deserves the repudiation of all wage earners, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates of Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do hereby censure Vice-President John Irish for his unwarranted action in opposing the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of Peoria in seeking one day rest in seven.

Chairman Woll: Your committee having carefully considered this resolution can reach no other conclusion than that its intent and purpose is a charge of wrong, directed against one of the officers of this federation. Your committee is of the opinion that it is

not within the rightful power of this committee, nor of this convention to pass judgment upon charges of wrong doing of any officer of this convention, without giving the accused an opportunity to be heard and to present such evidence of defense as he may care to present, and in total disregard of the rules of procedure provided by constitutional laws of this federation in Article 10, Section 3.

Your committee therefore recommends that this convention consider this matter as being improperly presented to this convention that same be disregarded without prejudice to either the complaining delegate and organizations or the officer charged with wrongdoing.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Lane: I have no personal quarrel with Vice-President Irish, but I had one with an officer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor that will take the stand he did against a struggling organization in Peoria. The president in his report makes it very plain that the State Federation is making a fight for one day of rest in seven. This organization was only asking that a city ordinance be obeyed. Vice-President Irish went before the Council Committee and asked them not to enforce the law. I want to make it clear to this convention that that is not a proper course for an officer of this body to pursue.

This local organization wrote to President Walker and asked that this matter be taken up with the Executive Board of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. At that time they got no consideration and, believing this body of delegates is the supreme authority of this organization, and that this is the proper place and time to bring it before you, the resolution was introduced. As I understand it, Brother Irish took a pledge when he became a member of his own organization to stand out—

Delegate McGrath: A point of order. This obligation is a **personal**, local affair of our organization and it has no place here. Our organization is not on record against one day's rest in seven.

President Walker: The chair will take the position that the secret work of an organization is not a matter that a member of another organization can make public, particularly in a meeting of this kind.

Delegate Lane: He opposed the policies of this body and the policies of his own international union.

Delegate Wynn: I think if this thing is thoroughly investigated it will be found that Brother Irish was not working as an officer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor but was appointed on a committee of his own organization to go to the City Council. I don't think Brother Irish has any more influence than any other labor man in the movement in Peoria, and I don't think his influence was strong enough to affect the whole City Council.

Secretary Olander in the chair.

President Walker: The chair desires to explain a portion of the statement of Delegate Lane in regard to the President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Delegate Lohn: I rise to a point of order. Charges have not been preferred and I do not see how this can be taken up.

Secretary Olander: The committee's report is before the convention and is in order.

President Walker: A communication was received by me from Brother Lane's local preferring charges against Vice-President Irish of the State Federation for opposing the effort they were making to get a Sunday closing ordinance through. I wrote back and stated that Brother Irish was not acting as Vice-President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, so far as we knew, officially, in taking that action, and unless he was acting as vice-president of the Federation in that capacity we could not entertain the charges. My judgment was that he was representing his local either as an individual or an officer of it. Unless Vice-President Irish was acting in the capacity, and so stated in the hearing or proceedings in which he protested against that ordinance, my judgment is that this convention has no juris-

diction over the matter at all, it is entirely within the jurisdiction of the bartenders' organization of which he is a member.

Vice-President Irish: I was sent by Local 286 of the Bartenders to fight against this ordinance. We went before the City Council and asked them to knock out the bill because we thought it would affect our organization if it passed. I went to the Butchers and told them the Bartenders of Peoria would give them all the support they could bring about Sunday closing providing they would pull that ordinance away from the City Council. They would not agree with us in any way. The Mayor told them the ordinance would not pass and asked them to withdraw it. The ordinance was lost, 15 to nothing. The brothers seemed to think I took the stand I did as a vice-president of this organization. I did not. I was sent by my own local.

Delegate Lane: Was that a special ordinance you referred to or was there another ordinance that was permanently on the statute book?

Delegate Irish: A special ordinance.

Delegate Lane: You knew there was a permanent ordinance on the books and you opposed it?

Delegate Irish: Yes. I was sent there by my organization. I was not the only one there, Brother Lane, and you know it.

President Walker in the chair.

Delegate Lane: To make it clear to the delegates I would like to ask if he is willing to get up and state the action he took on that occasion?

President Walker: Delegate Kowalske has been recognized.

Delegate Kowalske read the following statement:

To the Illinois State Federation of Labor—Brothers, Greeting:

On sheet No. 2 of resolution I find that Meat Cutters' Local 543 of Peoria, Ill., have a resolution, No. 56, to censure Brother John M. Irish for his stand taken against the Meat Cutters' proposed ordinance to eliminate Sunday work and close butcher shops on

Sunday by city law. I feel that this action taken by this convention would be a great injustice to Brother Irish, and put him in an undeservedly bad position in the labor movement of this state, inasmuch as Brother Irish was not acting as an individual in this matter or as a state official in this body, but was acting as a representative of Local 286 of the Bartenders of Peoria, being one of a committee of five, composed of the following brothers: First Vice-President L. M. Murphy, Chaplain Beam, Financial Secretary Huber, Chairman of Trustees Oscar Bickerdt, and President Irish, who were appointed to use their best efforts to stop any legislation along this line, as Local 286 felt, considering the state and national movement for prohibition, that this proposed movement to close business houses on Sunday, while they felt that the Meat Cutters were entitled to a day's rest on Sunday, felt that it would give the enemies of our craft too great a leverage against us. That he was doing as instructed and his duty as a member.

WM. KOWALSKE,

Rec. Sec., Local 286, Bartenders.

Delegate Ambrose: My organization, the Barbers, had a committee before the judiciary committee of the City Council on that occasion. The Bartenders did have a committee there, Brother Irish and two other members. The retail liquor dealers had another committee there and the saloon element of the city of Peoria, if you please—not casting any reflection upon that industry—were pretty well represented. The committee heard the arguments of the Bartenders, Meat Cutters and Barbers in reference to the Sunday closing ordinance. The meeting adjourned practically in a turmoil. The next evening, the regular meeting night of the City Council, the Council held a caucus before going into a session and decided they would kill this proposed ordinance closing butcher shops and barber shops on Sunday.

I felt at that time it was a little unbecoming an officer of the State Federation to get up and oppose legislation along these lines, inasmuch as the legislation was asked for by labor unions, and inasmuch as the State

Federation had gone on record for one day's rest in seven and encouraged the enactment of such a law in the last legislature. While there were some of us who felt a little sore at Brother Irish at the time, I felt if he was sent there by his own organization to represent their will in the matter we would make no open protest against his action. Personally, however, I felt it was a little bit unbecoming a member of the Bartenders' organization holding the position he did in the State Federation.

Chairman Woll: Your committee in considering this resolution, as stated in the report, believed this was in the nature of a charge of wrongdoing against an officer of the Federation. The constitution provides a procedure under which officers charged with wrongdoing are to be tried, giving to the Executive Board that power, also the power to enforce whatever discipline is essential. Your committee took the position that we could not resolve ourselves into a trial board, that we were merely a committee on resolutions, and if any officer was to be charged with wrongdoing it ought to be done in a constitutional way. That is our recommendation, that that course be followed without prejudice to anyone concerned in this matter, thus leaving those who are complaining against the actions of Brother Irish to carry their charges in the proper way.

As I understand, charges were placed with the President, who took an unfavorable view of them. Then the organization should have placed the matter before the Executive Board for action, and if the ruling of the Executive Board was unsatisfactory the matter should have come to the convention itself. We believe it is dangerous to depart from that policy.

Speaking, not as a representative of the committee but as a delegate, I think the greatest censure should be directed, if directed at all, to a local union itself that will undertake to direct any of its members or officers to depart from the opinion and attitude expressed by this convention. I feel the more you analyze this question, the more fully you go into it, the more fully you will concur in the report of the committee.

Delegate McGrath: I am heartily in favor of the recommendation of the committee, but at the same time I want to put the delegates right in regard to the stand of our organization on this question. There is no organization represented here today more heartily in favor of one day's rest in seven than our organization, and there are members of our organization who did as much to get the bill passed in the last legislature as any other delegates.

In Joliet there was a movement on a little more than a year ago, taken up with an organization affiliated with the State Federation. A committee went around on Sunday and bought drinks in different bars, then had the saloonkeepers arrested and used that liquor as evidence. They were members of the Barbers' Union. To get their bill through they had to adopt such tactics. They finally succeeded in getting the mayor of that city to close the saloons and succeeded in getting the Sunday closing law enacted. As a result the barber shops of Joliet were closed on Sunday. That is the reason, doubtless, why the Bartenders' local instructed Delegate Irish to go before the council and get the ordinance defeated, not to fight the one day's rest in seven.

Upon motion of Delegate Golden debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Kecfe, Engineers: I move you that we instruct our officers not to serve on committees to prevent other organizations bettering their conditions along the line indicated by the ordinance spoken of. (Seconded and carried.)

Resolution No. 57.

Introduced by Delegate Frank Buchanan.

WHEREAS, The power of great business combinations, their control of political machinery, their power over labor conditions and the necessities of life is increasing at an alarming rate; and

WHEREAS, Their control results in untold misery, unemployment, low wages, high cost of living, unhealthful

conditions, war, political competition and all the host of evils growing out of a business system which cares more for profits than for humanity; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor has organized the Public Ownership League of Cook County; and

WHEREAS, To secure public ownership is of the greatest importance to the working masses; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor assembled in the thirty-third annual convention hereby pledges support to the Public Ownership League of Cook County and recommends to the central bodies of the State to form like organizations and co-operate with the Public Ownership League of Cook County; and

RESOLVED, That all possible effort be made to protect public employes and maintain for them the right to organize and affiliate with the organized labor movement and to secure better wages and conditions for public employes, watching their interests as public ownership is extended.

Chairman Woll: Your committee approves of and recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Buchanan asked permission to have the constitution of the Public Ownership League of Cook County made a part of the proceedings of the convention. Permission was granted and the following document was presented:

Constitution of the Public Ownership League.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Public Ownership League of Cook County.

Section 2. This body shall be composed of delegates from such labor and ward organizations as may be approved by the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Section 3. The central body shall be composed of delegates as follows: From each labor organization of 100 members or less, one delegate; and for each additional 100 or majority fraction thereof, one additional dele-

gate. The ward organization shall be represented in the central body by the president of each ward.

Section 4. The ward organization shall be limited to members of such labor organizations as may be approved by the C. F. of L.

Objects.

Section 5. To secure public ownership and operation of public utilities.

Section 6. To maintain and extend the rights to organize and to protect and uphold the full rights of citizenship of all public employees.

Section 7. To protect and advance the interests of all utilities already owned by the public.

Section 8. The Public Ownership League shall not indorse any candidate for political office.

Section 9. The Public Ownership League shall be governed by the action of the C. F. of L., and its purpose shall be to carry out the program and policy of that body.

Section 10. The officers shall be: President, Vice-President, Secretary-Treasurer and Sergeant-at-Arms; an Executive Committee of 70, and Finance Committee of three to be elected by the central body.

Section 11. The Executive Committee shall be composed of 35 delegates elected by and from the central body, and one delegate from each ward branch, president of each ward branch by virtue of his office shall be such delegate.

Section 12. The Executive Committee of 70 shall elect from among its own members the following sub-committees: Organization Committee of 10; Publicity Committee of 5; Speakers' Committee of 10; Records and Review Committee of 5, and Literature and Propaganda Committee of 10.

Section 13. The election of officers shall be held under Australian ballot system as provided for in the by-laws.

Section 14. Affiliated organizations and ward branches shall pay four (4) cents per member per annum, payable in advance.

Section 15. This constitution shall not be amended unless presented in writing in regular meeting and referred to the Executive Committee,

and shall be reported at the next regular meeting for adoption or rejection, two-thirds vote of delegates present shall be necessary to carry. Secretary to send special notice to all delegates of meetings when vote to be taken on amendments to the constitution.

Section 16. The regular meetings of the Public Ownership League shall be held on the last Sunday of February, May, August and November at 2 p. m., at such place as may be deemed proper from time to time.

Resolution No. 59.

Introduced by Delegate J. M. Murphy, Guards, Keepers & Matrons Protective Association, No. 14785.

WHEREAS, The employees of the State Penitentiary have been and are now compelled to work excessive hours of work and at such low wages not conducive to or permissible of the maintaining fair and decent living conditions of these state employees; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 33rd annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor hereby directs the officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to have the necessary legislation prepared providing for the eight hour day of these state employees, and to make every possible effort to have such proposed legislation enacted into law and to do whatever is possible to have the wages of these state employees increased to an amount permitting these men to live in decency and comfort consistent with organized labor, conception of a fair American standard of living.

Chairman Woll: Your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Board with authorization to do whatever it can do to assist these state employees in the direction indicated in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 60.

Introduced by Delegate Woollett, Musicians, No. 10.

WHEREAS, Bands of music engaged by the militia regiments of the state to play at annual encampments thereby gain prestige to compete with

other bands in civilian functions the balance of the year; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That all such bands should consist of union musicians affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to take up with the proper state officials the unionizing of the band of the First Regiment, I. N. G., and such other bands as may be unfair.

Chairman Woll: Your committee approves and recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 61.

Introduced by Charles MacGowan, Tri-City Federation of Labor, Rock Island.

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Supreme Court has made decisions interpreting the Illinois State Compensation Law and the Federal Liability Law as applied to the workers in the transportation industries in such a manner that where the injured worker or his dependents have no case under the Liability Law that it must be settled under that law, and where he has a good case and could collect large damages under the liability law that it must be settled under the State Compensation Law, and

WHEREAS, Not only does the present situation permit this unfair condition to obtain, but as between states where they have decent compensation laws and where the workers have no such protection, the laws of competition favor the most inhuman employer to the detriment of the humane and fair employer and at the same time leave the injured workers and their families, or where death has occurred, the widows and orphans helpless to suffer and starve without any means whatsoever of getting a living, except as the recipients of charity, and

WHEREAS, There is no means of remedying this terrible condition, except by the enactment of a compulsory Federal Compensation Law, and

WHEREAS, The liability method of settling damage suits is inhuman and barbaric, and the only humane civilized just method of caring for the victims of industrial accidents and their dependents is by the compensation method which makes sure of caring for all unfortunates under those circumstances; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That our delegates to the coming A. F. of L. convention be instructed to introduce a resolution in that meeting requesting that body to introduce a compulsory compensation law into the next session of Congress and to do all in their power to bring about its enactment at the earliest date possible.

Chairman Woll: Your committee approves this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 62.

Introduced by Delegate E. J. Aspengren, Tri-City Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is at the present time a movement on foot in the State of Illinois to inaugurate military training in our public schools, and

WHEREAS, The labor movement has always held that children should be taught the constructive ideals of peace rather than the destructive ideals of war; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as absolutely opposed to military training in the public schools of our state.

Chairman Woll: Your committee approves this resolution and recommends its adoption.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Margaret Haley: I would like to call attention to a fact that perhaps has a great deal to do with the determining whether children shall be taught military training or whether they shall be taught peace. Three years ago the Superintendent of Schools of Chicago, a woman, pre-

pared a course of study and put into every year, from the kindergarten to the high school, a provision to have universal peace taught. She provided specifically that with each year a certain amount of time should be given in every grade to the teaching of universal peace.

The president of the Chicago Board of Education, Mr. Alfred R. Urion, the attorney for Armour & Company, took his blue pencil and blue-penciled out of that course of study every reference to teaching peace in the public schools. I don't know whether Mr. Urion was acting on his conviction or whether he was acting in the interest of the Beef Trust that wants to furnish hams to the army. I am not accusing him, but I know that act happened. I told you yesterday how the Beef Trust saw fit to put two members up for office on the University Board. In addition to looking out for things of that kind in the course of study they know enough to look out and see that the teachers of the state and the United States have no voice in the framing of courses of study or in changes. The only time in the history of Chicago the teachers ever took part in the framing of a course of study the big interests in Chicago and the newspapers of Chicago got so busy you would have thought we were tearing down the pillars, not only of the city, but of the state.

The provisions in your schools for teaching universal peace run counter to the interest of big business—they want the military training. A committee was before the Board of Education not long ago trying to get military training into the high school course. They have asked for the use of the school rooms and the school yards. They haven't got them yet, but they will get them. When they start out they never stop. Sometimes you resolve and do not start out.

The teachers of your city, state and nation are gagged, bound, handicapped, they have no power in directing the policy when it comes to the course of study or the selection of books—they are as helpless as the serfs of Russia. They know what it will mean to give the teachers a voice. An effort is being made to shut us out

of the labor movement and shut you out of the educational movement. If you do not come in, not only will the elementary and high schools be used but the universities will be the hot beds of the anti-democratic spirit. They will put into the laboratories and the libraries in universities their representatives. Armour & Company has a representative in the University of Illinois today.

In Kansas when a new state board was appointed they found out that furniture manufacturing companies and other manufacturing companies had what they called "fellowships." Their representatives had the privilege of using the laboratories to the exclusion of other students. If a poor fellow who was working his way through wanted to use the laboratory he had to get out. They were looking for some kind of furniture polish and they were working on that. If the man they had there invented it it went to that furniture company, they paid his salary, but the state gave him the use of the laboratory.

The new Board turned those people out. They said: "We need good roads," and they put men in there to study that question. What happened? All over the United States newspapers took it up and slandered that Board. I was on a train going from Washington to Richmond with a member of that Board. I also met a fellow from the University of Pennsylvania—you know what that means! I remarked to him that there was a member of this Kansas Board on the train. He threw up his hands and said: "That awful Board! They have destroyed the tenure of office and all sorts of dreadful things."

I went to the member of the Kansas Board and told her what he had said. She went through three or four cars and stood up there and made him tell his story. Then she made him listen to her story. He could not tell the name of one person who told him or one publication it was in, but he said it was known all over the United States that it was a bad Board. She said: "Yes, because we have dared to put out of that Kansas University people who were serving private interests." They are using the universities, not only the private ones—that

is their business when Rockefeller pays for an institution we expect him to use it—but they are taking the institutions that are paid for at public expense. They use the Chicago Board of Education, that is their piece of machinery, that is what they put their men there for, that is what they put the mayor in his chair for—in order that he may provide that machinery.

You people will have to come into the public school situation if you don't want to have your schools turned absolutely against you. They are not always doing it open and above board, as they did in Chicago, but they are doing it in an insidious way. You ought to insist that not a board of education in this state will be allowed to turn any part of the public school machinery over to training for military purposes. A few weeks ago when the demand was made to increase the standing army and navy, did you see the quick response that came from the University of Illinois? Why should it not when you have the Meekers and the Tildens on the Board?

Delegate Dunn, Painters: I believe when the time comes when our public schools inaugurate military training the labor unions should inaugurate a system of military instruction in the labor unions.

Delegate Wieck, Staunton: I come from a community that has always voiced a sentiment against all military institutions, no matter what guise they come under, and I cannot help adding a few words to what has been said. I want to call attention of the delegates, especially those from small towns, to the good that can be done by them if they use their influence with the school superintendents and teachers. Look after the books that are handed out, even to the smallest children, watch the teachers closely, and every time your children come home from school and show by any statements they make that any idea has been implanted in their minds tending to give any support in future years to any military institution, it is your duty to teach the child so that when he grows to become a man such ideas will not be retained in his mind.

Five men belonging to the Hillsboro local union had to be expelled in order to comply with the constitution of the miners' organization of Illinois. In order to comply with the constitution of District 12, United Mine Workers, the mine committee had to expel five members and send them home from work because they refused to resign their positions with the Illinois National Guard. I am not going to speak of what the higher officers of our district are going to do in regard to the constitution, but personally I feel the entire labor movement of the State of Illinois ought to get behind the mine committee of that local union.

Chairman Woll: I rise to a point of order, not to be discourteous to the delegate, but to expedite business. This resolution touches upon military training in schools and not upon the general subject.

Delegate Wieck: The Boy Scouts are given training in the schools, or rather, while it is not given directly in the schools they do go so far as to go to church institutions and get members of churches to help out the Boy Scout movement. We had to advertise in the local papers in Staunton to stop the son of a reverend gentleman there forming a Boy Scout movement. I warn you to go home to your towns and your schools and pile up education for the future generation, just as the capitalist class of this country is piling up munitions of war and battleships for future generations to fight their battles. When that education is strong enough the working class of America and every other country will not fight their battles for them. Train the boys properly in the first place and you will save trouble later.

Upon motion of Delegate Golden, Teamsters, debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 35.

Introduced by Delegates Henry Bogaske, T. K. Ball, J. E. Sanks.

The following resolution was adopted by our Central Body and the delegates instructed to take the same

to the convention and ask for its endorsement. The resolution reads as follows:

WHEREAS, The question of building a Labor Temple for the Illinois State Federation of Labor, which is proposed to be erected in Springfield, the capital of the state; and

WHEREAS, This question has been pending since the last convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and progress on the same has been somewhat slow because of the many other duties of the officers and executive board of the State Federation to whom the matter was referred; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the coming convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor take definite stand towards securing a site and the erection of a building thereon, with ample room for the headquarters of this organization and with additional office rooms that may be rented by other labor unions, also a number of small halls, as well as a large hall that would have a seating capacity of not less than 500 persons, with the intention that the State Federation will hold each and all of their conventions in the Labor Temple; and be it further

RESOLVED, That an assessment of 10 cents on each and every member of affiliated unions of the State Federation of Labor be levied for the months of December, January, February, March and April, a total of 50 cents, which can be paid in advance if so desired; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a Secretary-Treasurer be elected for this specific purpose, whose duty it shall be to collect and receipt for all assessments and he shall maintain his office in Springfield, beginning with the 1st day of December, 1915, and continue in office, also in the capacity of Secretary of the Building Committee, or a similar committee that may be chosen by this convention, and until the Labor Temple is completed. His salary for such services shall be fixed by this convention and he shall remain in office until his successor has been elected and qualified.

Resolution No. 53.

Introduced by Delegate P. Schug, Jr.

WHEREAS, Several city central bodies have built and maintained their own labor headquarters, and

WHEREAS, The State Federation of Labor with a membership of nearly four hundred thousand members is without a prominent home or meeting place, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a committee of five be appointed by the President of the State Federation of Labor without salary or compensation, to make inquiries and obtain all possible information relating to the building and maintaining of a labor temple by the Illinois State Federation of Labor; be it further

RESOLVED, That the committee report to the next convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor giving all the data and information on the subject pertaining to the erection and maintaining of a labor temple by the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Chairman Woll: Resolutions 35 and 53, while varying somewhat in detail, nevertheless relating to the same subject your committee considered these resolutions as one.

In reporting upon these resolutions your committee is not unmindful of President Walker's report upon this subject and the action of this convention in referring this entire matter to the Executive Board for further investigation and consideration and a comprehensive report to be submitted the next convention of the State Federation of Labor. In view of this decision of this convention, your committee recommends reference of these two resolutions to the Executive Board without approval or disapproval and solely for consideration as suggestions by the Executive Board.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 9.

Introduced by Delegate Alex Williams.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-third Annual Convention:

WHEREAS, We believe the present methods of electing the officials of the American Federation of Labor is obsolete and reactionary and is not approved by a majority of the membership of the various affiliated crafts, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegate representing the Illinois State Federation of Labor in the next annual convention of the A. F. of L. stand instructed by this body to draft and support a resolution to the effect that the officials of the A. F. of L. shall submit the question of electing the officials of the A. F. of L. by referendum vote to the members of all affiliated crafts to vote yes or no on the methods of elections.

Resolution No. 25.

Introduced by Delegate Fred Wittig, Harry H. Mason, Arthur Mitchell, Machinists, No. 473.

WHEREAS, All progressive organizations, both State and International, have and are enjoying the Initiative and Referendum and the right of recall, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By Local No. 473, I. A. of M. that the delegate to the A. F. of L. convention from the Illinois State Federation of Labor be instructed to vote and do all in his power to make the A. F. of L. as progressive as its subordinates by adopting the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor draft suitable resolutions pertaining to the Initiative, Referendum and Recall to be presented at the A. F. of L. convention by their delegate.

Chairman Well: Resolutions 9 and 25 being similar in character and relating to the same subject your committee has considered both propositions as one. Your committee disapproves of both resolutions and recommends these resolutions be not concurred in.

The following members of the committee dissent from this recommendation: Fred Wittig, Richard Whennen, John C. Harding, William Hall, W. K. Brown.

It is not the intent of these dissenting members to have their disapproval of the committee's recommendation interpreted as a minority report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate McDonald (D.), Mine Workers: As usual, my friend Well and I disagree on this proposition, and as usual I am going to take the position I have always taken on this matter. I feel the time has come in the history of the trade union movement when, if it is consistent in advocating the initiative, referendum and recall for political office, the same principle should be adopted in the American labor movement. The inconsistent feature of our position in this matter in the past has been, or at least so far as those who opposed the proposition, has been that we are always advocating the right to initiate legislation, the right by nomination to say who shall be our representatives and the right to elect those representatives, but when it comes to ourselves we want to meet a little group where two or three hundred delegates are present and elect officers to represent 2,000,000 wage workers.

I maintain that if the initiative, referendum and recall principle is correct we should be willing to adjust ourselves to that situation and adopt that principle in the American trade union movement. We have had that principle in effect for many years in the organization I am connected with. In the State of Illinois our initiative and referendum has been in effect for many years, and I believe I speak with some knowledge of the situation, because I have been honored with office by that organization in Illinois for some twelve years, and our elections have been in a general way much cleaner than they were under the old system. When we used to go to conventions—and I was working in the mine then—before I got off the train a group of candidates were

around me talking to mè, and a majority of them would leave the convention as soon as the election was over.

It is about time, if the American Federation of Labor is going to occupy the conspicuous place it now occupies, to not only endorse the principle of the initiative, referendum and recall so far as men representing us in Congress, the various legislatures and other elective positions are concerned, to become somewhat consistent and adopt that principle in the American Federation of Labor. In the Rochester convention some few years ago the delegates from our organization wee instructed to make a fight for this principle. We went there and made the fight. The majority, however, decided against us. The same delegation was instructed year after year in the same way. I want to say to you very candidly that if we are going to be consistent, if we are going to give every man a right to express an opinion, if we are going to maintain democracy in the American Labor movement we should give every man who pays dues a right to express himself on the subject of who shall occupy official position in that organization.

Some years ago, if I read history aright, we were plunged into the Revolutionary War in America because we had taxation without representation imposed upon us. And to preserve that principle and lay down the fundamental principle of free government in America men went to the front and said: "We will have no taxation without representation." The average man who belongs to an organization, who does the honest work and pays dues has no more to say about who shall occupy the high official position than if he was not a member at all.

I believe honestly if the initiative, referendum and recall is the correct principle—and I only wish we would exercise that right a little more in our official positions and in political office—if you are going to have taxation without representation, it means you will have another revolution in the trade union movement, because there is a loud murmur going up now, and I believe I am safe in saying

that every one of the 80,000 members in the United Mine Workers of Illinois, so far as I know, has not only advocated this but insisted that we go to the American Federation of Labor and try to put that principle in effect there.

I know some people will say it is a hard matter to work this out. It is not any harder to work it out in the American Federation of Labor, where we have 2,000,000 members, than in the United States, where we have 100,000,000 members. The principle is right and I am in favor of going through with it regardless of any little subterfuge that may be used about the difficulty of putting it into effect. We worked it out in our organization when we had nearly 400,000 members. If it can be applied in the Illinois State Federation of Labor it can be applied in the American Federation of Labor. Therefore I disagree with the position of the committee and trust this convention will go on record in favor of the initiative, referendum and recall.

Chairman Woll: As rightfully stated by Brother McDonald, as usual he and I differ on this question. I am not going to consume much of the time of the convention on this question. I want to say only this, that the analogy drawn of the principle of taxation without representation of the forefathers of this nation, if it is carried out consistently it must be carried out with the form of government they established at that time. Let us take the principle they enunciated in its true light and as they adopted it. If you will, I think Brother Duncan will not be so ready to adopt the principle they enunciated.

The comparison between governmental elections and the elections of trade union officials is not one of analogy. I cannot conceive of ourselves standing as citizens in the same position as trade unions in relation to our voluntary organizations. If the time is here that we as trade unionists want to bring into the labor movement such a political condition as exists in our governmental affairs, then I say to adopt this popular election of officers. If you want to have parties in the trade union

movement, as you have parties in your government—democratic, republican, socialistic, God knows how many more—if you want labor divided on party lines to control offices of trade unions, then adopt the popular election idea.

Brother Duncan has stated that he finds a great unrest because the officers of the American Federation of Labor are not elected by the referendum or the popular vote. I think we also find some slight unrest, even today, as to the adoption of the referendum vote which we now have and which has not yet fulfilled its mission for its first trial. I believe that this convention, so far as its attitude is concerned, could do nothing better than give trial to our own popular election of officers before we attempt to force that upon them in the American Federation of Labor. Let us see how our system of electing officers by popular election is going to turn out. I hope it may prove successful, and I also wish to state that I frankly don't think that we are going to have the democratic expression we are told we are going to have in the labor movement through the popular election.

You have heard of the influences of the public press, the influence of teaching regarding the public mind. We know it is the public press which dominates and even to a large degree influences the policies of the trade unions themselves. Do you want to place it in the power of the public press to enter into the elections of organized labor? And then, aside from that question, you are going to manufacture such a gigantic machine, if the idea expressed by Brother McDonald is carried to its finality, that organized labor, between its civic duties, exercising its rights politically, to do the same in every local, city, state and national organization, will cause them to be carrying on elections nearly every week throughout the year. Perhaps not every week, but you will be placed at an expense to carry them on.

I am opposed to the popular election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and I appeal to you men and women here to first give trial to your own system of pop-

ular election before hoping and trying to extend it into a larger field. If it proves successful with you I say you are justified in your attempts to extend it, and if your experience proves unfavorable I feel you will not attempt to extend that system of voting.

Delegate Keefe: The difference, as I see it, between political referendum and trade union referendum, is that we haven't any state militia, any police or state courts to prosecute any violators of the principle of the referendum. If all international organizations were interested they would, through their channels, take this up with the American Federation of Labor. I don't believe it should come from a state body that has not yet held one election under it. We don't know what the referendum will amount to in this state body, and we should find out before we ask somebody else to adopt it.

The Mine Workers' organization may be operating successfully under the referendum, the Printers' organization may be working successfully; those organizations have the power to discipline the men who do not comply with the laws that are laid down by their organizations. The central bodies and the American Federation of Labor have no power to discipline the organizations affiliated with them when they do not comply with the mandates laid down by the central bodies.

I hope this convention will not tie the hands of the men who will represent us by sending them into the American Federation of Labor convention instructed to work and vote to get the American Federation of Labor to elect the officers by referendum. Let our delegate go as a free lance and do what he can for the Illinois State Federation of Labor. I heartily agree with the report of the committee.

Delegate Wright, Typographical Union: I am opposed to the report of the committee and I am in favor of the initiative, referendum and recall. I am in favor of these things in our State Federation, and I wish to apologize for several speakers just preceding me who are doing their

best to belittle the movement before they have tried it, in damning a proposition by faint praise before you have tried on the garment. You say it does not fit and you are trying to convince yourselves that the coat does not fit you when you see it in the store window and before you put it on your back. I believe it will be a good thing. It may require a few alterations, but I believe the alterations should be made by the friends of the initiative and referendum and not by the enemies of it.

The chairman of the committee compared the initiative, referendum and recall to our political system—not the political system of today, however, but the political system of some years ago, which is not a fair criticism. It is only a few years ago when we decided we would have the initiative in our presidential election, as far as Illinois is concerned. I would like to have a chance to vote for Mr. Gompers, Mr. Duncan or Mr. Morrison, or I would like to vote for somebody else if I think somebody else can do the job better. As it is at the present time you haven't even a popular vote upon these gentlemen. I have objected for years past to the system of elections in the American Federation of Labor.

I don't believe any man, I don't care whether he is a printer, a mine worker or any one else, has a right to the cumulative voting system in the American Federation of Labor. I believe I have a right to express my opinions, I believe you have a right to express yours; but under the cumulative voting system they have in the American Federation of Labor one man will cast thousands of votes. Does he know what the thousands of men think when he drops their votes into the American Federation of Labor? He thinks he does, and the American Federation of Labor sanctions that. You have a little group of men in the American Federation of Labor who have absolute control for good or evil over the labor movement, because under the cumulative system you haven't a popular vote.

When a few men control a great body of men, what do you call it? Aristocracy. If you go down to the American Federation of Labor and

stay there for a few sessions, one after the other, as I have done, as a visitor, mind you, and you see the log-rolling that goes on there, there isn't a man here that wouldn't come back and vote for the popular election.

Delegate Keefe: I would like to ask a question of the speaker, with his consent. Isn't it a fact that you send the delegate to your convention to wield that number of votes, and you elect them by referendum and they are the honest men of your organization?

Delegate Wright: No.

Delegate Keefe: Don't you elect your delegates to the American Federation of Labor by referendum?

Delegate Wright: We elect our delegates by the referendum vote, but the American Federation of Labor gives them their votes, we don't. If we had our say in the matter they would have one.

Delegate Keefe: The referendum vote must have been honest enough, if it is right, to elect honest men who will vote right when they go down there.

Delegate Wright: Sure! Our men are honest down there—all printers are honest! We merely make officers of these men when we send our delegates to the American Federation of Labor—I think we send five—and they cast 65,000 votes. We confer an office upon these men but we do not through our organization make little tin gods of them, and I object to any one taking our men and making little tin gods out of them.

You send a man from this organization, and this organization has more members in it on the floor than the American Federation of Labor; and when your delegate gets there the American Federation of Labor says: "There is a one-lunger from Illinois. He has one vote." Say, brothers, all the central and state bodies that are represented in the American Federation of Labor—they don't all send delegates—but you gather all your one-lungers together and take the smallest international officer in the American Federation of Labor, with the smallest organization, mind you—and some of the interna-

tionals haven't such an enormous number of members, you know—but the smallest international officer gets up and out goes all the state federations, city central bodies and all the federal unions combined. When you have a system of that kind in the organization those men we send down there are the shrewdest proposition I know. We think we are politicians when we come to the State Federation of Labor. We aren't even apprentices.

I am finding fault with the system and not with the men. I have a great deal of regard for the officers of the American Federation of Labor as being honest and straightforward men. I am not going to make any attack on them, but I want a chance to vote for them, I don't want to delegate the power of my vote to the international president of my organization, much as I like that man, I want to cast it myself. I have only two or three things in this world I hold sacred, and one is the right to exercise my honest opinion at any time, in any place, the right of free speech. I am going to preserve that sacred right. Then I relegate to myself the right of conscience to do what I think is right. I may be mistaken, and very often I do make mistakes, but the only way we can improve ourselves is to try. The first time I set up a job in a printing office it wasn't anywhere near correct, but after a time I became a printer. The cigar maker did not bring out a finished cigar at his first effort; it took time and patience to enable him to do that.

A majority of us have been in the organization for years, and sometimes we wonder why we do not progress faster. A new organization will come in and send a delegate, and he is a little peeved probably because he cannot revolutionize the situation. It cannot be done in a day or a week, it must be worked out; and while you are working out the industrial features of it—the hours, the days and wages—you must work out the political side also. Be square with yourself, and don't try to shove down the throat of some one else something you would not stand for. If you are

honest in your belief that the initiative, the referendum and the recall are right, and you have these things in your local, your city central body and in your international union—and I hope we are going to have it a success in this State Federation—why not give it a chance in the American Federation of Labor? You need not have any fear that if you vote down the committee's report and place yourself on record for the American Federation of Labor you will have to assess yourselves to pay for ballots and tally sheets the coming year. No, but we will get started, we will be honest with ourselves and say: "Some day we are going to get it. We want it now, and we are going to work for it." And every time I go to the State Federation, to my central body or anywhere else, I am going to say a word for the initiative, referendum and recall until somebody shows me where, after an honest effort, it has fallen down on the job. It hasn't yet.

President Walker: It is ten minutes past twelve, but the chair would suggest that we stay in session until this subject is finished.

Delegate Jessen, Painters: I am heartily in favor of the initiative, referendum and recall, and what Brother Wright and Brother McDonald said sounds good. The main thing is to be consistent. Who would control an election if we had one in the American Federation of Labor? The public press of the country will elect the officers. I will not favor it until we have a labor press and every man belonging to organized labor reads it. At the present time he is dominated by the public press, and for that reason I am against the report.

Delegate Golden, Teamsters, moved to close debate. (Seconded and carried.)

The report of the committee was voted on and lost.

Delegate Harding: As one of the members of that committee who in good faith did not sign the majority report, I move that the resolutions read be adopted by this convention. (Seconded.)

Delegate Williams, Mine Workers: In order that the delegates may not be confused on the resolutions, I want to say there is some difference in them. Resolution No. 9 asks that the matter be submitted to the membership of the various organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. It has been stated that this is an issue of the referendum vote. It is not, but a man cannot consistently oppose a referendum vote when the membership goes on record in favor of it.

Chairman Woll: The convention undoubtedly is in favor of these resolutions. If this motion is carried it brings both of the resolutions before the American Federation of Labor.

The motion to adopt Resolutions Nos. 9 and 25 was carried.

Delegate Golden, Teamsters, wished to be recorded as voting against the motion.

Delegate Short, Stonecutters: I move that the report of the Organization Committee be made a special order immediately upon the completion of the Resolutions Committee's report.

President Walker: We sent for Walter Bush, of Peoria, yesterday, and we have a telegram to the effect that he will be here at 2 o'clock. I think that should be made the special order.

Delegate Short: I withdraw my motion.

At 12:30 o'clock the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 2 p. m. of the same day.

FIFTH DAY—Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Friday, October 22, President Walker in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Delegate Woll, chairman of the committee, continued the report, as follows:

Resolution No. 27.

Introduced by Delegates Dave Wilson and Richard Corbridge.

WHEREAS, There has been organized in this country a band of jingoes calling themselves the Army and Navy League; and

WHEREAS, Their sworn purpose is to increase the army and navy, especially the navy, for therein lies the largest profits for them; and

WHEREAS, The further purpose of this band of jingoes is to enlist the powerful and influential men of all communities in their campaign for the purpose of influencing and coercing if need be the lawmakers of the nation to make enormous appropriations for the engines of death, namely, war ships; and

WHEREAS, A host of the Army and Navy League are, in a business way, connected with the concerns that would reap the profits from the engines of death by supplying rotten armor plate, defective guns, and other rotten material used in the construction; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates, that we deem it to be to the interests of the workers to be opposed to the scheme of systematically robbing the nation, and that the secretary be authorized in the name of organized labor in Illinois to protest to President Wilson, Secretary Garrison and others of the lesser powers that be, against the appropriations that the jingo press tell us is going to be the feature of the December term of Congress.

Resolution No. 29.

Introduced by Delegate John Werlik.

WHEREAS, An effort to place this country on a war footing equal to the military European nations is being made; and

WHEREAS, This movement is fostered by munitions manufacturers and others profiting by war and preparations for war; and

WHEREAS, Preparedness for war means increased taxation, and consequently increased cost of living; and

WHEREAS, It has been demonstrated by the present European war that preparedness for war means war; and

WHEREAS, The working class has nothing to gain in war; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby declares itself unqualifiedly opposed to war and war "preparedness"; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, and to each member of the United States Congress.

Chairman Woll: Resolutions 27 and 29, while differing slightly in viewpoint, nevertheless relate to the same fundamental question of war and preparedness for war.

Your committee having carefully considered these resolutions, deems it unwise and undesirable that organized labor's conception on those questions should be expressed in a conflicting or confusing fashion. These questions are national questions and as such labor's expression and decision should be national in character.

At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor this subject was fully and ably reported on by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, which declarations as well as the report of the committee charged with the duties of reporting upon this subject were unanimously approved by the convention itself.

The report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. upon these questions provides as follows:

"A stupendous conflict is shaking to its foundations the structure of world civilization. The normal relations of commerce and interchange have been disrupted. In Europe values placed upon the interests and purposes of human activity have been reversed.

"Before the war, the thought and effort of civilization were centered upon the development and the glorification of human life. One life was counted of infinite value. The end of progress, development and work was that each individual might have life more abundantly. Indefatigable minds have forced understanding of the unknown that human life might be protected and conserved, and that all the forces and resources of the universe might be put under the control of the will of man. Hearts that were great with love and understanding of the yearnings and aspirations that lie in every life sought to bring beauty and joy into the common life of all. Over all the world was felt the stir of that great ideal—the fellowship of men.

"But since the cataclysm that brought war between nations, all the skill, the inventions, the knowledge of civilization have been perverted to purposes of destruction of human life and devastation of the products of human labor. Men are treated as only military pawns to obey implicitly the command of the general. They are targets for the most perfect guns and destructive ammunition human minds have invented. Things are valued for their life-destroying power more than men. The value of military position is estimated in terms of human lives. The life and the property of the individual are ruthlessly sacrificed to ends of war.

"The cruelty and butchery of the war are appalling. The waste and the suffering in its wake are heart-rending. The blackened homes, the ruined lives, the long procession of homeless, seeking food and shelter from the hands of strangers—all these are the products of war. There are nations that are sending the flower of their manhood to meet almost certain death. The strong, the healthy, the fit, leave the work of the nation to the old and the very young, to women and to children. For centuries the nations will suffer from this mad, stupid waste—for the fathers of the next generations will be the unfit physically and mentally, those whose vision or hearing is imperfect, those of undersize and subnormal development.

"Yet this war with its terrific toll of human lives is the product of artificial conditions and policies and is repugnant to the thought and political progress of the age. The big things of life and civilization are international. But so far we have made little effort or progress in providing agencies for organizing international relations to maintain peace and justice. We realize intellectually that peace and justice should obtain among nations, but we have not yet instituted permanent means adequate to make that conviction a reality.

"A time when we are confronted by the effects and the appalling realities of a most terrible war is a peculiarly appropriate opportunity for the people to think out methods and agencies for the maintenance of peace. The terrible consequences of war which are forced upon us everywhere envelop peace plans with an unusual atmosphere of practicability and urgency. The appeal for peace is getting very close to the American people, the only great nation not directly involved in the war and consequently the nation that holds in its hands the power of mediation and use of its good offices. This opportunity constitutes a duty if we really believe in the fellowship of men and the sacredness of human life.

"For years peace societies and organizations have presented arguments for peace, have adopted peace resolutions, and have declared for various international sentiments, but they have made little effort to give these visions reality in the organization of society and the relations among nations. But the war has shown that war cannot be stopped by paper resolutions and that war cannot put an end to itself. Wars will cease only when society is convinced that human life is really sacred and when society establishes agencies, international as well as national, for protecting lives.

"We profess to believe that all men have inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but we do not see to it that these rights are secured to each individual. Industry is conducted upon the supposition that human life is cheap. Profits are held to be the ultimate end of busi-

ness. Therefore business managers must get profits and in furthering the getting sacrifice the workers in the process. Employers cold-bloodedly calculate in money terms the relative expensiveness of machinery and workers; of the eight-hour day and the twelve-hour day; of child labor and adult labor; of compensation for loss of life and limb and preventive measures. In coal mines, steel works and in transportation, human life is risked and sacrificed with cynical disregard. We profess to believe in democratic freedom, yet domination of power so ruthlessly prevails in industry.

"Consider the statistics of industrial accidents, injuries and deaths. In harmony with this waste of human life in industry is waste of human life in a crude effort to decide political issues on the battlefield.

"When we realize the wonderful possibilities in permitting each individual to develop his abilities and do his work with a sound mind and body, then shall we appreciate the sanctity of living and we shall not dare to hamper development in any way. When this ideal becomes a part of our daily thinking and doing and working, then fellow-beings will not be robbed of that which no one has the power to restore—life. The establishment of this ideal of the sacredness of life is a problem of education. It must be drilled into people, made a part of their very being, and must saturate every mental fibre.

"It is not only that we are shocked at the waste of human life but that we have not yet adjusted ourselves to this particular kind of waste—waste in war. We must realize the awful responsibility for the loss of human life opportunity with clearness and with understanding of the meaning of that waste that nothing will prevent our putting an end to all preventable waste. When conviction is sufficiently compelling practical results will follow. Education and agitation are necessary to create that conviction. Those who wish to abolish war must lose no opportunity to implant the ethics of humanity, to make the sacredness of human life a part of the thought and action of the nations. The power to declare

war must be put in the hands of the people or their chosen representatives.

"In addition to establishing a sentiment and a conviction for peace, there must be agencies established for the maintenance of peaceful relations among nations and for dealing with international issues. Militarism and competitive armament must be abolished and tribunals for awarding justice and agencies for enforcing determinations must be instituted. International interests and issues exist. Political institutions should be established, corresponding to political developments.

"Those most interested should lead in the demands for world federation and the rule of reason between nations. The working people of all lands bear the brunt of war. They do the fighting, pay the war taxes, suffer most from the disorganization of industry and commerce which results from war.

"In accord with the action of the Seattle convention upon the resolution endorsing the Naval Holiday plan proposed by the First Lord of Admiralty of Great Britain that the nations cease from making additions to their navies for the period of one year, and that the plan be urged upon all the labor movements and governments of the civilized world, the President of the American Federation of Labor wrote to President Legien of the International Federation of Trade Unions advising him of this action and requesting that it be conveyed to the various affiliated national centers, for presentation to their respective governments.

"President Legien replied that under the laws of Germany as a representative of a trade union he would not be allowed to forward such a document to the officers of the national trade union centers of the different countries. He stated that in Germany the difference between political and economic organizations was carefully distinguished, and that discussion of the American Federation of Labor resolution would entail consequences limiting their activities. President Legien also stated that it would be inexpedient to circulate the manifesto through the medium of the

International Federation. However, the international office was helpful in having the manifesto translated into several different languages and forwarded to American Federation of Labor headquarters. The translations were sent out from the American Federation of Labor headquarters with the exhortation that the national centers take action similar to the declaration of the Seattle convention.

"Replies to the communication were received from France, Denmark, Great Britain, Austria, Sweden, Holland, South Africa, and Switzerland. The Federation of South Africa did not endorse the resolution.

"The national labor movements can promote the cause of international peace by two complementary lines of action; by creating and stimulating with their own nations a public sentiment that will not tolerate waste of life, and by establishing international relations, understanding and agencies that will constitute an insuperable barrier to policies of force and destruction. With humanization, education, cultivation, the establishment of the rule of reason, occasions for wars and wars themselves will cease. The working people, the masses of the world's population, can end wars if they but have the independence to think and to give their convictions reality by daring to do.

"This convention should, aye, must, adopt some constructive suggestion and take some tangible action upon this world problem which so intimately affects the workers of all countries."

The committee's report to which those questions were referred is as follows:

"Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 48 and 49, the committee reported as follows:

"Your committee is in full accord with the presentation of fundamental principles, the sentiment of which appeals to the higher instincts and ennobling human attributes of mankind and clearly represents labor's declaration that independence, liberty and justice for all mankind are paramount under all circumstances.

"Your committee holds and desires to give expression to the following summaries as our interpretation of the statesmanlike expression of labor's attitude upon this important question: Back of all wars of conquest is the spirit of brutality, greed and commercialism. Back of all revolutionary wars for redress of wrongs is the spirit of independence, liberty, justice and democracy. We declare against the former under all circumstances. In the second instance we emphasize the vast difference between the two kinds of wars and affirm that in the case of oppression, if the people have constitutional means of redress of wrongs and for obtaining liberty, justice and a fuller democracy, such means should be exhausted before resort to arms is justifiable. Where there are no constitutional means of redress available for the people and their destinies are governed and controlled by despotic or hereditary rulers who subordinate the interest and welfare of the toiling masses to the further enrichment of those in control of agencies of power, if the people resort to arms as the last means to obtain the inalienable right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, justice and freedom, we have no words of condemnation."

This then is the attitude and decision of the national labor movement of our country upon these national questions.

Your committee therefore recommends substituting these declarations of the American Federation of Labor in place of the resolutions offered, and that these substantial declarations receive the approval of this convention.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report and recommendations of the committee.

Delegate Buchanan: I should think that Resolution No. 44, bearing on the same subject matter, might be considered with this. I therefore make a motion to that effect.

Chairman Woll: I think it will be hardly possible to merge them now. We have a separate report on Resolution 44. I think Delegate Buchanan will not be disappointed with the report.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 44.

Introduced by Delegate Herman Jessen, Painters' Union No. 275, Chicago.

WHEREAS, One of the main causes for the maintenance of large military and naval establishments, and which is a standing menace to peace between nations, is to be found in the fact that patent rights on the manufacture of arms, munitions and implements of war are in the hands of international combinations of capitalists, who sell their products indiscriminately to the governments of the world and promote the sale of such products by arousing and encouraging feelings of national prejudice and jealousy and by employing the press and the officers of the army and navy to produce periodical war scares in different countries; and

WHEREAS, This menace to international peace can be eliminated and the ultimate disarmament promoted by having the government manufacture its own equipment and articles used for war purposes; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois Federation of Labor, in thirty-third (33rd) annual convention assembled, that all patent rights for arms, munitions and other equipment to be used for war purposes should be acquired by the government, and all such equipment should be manufactured in government establishments.

Chairman Woll: In considering this resolution, your committee could reach no other conclusion than that the question involved in this proposal is of a national character and that the opinion and decision upon same should be national in character.

Your committee finds that the Philadelphia convention of the American Federation of Labor of last year expressed the American labor movement decision on this question in an identical manner as provided in this resolution and that by the approval of this resolution, the Illinois State Federation fully concurs and reaffirms labor's national decision in this matter.

Your committee therefore recommends approval and adoption of this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Buchanan: It is not my desire to delay the proceedings of this convention, but this resolution, to my mind, leads to something that should be discussed. Since I have been in Congress it has been my pleasure to exercise my influence to secure the manufacture of munitions of war by the government, with some degree of success. The first effort I made in the House of Representatives perhaps was breaking a precedent, because after failing to get the committee of which I was a member, the Committee on Naval Affairs, to accept an amendment providing for the extension of a powder plant, I took the floor and defeated my own committee.

The government is now prepared to manufacture all the powder it needs at a saving to the government of about \$250,000 a year, not only saving money but giving the working men more employment, better work and getting better supplies. In my efforts on the Naval Affairs Committee, and opposing the waste of money in the construction of battleships, I stated on the floor of Congress that the battleships then authorized—that was before the war started—by the time they were completed would be obsolete.

What is the demonstration of this war? Great Britain, with her greatest of fleets, allied with Japan, Russia and Italy, in fourteen months of war has not bombarded a city effectively, and their battleground is within one hundred miles of their base of operation. If all that combination of battle fleets cannot be successful under those circumstances, how in the name of God are they going to come two thousand miles across the sea and do anything, provided we are prepared with submarines and aircrafts?

The Navy League, made up of profit-seeking war traffickers, want to combine to secure great profits for the government. When the government manufactures supplies they do it for from 20 to 60 per cent less than they can purchase them for. The

Navy League has ever been active, and that crowd of profit-seeking war traffickers has been busy for some years.

While I have great respect for the judgment of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and the chairman of the Resolutions Committee that this is a national affair, let me say to you that your people back home are as much interested in national affairs as any one who goes anywhere else to a convention. I have felt somewhat out of place here, but I feel that because I am a public official and that I have received better support from trade unionists than almost any other man in high office that I owe it to my fellow trade unionists to be honest in these matters. If I am honest I am going to voice my honest convictions. If they are not in accord with my views on these questions of great import, when election time comes they may be able to send some one they are in accord with.

I am opposed to war. I will not discuss this with any one who is in sympathy with either side. I am an American, my people have been American-born for 250 years. My mother told me last summer that some of her people came over from England with the Pilgrims. I asked what record there was to show it. She said: "I know, and that is record enough." I say this to show that any position I have taken is not due to the fact that I am in sympathy with either side of the question.

How in the name of God, due to the awful spectacle over there now, can labor men become disinterested and fail to oppose one of the most dangerous things that ever confronted the people—militarism? You are not patriotic or good Americans unless you agree with people who are making those representations! Oh, patriotism! The crimes that have been committed in your name! I say patriotism is a love of country and a desire to serve it. It is a cowardly argument to call the other fellow unpatriotic or un-American because he does not happen to agree with some one who believes in spreading militarism over this country so that big business, people who want to own and control the wealth of the coun-

try, may continue to maintain the power they have exercised for a number of years in collecting tribute from the working people.

One of the things I think will have a tendency to stop this is for the government to manufacture all of its supplies for war munitions, armor plate, steel and ships. Then place a tax on large incomes to pay the expense. If you will do that, the trust newspapers of the country which are the mouthpiece of the war traffickers, will turn tail and oppose large expenditures for war, and the Navy League and those people will be without a job.

There is a great deal that can be said about this. I would not have taken this much time at this stage of the session if I had not considered it of great importance, and, representing the Structural Ironworkers here, as I am, I feel it is proper for me to discuss what the laboring people of this country should stand for. The laboring people of the country ought to dispel this spirit of militarism which seems to have run madly and rough-shod over Europe and is about to envelop the people here. The conditions over there are enough to make us sympathize with all of those peoples. It is a spectacle that robs war of all the patriotism and all the glory its advocates credit it with. I want to warn the people against this monstrous militarism.

Chairman Woll: Brother Buchanan, I believe, fully and heartily concurs in the recommendation of the committee. I believe that every delegate to this convention fully concurs in the recommendation of the committee and its proposal. I want to urge upon you the same thing urged upon you by your President in the early days of the proceedings, that this broad, general subject be not discussed except as expressed by your committee, and I sincerely trust the delegates will again at this time acquiesce in the remarks of President Walker.

President Walker: The chair from now on will define discussion to the subject of the resolution, which is the manufacture of munitions by the government.

Delegate Gori: I want to make a motion.

President Walker: The motion is to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Harding, Typographical Union: All I wish to say on this is that I believe, with Congressman Buchanan, that the time is rapidly approaching—and this is an expression that can be joined in by any member of a trade union—when swords shall be beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks, and I know of no resolution that has been introduced in any body that is better than the resolution upon which the committee has made a favorable report. I believe the report of the committee should be concurred in unanimously.

Delegate Golden, Teamsters: I move the previous question. (Seconded and carried.)

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

President Walker: There are two more resolutions. There may be considerable discussion on one of the resolutions. If there is not much discussion the chair would suggest that it be taken up.

Delegate Gori: I want to say a few words and I will then make a motion. If the United States is going to war—

President Walker: The convention has acted upon that question and the subject matter disposed of. Further discussion is not in order.

Delegate Gori: I want to ask why a delegate is not given the right to speak on a subject he wants to speak on?

President Walker: No delegate arose to discuss the question when the committee had finished its recommendation. The motion was put and it was only on a resolution bearing on an entirely different subject that you asked for the floor.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: I move that if there are any more of those resolutions bearing on peace, or war, or preparedness, or anything of that kind, that they be laid upon the table. It is all bunk, anyway!

Chairman Woll continued the report of the committee as follows:

Resolution No. 5.

Submitted by mail, Mine Workers, No. 595.

Signed by Delegates George Stewart, Sam McClements, Steve Bone, Resolution Committee, Mine Workers No. 595, West Frankfort, Ill.

WHEREAS, The Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor urged upon all state branches to work for the enactment of laws limiting the working hours of women and children to eight hours per day and where such laws already exist to begin an agitation for the enactment of a general eight hour law; and

WHEREAS, During the year President Gompers publicly declared that the American Federation of Labor does not favor a legal limitation of the working day for the adult male workers; and

WHEREAS, The said statement of President Gompers was very much effectively used by the opponents of the shorter day in defeating the eight hour initiative which was before the people of California, Oregon and Washington at the present general election; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That at the 34th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor we confirm the declaration of the Seattle convention upon the shorter day, as enunciated, rather than to defeat one of the most humane laws ever sought in the interests of labor.

Resolution No. 30.

Submitted by Resolution Committee of Danville Trades and Labor Council.

At a regular meeting of the Danville Trades and Labor Council, held Feb. 5, 1915, a resolution was unanimously adopted favoring the eight hour law by legislation.

WHEREAS, We have passed from the hand tool to the large modern machine which is taking the place of thousands of men that formerly did the work by hand, and are now doing the same work with large modern ma-

chines, displacing men and women in the ranks of the unemployed for the simple reason that introduction of modern machinery is doing the work with less men, and at the same time the population is increasing, leaving some to work long hours with modern machines while others have no jobs, and

WHEREAS, By shortening the working day and keeping in line with the increased productiveness of modern machinery by shortening the work day to eight hours per day it would put thousands to work that are now jobless, and

WHEREAS, If laws were passed for a general eight hour work day, it would prevent the attacks of gunmen, it would prevent strikes and scabbing pertaining to the eight hour work day by legislation, and

WHEREAS, The preamble of nearly every organization provides for the shortening of the work day to eight hours per day that our members may have more opportunities for intellectual development and social enjoyment, and

WHEREAS, This important proposition pertaining to the eight hour law by legislation was introduced in the 34th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, and was defeated by those that were opposed to the eight hour law by legislation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the 33rd annual convention of the Illinois State Federation that we go on record and hold solid for the eight hour work day by legislation, both industrially and politically, and that every delegate use all of their influence in their local unions, and boost for the eight hour law by legislation, that some day we will be working eight hours per day and thereby keeping in line with the increased productiveness of modern machinery, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates that are delegated to the next convention to the American Federation of Labor, from the Illinois State Federation of Labor be instructed to stand by the eight hour law by legislation

E. W. KIGER, President.

FRED WILLIG, Secretary.

In considering Resolution No. 5, while your committee finds this resolution contradictory in its provisions, confusing in its expression of thoughts and in even as to the actions of the A. F. of L. referred in this resolution, your committee, nevertheless, is of the opinion that its real intent and purpose is similar in character and relates to the same subject contemplated in Resolution No. 30. Your committee has therefore considered these two resolutions as one.

In reporting upon these resolutions your committee hesitates in reporting and commenting either favorably or unfavorably upon the substance of this question. Your committee firmly believes that a policy of one state central labor body expressing a favorable opinion on this question, while a neighboring state organization may report an unfavorable opinion and action on this same question, can only lead to confusion, thereby rendering the forces of labor ineffective and make their efforts barren of any substantial result. To avoid this confusion of ideas, opinions and actions, and to solidify the forces of labor, your committee believes that a final opinion on such questions as these should be crystallized in the convention of our National Labor movement, the American Federation of Labor. In order that the labor forces of all our states may be so united on this, as well as other questions of such a nature, your committee recommends reference of these resolutions to the Executive Board, it being understood that the attitude the Executive Board shall express on this question in behalf of this Federation shall be the attitude which has or will hereafter be determined at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Seidel: I am in favor of the eight hour day being secured by legislation. In Illinois there was a law passed providing for the eight hour day. That law was drawn up by a two-by-four lawyer. I think it is up to the labor people to send men to the legislature who will make laws that can be understood. There are

55,555 who work 48 hours a week, 55,871 between 48 and 54 hours, 120,239 work 54 hours a week, 95,908 work between 54 and 60 hours, 106,908 work 60 hours a week and 10,222 between 60 and 72. There are 12,389 who work 72 hours a week and 1,583 who work over 72 hours in this great State of Illinois.

At the present time there are over 7,691 children under the age of 16 employed in these different establishments. The state employs 26,705. Out of that number 23,000 men work over 60 hours a week. They employ 6,391 out of that number that work in the neighborhood of 72 hours. I could go farther into detail and discuss other institutions. The Steel Trust has over 20,000 employes in this state. Out of that number 17,300 work in the neighborhood of 72 hours and over a week. The American Federation of Labor did not have principle enough to go down there and organize the foreign element, and now the foreign element has to work as many hours as the employers want them to. I think it is up to labor to make a law that every man can get the benefit of. If the laws on the statute books were enforced we would have less unemployment than we have at the present time. I favor the Illinois State Federation of Labor going on record for the eight hour day by legislation.

Delegate Stuart: I cannot for the life of me see how any trade unionist in the United States can take such a stand as Gompers. I realize this will bring out some debate. We want education here; this is the place to get it from intelligent delegates. In the recent elections in three western states the manufacturers' associations effectively used the words of Samuel Gompers opposing eight hours by legislation, which meant the death in these three western states of the eight hour law so far as the labor men are concerned.

I feel this State Federation ought to go on record in favor of eight hours by legislation. In the State of Colorado, where they have no organization, they used to work all kinds of hours, there was no limit to the hours. I have seen men go into the mines after supper and get out of bed at two or three in the morning to work.

When the state legislature passed the eight hour law it gave those poor fellows better conditions. Why cannot that be done in every state in the Union? This convention ought to go on record opposing such tomfoolery as goes on in the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: I am a staunch advocate of the eight hour day; I believe in the principle, and I believe that the eight hour proposition is the keynote to the conditions that now exist; but I am not in favor of eight hours by legislation. I do not favor casting the burden of the labor movement of this country upon tin horn legislators that are in the legislative halls of this nation. I believe the eight hour day should be brought about through the economic efforts of the labor movement, and rather than put that matter in the hands of the legislators of this country I propose now that the laboring men and women of this country say that on the 4th day of next July they will throw down their tools and cease work until the employers give them the eight hour day.

There seem to be some brothers here who are very kindly disposed towards the unorganized? Why should we feel for the unorganized? What is the matter with them that they are not organized? The door of every labor union in this country is thrown wide open for them to come within. But what do they do? They stand on the outside, and then you propose to bring about conditions through legislation to keep them on the outside. I am not in favor of anything of that kind.

As for the American Federation of Labor, that body was agitating in this country for the eight hour day before some of you knew what a labor organization was; they have established a policy for the eight hour day, I believe it is a good one, and that the men of labor and the women of labor will get it through the strength of their organizations. You talk of peace! Did you ever get anything that was any good without fighting for it? Then let us get the eight hour day by fighting for it and we will have something worth having. The eight hour day by law may be

set aside by a stroke of the pen of a trust-owned judge or some other of the petit larceny crew. We have too much law now. If Congress would adjourn and remain adjourned for twenty years it would be the best thing that ever happened. And then when they convene in twenty years not go back to make any more laws but to destroy some of the laws that were there before. That would be the thing that would benefit this country.

Delegate Aspengren: I am opposed to the committee's report. I work under the eight hour day secured by legislation and I want every other laboring man in the country, whether he is a member of a labor union or not, to have it. I want to say for the civil service employes that if Congress stopped for twenty years it would be a bad thing for us. Let us get the eight hour day by legislation, strikes or any other way we can get it.

Delegate Jones: I wish to add a few more statistics on the number of hours men work. There were 199,999 that did not work any hours.

Delegate Mary O'Reilly: I am opposed to the committee's report, and before I speak upon that I want to make the suggestion that the gentleman who had the statistics file them with the committee for the benefit of the Committee on Unemployment. I am in favor of having a question like that settled at this convention and at each state convention and not referred to the executive board. Referring to the executive board is an undemocratic way of doing things and only suitable for emergency.

The eight hour day affects the women workers and we have had the same argument in a convention of the Women's Trade Union League. When you meet such questions and you think of standing against an economic measure of that sort, which is necessary for the defense of the conditions of the people at work and for the equitable distribution of labor and the protection of the unemployed, unless you can settle it in your deliberations, in your conventions and go to the legislature for it you have practically reached the extreme Brother Connors

talks of, and I want to take my place on the other extreme of the argument. His argument against this legislation would apply against any legislation. If you say: "Work against this economic legislation," you might as well say, "Abolish all legislation." What is left? Nothing but to strike.

When we face that matter of the general strike anybody who has considered it can only say that if we had organization enough to carry on a successful general strike we would not need a general strike; we would take possession of the legislature and the courts and they would be our own. Then we could make the laws Brother Connors wants and throw out the ones he doesn't want. I am not sure of Brother Connors on suffrage and he might want something thrown out that we might want in. We could put in the kind of courts that could read the law and see the labor side and we might have some judge-made laws of our own. If we had the power and the organization necessary to make every man put down his tools on the 4th of July, the 17th day of March or any other day, we would have labor sufficiently well organized so that we would not need to do anything at all. We could quietly and peaceably take possession of the ballot box. But it is a long road to reach that and on the way I am glad that organized labor stands for as much legislation as we can get by whatever methods we can get it.

Delegate Connors: On a question of personal privilege.

Delegate Williams (A.): A point of order on his personal privilege. His character has not been assailed.

President Walker: Brother Connors would have been through if you had let him make his statement.

Delegate Connors: If Miss O'Reilly had been very long in the labor movement and knew very much about the trials and tribulations and fights I don't believe she would take that position. I believe if the men and women of labor organize they will be in a position where they won't have to strike; but it is just because of this soft pedal stuff shoved through among the working people to induce them to keep out of their organiza-

tion that is making it a continual war for us who do see the benefits of organization. I am going to tell you a little story.

Delegate Harding: A point of order. Delegate Connors is making another speech on the question before the house.

President Walker: The chair will have to rule the point is well taken.

Delegate Connors: I will yield, Mr. Chairman, with these few brief remarks: That I don't believe a man gets very much justice when he gets up to talk for himself if somebody tries to shut him off before they know what he is going to talk about. There is John Harding who has called me to order, and he never talked to a question in his life!

Delegate McDonald (D.): I hope the two delegates from the Windy City will settle their differences. I tried to maintain a neutral position on the question because they are both Irish and I don't want to get mixed up.

This is a question I believe the convention should take a firm position on. I agree with Miss O'Reilly when she says this is not a question to be submitted to the executive board, because I don't believe there is a gentleman in this convention who is not heartily in favor of an eight hour day, getting it through the organizations, if possible, but getting it any way. One of the reasons we have the unemployed is because of the fact we have been unable, up to this time, to reduce the hours of labor and divide it over a greater field.

There are other questions involved in this. I was a little surprised at the speaker who said we should do this all through our economic organizations, because there are certain things that have been brought to my attention by railroad men and switchmen, a railroad coupler law and other things that were brought about by legislative enactment. The miners have had the eight hour day since 1898. We have quit quibbling about the eight hour day and want a six hour day, but there are others to take into consideration, and I am not opposed to getting them into the labor

movement and having them make their fight there. But what are we going to do with the women and little children who are not allowed to organize?

Another reason I rise in this connection is to defend the policy of the State Federation of Labor. The State Federation of Labor and its distinguished president exerted every effort possible in a number of sessions of the General Assembly of Illinois to try to secure a shorter work day for the women particularly. If we say now we are not going to favor an eight-hour day by legislation every member of the Illinois General Assembly can say to President Walker and his associates when they go back to the next legislature that they don't know what they are talking about, because the State Federation convention did not favor the eight-hour day by legislation.

When we all get the eight hour day by reason of the introduction of machinery let us go out for a six hour day. We want the eight hour day for everybody and we are not particular how we get it. This delegation should unite for an eight hour day by any means we can get it. In the last American Federation of Labor convention Mr. Mitchell made a splendid talk in favor of this proposition, and so did others, and as far as I am concerned I am going to reserve the right to disagree with the American Federation of Labor whenever they come out and say: "We are opposed to an eight hour day by legislation." The delegation from the Pacific Coast was there fighting because of the fact that when they tried to get the initiative, referendum and eight hour day in their states they were met with this situation: The Manufacturers' Association got out posters stating in big words, "Samuel Gompers Opposes the Eight Hour Day by Legislation." I am not bringing this up on account of personal feeling, but when that was used to prevent them from getting a shorter work day I object. When we get the eight hour day we will demand the six hour day by organization, legislation, or any way we can get it.

Delegate Connors: I would like to have you answer, if you can, Brother

McDonald, how did the miners in this state secure the eight hour day?

Delegate McDonald (D.): In Chicago in 1898 by joint agreement with the mine owners.

Delegate Connors: Through a threat of strike?

Delegate McDonald: No, sir.

Delegate Connors: Can you explain why John R. Lawson was recently sentenced to the penitentiary in Colorado?

Delegate McDonald: That is a rather big question. One of the reasons he was sentenced to the penitentiary, and the chief reason, is because the Standard Oil Company, or the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, controlled the old parties that were handling that situation.

Delegate Connors: Well, I am a Socialist, remember that.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers: Delegate McDonald has given ample and sufficient reasons why the recommendation of the committee should be adopted by this convention when he stated that when the California State Federation of Labor sought to enact eight hour legislation the attitude of the American Federation of Labor in this respect made its efforts absolutely fruitless. And so we feel that if this convention approves of eight hours by legislation, unless the attitude of the American Federation of Labor is changed on that point, any effort that may be made by your Federation, because of this conflict of opinion, will be useless.

We believe as a committee in recommending to you things of a practical character. Assuming that in a neighboring state the federation may take an entirely different view of this question of eight hours by legislation, and decides unfavorably while this state may decide favorably, you men of practical knowledge know that the attitude of such a federation would be effectively used against any effort you might make here. The recommendation of the committee does not ask this convention to express itself in favor or not in favor of eight hour legislation, but seeks to have the matter finally determined by the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor itself in order that labor's efforts may be united on this question and so that conflicting expressions cannot be used derogatory to the interests of labor and the progress of its declarations.

I am surprised that reference has been made to the appeal of women and children; I am surprised that it has been brought into this discussion, and that the brother under civil service, a government employe, has brought the question as it affects governmental employes into this recommendation. The American Federation of Labor's declaration was not carried by a large vote, quite a difference of opinion was shown; but the declaration made at that convention and the declaration of the American Federation of Labor today is in favor of eight hour legislation for women and children, it is in favor of eight hour legislation for municipal and governmental employes, it is in favor of denying government, state or municipal, the right of contracting for any supplies or making any contract where labor is involved unless the eight hour day is provided for.

It is wrong, it is not fair to bring in the appeal of women and children and municipal employes into a matter of this kind. The question is solely this: Shall we seek to have general legislation for the adult male worker, denying the right of any one to ask him to work or to permit him to work for more than eight hours a day? Let us look at this in a practical light. If I understand labor's activities all these past years in so far as legislation is concerned I think most of our grievances, I think most activities of the labor movement have not been to secure additional legislation, but the constant fight has been against legislation that has been and still is on the books. And our fight has been against the judiciary using the common law, with all its doctrines of property, in trying to free labor from this growth of judge-made law.

And now you propose that we shall go further into legislation, that we shall submit ourselves to the dictum of government further than we have in the past. It has been our constant fight against law to obtain freedom of action, freedom of joint and collect-

ive efforts, and now you propose further enslavement under law. Those who have given this matter careful thought know that under our constitutional provision it is a most difficult task to have legislation of this kind declared constitutional and enforced by our government. We know the difficulties we have had in seeking to legislate a maximum of working hours for the women and children, and it is only under the police powers of the state that legislation of that character has been sustained. It is true also that the legislation of eight hours for adult male labor has been partially sustained, but I am confident that any legislation of a general character making it impossible for a man to work more than eight hours, or making it impossible for someone to demand that, the courts will hold unconstitutional, and even if you succeed all your efforts will be destroyed by your judiciary.

Of course you will say: "We will elect our legislators and our judges." Well, you may do that, but you have a long way to travel. If you will look up your constitutional government, how it is conducted and constructed, you will possibly find that it will not be during our life time. You may succeed in placing in office as judges of Cook county men with cards in their pockets, but you cannot control the Federal Supreme Court, which tribunal is, after all, the ultimate determining factor. By constitutional provision those men are placed in their positions for life. It is a deplorable condition of affairs, but it is a practical question, and if you seek to change the rule of that supreme court, look up your Federal constitution and see how far we have to go to accomplish that end. Even if we are successful, let us heed that exhortation of Brother Duncan McDonald's, "Let us consider the other fellow, too," and so let us here give equal consideration to the interests of our respective membership.

I speak for my own organization. I cannot speak as intelligently for others. I presume most of you, the miners particularly, favor it because you have been successful to a degree under it. I say "to a degree," because it needs some explanation. In

my organization and in many trade unions we seek to bring about a condition of trade where our members are not going to have employment for only six months in the year, but we seek to bring about a condition where our men may be employed twelve months in the year if it is possible; and we know only too well that in all trades the conditions fluctuate, and so in our particular trade it fluctuates. With our apprenticeship rules we have been able to establish a condition whereby during our dull period of trade our unemployed labor market is small and the period of unemployment brief. If such a law as this is adopted it will mean a destruction of our apprenticeship rules, because we would have to supply enough labor to do the work when the busy period is on, and as a consequence during the dull period our labor market will be flooded with unemployed labor. I ask that you give fair consideration to each craft and each organization and that you act upon this matter, not only as you would like, but as conditions confront you.

Delegate Golden: I rise to move that debate cease. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate MacGowan: I don't think it is fair on the part of this convention to close debate after giving only one member of the committee a chance to explain his position.

Delegate Williams (A.): How do you expect to bring pressure to bear on the American Federation of Labor, even if the state federations do favor it? How do you expect to change their views?

President Walker: The answer would be a discussion of the main subject.

Delegate McDonald (D.): May I ask a question? Do I understand from the chairman that the executive board is instructed to act in this matter in accord with the policy of the American Federation of Labor which has been adopted?

Chairman Woll: Which it may adopt.

Delegate McDonald: And if the American Federation of Labor acts as

it did last year the State Federation will have to follow.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was lost.

Delegate Jessen: I move that the resolutions be adopted. (Seconded and carried.)

PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

Chairman Woll of the Committee on Resolutions read the following recommendation in regard to the portion of President Walker's report referred to the Committee on Resolutions:

In reporting upon the President's report, the Committee on Officers' Reports recommended the preparation and presentation of resolutions, expressing the decision of this convention as to the necessity of securing sufficient funds to enable the State Factory Inspector's Department to carry on the work of this department in the most efficient manner possible.

Upon instruction of this convention your committee presents the following resolution for your approval and adoption:

WHEREAS, It cannot be questioned that this Illinois State Federation of Labor, together with organized labor in general has been the factor that has influenced the enactment of the law creating the Illinois Department of Factory Inspection and the statutes that come under it for enforcement, and

WHEREAS, After the struggle to have these laws enacted we find that by reason of inadequate appropriation to conduct the department these laws are made ineffective in instances and that the State of Illinois is spending millions of dollars per annum for the conservation of hogs and cattle while only \$92,000 per annum is appropriated for the conservation of human health, limbs and life, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do hereby instruct the incoming officers to do everything possible to bring about adequate appropriations for the Factory Inspection Department.

The report and resolution of the committee were adopted.

In concluding its report, your committee feels itself impelled, not only as a matter of duty but as an honor and pleasure to offer the following resolution for your approval:

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to this, the 33rd annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, adopt this method of expressing our cordial appreciation for the kindly spirit of welcome extended to us by the trade union representatives of the Trades and Labor Assembly, the Building Trades Council and affiliated local unions of Alton, Ill., and for the generous provision which was made for the holding of this convention and for the entertainment provided for all in attendance to this convention.

That we extend our kind admiration for the interest which has been shown by the trade unionists of this city for the comfort and social enjoyment of all attending this convention.

That we hereby record our appreciation for the spirit of fairness which has been shown by the newspapers of Alton and in their sincere desire to give the public an accurate account of our proceedings.

T. T. MOOREHEAD,
C. S. SPERRY,
W. K. BROWN,
WM. HALL,
GEO. F. GOLDEN,
RICHARD WHENNEN,
FRED WITTIG,
JOHN C. HARDING,
MARTIN M'GRAW,
JOHN J. KEARNEY,
CHARLES M'GOWAN,
MATTHEW WOLL,

Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Lichtenstein: In view of the argument on the previous resolution anything the organizations cannot get by fighting we should not insist on trying to get through legislation.

Delegate Connors: Some people have heads on them like a bell, with nothing in them but a tongue, and they don't ring true. I suppose that was a slap at me, but I don't mind it.

The section of the report last read was adopted.

Chairman Woll moved the adoption of the report as a whole as adopted by the convention. (Seconded.)

Delegate MacGowan: The committee considered all the questions referred to it and considered them in the best manner possible. Insinuations were made here this afternoon that the committee's action on the eight hour resolution was not actuated by a sincere motive. Had all the members of the committee been given an opportunity to defend their positions I think they would have outlined the reasons they made the recommendation they did.

The motion to adopt as a whole was carried.

Delegate Bruce, Street Railway Men, moved that the convention extend a rising vote of thanks to the committee for its work. (Seconded and carried.)

Secretary Olander read the following telegram:

Los Angeles, Cal., Oct. 22, 1915.

V. A. Olander, Secretary.

Care Convention Illinois State Federation of Labor, Alton, Ill.

On behalf of Schmidt and Caplan, two trade unionists on trial in Superior Court of Los Angeles County, we earnestly appeal to you for a substantial contribution to the defense fund. These brothers are in the fight to the finish and although they have suffered a terrible blow by the death of Judge Fairall, leading counsel, they are still certain of victory through the assistance and co-operation of the union men and women of this country.

TOM BARKER,
Secretary-Treasurer, Defense Fund.

O. A. TVEITMOE,
Secretary-Treasurer Building Trades Council of California.

Secretary Olander moved that the communication be referred to the Finance Committee. (Seconded and carried.)

Fraternal Delegate Cope: I am loath to ask for any of the time of this convention, but there is one matter of importance I wish to bring to your attention. I was interested in

the resolution dealing with that phase of the working class movement in regard to the Industrial Relations Commission. That affects not only Illinois, but every other state. I am glad of the action that was taken, but I wish to say that report has been made possible by the action principally of one man who happens to be a citizen of the state I represent, Frank P. Walsh, of Kansas City, and I am going to ask the convention, by resolution or otherwise, to offer some words of commendation to him. I know that Frank P. Walsh has had in mind just as much the workers of the state of Illinois as he had the workers of Missouri. The working people of Missouri would appreciate such a word of commendation from your state. Whether they are Republicans, Democrats or Socialists they are for Frank P. Walsh, not alone for what he has done for us, but for the honor and fine integrity of the man who has taken the position he has.

BUSH CONTROVERSY.

President Walker: The convention yesterday sent a telegram to Walter Bush requesting him to appear before the convention. Mr. Bush is here. It is up to the convention now to make disposition of the matter that has been considered here. If there is no objection it will be considered now.

I do not know whether it will be considered fair or unfair, but, in view of the elements that enter into the matter, I have felt that possibly some one not a member of the Executive Board should be in the chair. I have thought that possibly President Woll, of the Photo-Engravers International Union, which is part of the printing trades, and who is also president of the International Allied Printing Trades Council, of which the printers' organization is a part, would make a suitable chairman for the occasion. He is experienced in handling these matters, and unless there is objection I will ask him to act as chairman during the hearing of this matter.

Delegate Matthew Woll in the chair.

Chairman Woll: As I understand, the matter before this convention at this time is the action taken upon the report of the Committee on Officers'

Reports. In order that every delegate will have a clear conception of that report I will ask the secretary to read the part of the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports dealing with this question.

Secretary Olander read the following portion of the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports, submitted to the convention Thursday afternoon:

Disruptionists.

"Your committee, realizing that serious and unfounded charges have been lodged against the President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in a cowardly way, through the medium of the Peoria Labor Gazette, a paper whose editor and manager, Walter S. Bush, is a discredited member of the Central Labor Body of Peoria, Ill., reports as follows: Your committee does not believe that the charges referred to can be substantiated and were intended to injure President Walker in the eyes of the labor movement for political purposes. Your committee places explicit confidence in the honesty and integrity of John H. Walker, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

"We therefore recommend that said Walter S. Bush be cited to appear before this convention to substantiate the charges he makes against President Walker, and in the event of his failure to prove the aforesaid charges, or fails to appear, that he be henceforth expelled from the labor movement as far as the Illinois State Federation is concerned."

Chairman Woll: Before proceeding I will ask Mr. Bush to step to the platform.

Mr. Bush remained seated with the printers' delegation.

Delegate Goodwin: In behalf of Mr. Bush I desire to make a motion.

Chairman Woll: The chair has not recognized you. As I understand, the action taken thus far by the convention is to have taken cognizance of the charges made, and unless Mr. Bush is able to convince this convention that they are well founded that he be expelled from this body as far as it is possible for this State Federa-

tion to do. This involves hearing the charges against the President, then hearing Mr. Bush, allowing both gentlemen to present such testimony as they deem advisable. Having done so the matter is then for the convention to determine whether the evidence presented to the convention is such as to satisfy the convention that the report of the committee is correct.

Delegate Goodwin, Typographical Union: We desire to object to this method of procedure, and on the part of Brother Bush I move that this whole matter be referred to a committee for investigation.

Chairman Woll: The chair will rule that out of order. Mr. Bush, I understand, is not a delegate to this convention. The exception of the delegate would conflict with the action of this convention, because the motion is clear that Mr. Bush be cited to appear before this convention.

Delegate Goodwin: And Mr. Bush is here and ready to take part in the proper procedure. In behalf of Mr. Bush I desire the record to show that he appeals from the action of the chair and the procedure in this case.

Chairman Woll: I ask of the convention a fair, honest hearing and consideration of statements of both your President and Mr. Bush, and urge that no feeling or sentiment be manifested in any outward expression. Brother Walker has the floor.

Delegate Wright, Typographical Union: I rise to a point of order. You rule, I understand, that no appeal from this procedure will be allowed.

Chairman Woll: I have ruled that Mr. Bush, not being a delegate, any such request on his part would be out of order.

Delegate Wright: Would an appeal from another delegate from your ruling be allowed?

Chairman Woll: The chair rules such course of procedure would not be in order, for this reason: The convention having requested Brother Bush's presence in the convention the ruling can only be set aside if that is reconsidered.

Delegate Wright: I wish to give notice that I, as a delegate to this convention, will appeal from your decision denying me the right of appeal.

Chairman Woll: The chair has not denied you the right to appeal to this convention from the chair's ruling. The chair ruled that the question is out of order. Do I understand Delegate Wright appeals from the decision of the chair?

Delegate Wright: Not at all in the sense you are placing it. I propose to appeal to the American Federation of Labor from your decision in this case denying me the right of an appeal to the American Federation of Labor.

President Walker: I rise to a point of order on the appeal of Delegate Wright. The American Federation of Labor is the authority that will pass on any appeals that may come to it, not this convention. This convention has no jurisdiction over appeals made to the American Federation of Labor.

Chairman Woll: If the chair's remarks are interpreted or understood to mean that there is no appeal from this convention to the American Federation of Labor the speaker who raised that point is entirely in error, because the chair has not mentioned the American Federation of Labor in his ruling.

Delegate Wright: So we may have the matter straightened out and there will be no misunderstanding about the matter—and I am not going to speak on the merits of the case, reserving that possibly for the future—my colleague asked for a trial committee, which was denied him, and he gave notice of an appeal, which was denied. I then gave notice that I was going to file an appeal. The point of order was raised that that had nothing to do with this—and the point of order of Brother Walker is absolutely correct. Neither this convention nor the chair can deny me the right of appeal.

Chairman Woll: So there will be no mistake, do I understand Brother Wright has asked to have this referred to a committee?

Delegate Wright: Yes.

Chairman Woll: Inasmuch as the convention decided Mr. Bush should appear before the convention, that ruling of the convention can only be changed by parliamentary procedure, by a motion to reconsider the former procedure. You reserve the right, you say, to appeal to the American Federation of Labor?

Delegate Wright: If the convention will kindly bear with me for a moment I will give you our position. It is simply this: The convention demanded the presence of the man here. He is here. We as trade unionists ask to have a jury of his peers, a trial committee, appointed where witnesses and evidence may be brought forward. And I say frankly we will be the first to condemn one of our brothers who is not correct. The only thing we want is a fair and impartial trial in the manner set forth into the constitution of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Labor and other organizations.

Chairman Woll: The action of the convention is: "That Walter S. Bush be cited to appear before this convention to substantiate the charges he makes against President Walker, and in the event of his failure to prove the aforesaid charges, or fails to appear, that he be henceforth expelled from the labor movement so far as the Illinois State Federation of Labor is concerned."

The chair rules that the action of this convention is that he appear before the convention. If it is the desire of any delegate that this matter be referred to a committee it is within his province to move that the former action be reconsidered. Any other course is not in order.

Delegate Keefe, Engineers: I rise for information. Is Mr. Bush going to go ahead with his end of the trial or is he going to come here and take records?

Chairman Woll: The chair is in no position to make that statement for Mr. Bush.

President Walker: I hold in my hand the Peoria Labor Gazette of July 23, 1915. On page 4 it says: "Walter S. Bush, Editor." On the first column,

front page, it says: "Fake Co-operative Stores." "Thirty-five Fake Stores." "Walker & Co., Ltd., and their Joint Stock Cos." Below those headlines the article goes on to say:

"We publish below a list of alleged Co-operative stores being promoted by John H. Walker, the present president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. With the possible exception of the Chicago store (about which more anon) not one of these Walker fostered stores could pay its legitimate bills today. John Walker, traveling at the expense of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and drawing a large salary to attend to the business of that body, puts in his time acting as general promoter of these precarious business concerns. These stores are mere Joint Stock Concerns and are no more co-operative stores than is the Steel Trust or the Harvester Combine. Every wage worker who is a participant in these 'fake' Co-operative stores has to first put up his hard earned dollars and then continually meet swift recurring assessments upon his holdings.

"The 'sucker' stands this for a while and then comes a day when he is unable to pay or unwilling to be further duped and his stock 'falls in,' he 'falls out,' and the 'inner circle' enjoys the benefit of the money out of which he has been deluded. It is simply the regular old freeze-out game, with some modern 'get-rich-quick' frills, and works like a charm as long as suckers last. These Co-operative stores always go broke and leave the stockholders holding the empty bag, while the smooth promoters and commission drawers ride about the state in Pullman cars and pose as benefactors of mankind. Understand that behind all these 'fake' and behind the fake promoters is the big jobbing house in the large cities which pay large commissions to labor leaders and others to organize these 'sap-sucker' stores and while remaining in the shadow, pull the wires and manipulate their automatons and the poor deluded wage worker pays the freight and finally goes broke boosting with his hard earned dollars and dimes, the fakes which flourish for a brief time in the name of Co-operative institutions.

"Co-operation, real co-operation handled by sincere men and women can be a blessing to its associate adherents but Fake Joint Stock Man traps are mere delusions and snares and the Peoria Labor Gazette shall mercilessly expose them in order to prevent further swindling of gullible wage workers who might be misled into investigating their savings in these sink holes of false finance.

"Fake Co-operative Stores in Illinois.

"Chicago — Universal Trading and Supply Co., Henry C. Holm, 35th and Morgan Sts.

Cuba—Jas. Cooper.

Gillespie—Robt. McKechan.

Sawyer—B. M. Flaherty.

W. Frankfort—T. R. Owens.

Herrin—Hugh Willis, 612 S. 22nd St.

Harrisburg—Jas. Hindmarsh.

Streator—Wm. Topham, S. Illinois St.

Peoria—Eugene Doe, 1003 Garden St.

Kort Kamp (Schram City)—C. F.

White, R. R. No. 2, Hillsboro.

Christopher—To the Manager.

Eldorado—Geo. W. Mathien.

Sesser—Earl C. Finlay, also R. E.

Baty.

Royalton—Adolph Heberer, Box 73.

Benld—Louis Riggoth, Box 567.

Rock Island—Jas. W. Fuller, 523 W.

5th St., Davenport, Ia.

Danville—E. A. Ogan, 1202 N. McKinley Ave.

Glen Carbon—Albt. F. Groetke.

Staunton—Peter Moerth, Manager, Union Fuel & Supply Co.

Mt. Olive—J. F. Riley.

Humphries—Allan S. Haywood, Pawnee R. R.

Farmington—G. Remington, Box 797.

DuQuoin—Joe Hartley.

Centralia—N. J. Paris, Central City.

Marian—Henry Dunbar, R. R. 7.

Murphysboro—John Wischer, 632 N. 11th St.

Panama—Temple Donaldson.

Rockford—Allison Stientorf, 1357 Rural St.

Chicago—Prof. Carl D. Sandburg, 2850 Logan Blvd.

O'Fallon—D. L. Thomas.

Benton—Buel T. Davis, 1260 N. Jasper St.

Cedar Point—Matt Vitton

Odin—Manager, Miners' Union Store, Cleveland Rippy, Box 51.

Nokomis—Thos. Hunter.

Johnson City—Jas. Hope, Box 385.

Rock Island—Victor Swanson.

Danville—Alvin Hardin, 40 Jackson St."

In the Peoria Gazette of July 30, 1915, they have in large type: "Exposure of \$50,000 Co-operative Swindle!" and link in Walker's name, making it appear to the average reader that Walker was connected with it, although it makes it clear it is in Indianapolis. In another notice in a July issue it goes on to make the same statement about the fake co-operative stores. In the August 6th issue quotations are made from a number of other papers that carried the previous stories carried in the Peoria Labor Gazette, commenting on them, and the Peoria Labor Gazette reprints those stories and comments on them. I am stating this to make clear that other newspapers throughout the country were publishing the statements.

In the August 13th issue are the captions: "Walker Must Answer!" "Co-operative Swindle." "Light Turned On." It carries a statement printed in the Galesburg Labor News, commenting on the article contained in their paper. The Galesburg paper says I must answer the charges and they say I must answer the charges. I am pointing this out to show that it is acknowledged those charges were made in the Peoria Labor Gazette.

In the August 27th issue of the Peoria Labor Gazette it is shown that Walter S. Bush is now manager. This issue contains a statement: "The Illinois Co-operative Law a Transparent Swindle." "Walker Plants a Dead-fall." "Exposure of Colossal Swindle!" and then follows the headline "The Fake Co-operative Again," and in italics certain portions of it that they call attention to for the purpose of emphasis. In one of them they call attention to the fact in italics that each member is liable to pay the indebtedness of the firm, leaving the impression that he is liable for the full indebtedness of the firm, but goes on in ordinary type to say: "to the amount for which he subscribed as a stockholder," which is the law. There are numerous efforts to mislead by printing portions of this law in italics. There is nothing but the headlines to

leave the impression that they were swindled, that I swindled them; and, depending upon the misleading italics and the lack of knowledge of our people, to leave the impression in their minds that I have swindled them, that I was a hypocrite and a Judas.

Mr. Chairman, those are the main charges and the only ones about which I am concerned. They are the ones in which my honesty as a man and my integrity as a trades unionist are, in the most raw, plain manner questioned. The charge is made that I am dishonest and that I have organized fake co-operative stores, that I am swindling our members, that I swindled our membership in helping to bring about the enactment of the law that was enacted in the last session of the legislature for my own private personal gain.

I repeat again that if a particle of proof can be presented to justify those charges I am not going back in the chair; the end is here for Walker as your president. I ask that that proof be forthcoming now. I don't ask any man here—I never asked favors in my life, I don't want them, I won't take them—I ask you to do what you would want done with yourselves if you were dishonest and committed a crime, or what you would want done with yourselves if you were innocent and charged with committing such a crime.

Chairman Woll: Mr. Bush has the floor.

Mr. Bush: At this time I have got nothing to say, but simply stand upon the appeal as presented by Brother Wright.

Delegates throughout the hall urged Mr. Bush to speak.

Chairman Woll: Mr. Bush has been asked to state his side of the question and bring proof to substantiate his charges. If he does not desire to do so this convention cannot compel him to do so.

Mr. Bush: I acknowledge that those articles did appear in the Peoria Labor Gazette.

Chairman Woll: Does Brother Bush wish to make any further statement?

Mr. Bush: All I ask is a trial committee, Mr. Chairman.

Delegate Jessen: I would like to ask Brother Bush if he read the telegram that was sent. It states something in there. If he does not answer for those charges it means something.

Chairman Woll: Brother Bush was cited to appear, not to answer the telegram, but the decision of the convention. Have you made every statement you desire to this convention, Mr. Bush? I understand he has nothing further to say except acknowledging the printing of the articles read here and the demand for a trial committee. Is that correct?

Mr. Bush: That is correct. All I ask is a trial committee.

President Walker: I would like to ask a question through the chair. I will ask Mr. Bush if he knows of one single instance that I ever got a penny from a co-operative store, directly or indirectly, in which there was any taint of dishonesty in any shape or form?

Chairman Woll: Do you care to answer, Mr. Bush?

Delegate Wright: Brother Bush has asked me to answer. Brother Bush assures me that to his knowledge Brother Walker has never received one dollar of any money that did not come to him in a legitimate manner, that he did not receive one cent so far as he knows.

President Walker: I would like to ask Mr. Bush if he knows of his own knowledge where I at any time, in any way, under any circumstances, attempted to or did assist to organize in any way, shape or form, a store from any dishonest motive or other than honestly as best I knew how on the basis of either the Roachdale or the Belgium plan?

Delegate Wright: Mr. Bush asks me to reply that he does not desire to make any personal charges against President Walker as far as honesty is concerned. Mr. Bush also asks me to reply for him that he will answer all questions in the trial of this case.

Chairman Woll: Is there any further statement to be made by either of these gentlemen at this time?

Delegate Werlik: I rise to a point of order. The question of President Walker is not answered.

Delegate Connors: As chairman of the committee that assisted in framing the recommendation I would like to ask a few questions.

Chairman Woll: Have both men had full opportunity to present their positions to this convention?

President Walker: One more question. I would like to ask Mr. Bush if he does not believe that the delegates to this convention would be an honest, conscientious jury, that they would give a fair decision in any case, to the best of their knowledge, that was brought before them affecting any man who is a trade unionist?

Chairman Woll: The chair does not care to rule on the matter, but I think a question of that nature would be best not asked.

The question was withdrawn.

Delegate Wright: I would like to make a short statement in Mr. Bush's behalf on this point.

A Delegate: Is this convention trying the printers or trying Mr. Bush? Hasn't he a tongue?

Chairman Woll: The Typographical Union is not being tried. Brother Wright is representing Brother Bush in these matters.

Delegate Argust: I rise to a question of personal privilege.

Chairman Woll: May I ask where and on what ground your character has been assailed. The chair is not mindful of any such statement.

Delegate Argust: I want to say only about three words.

Chairman Woll: You are out of order. Proceed, Brother Wright.

Delegate Wright: The point I wish to refer to is this: Every organization, every labor union says that a man's character is something that is sacred and shall not be attacked. That applies to both these gentlemen, and it is not within the province of either one or the other to

make an attack without being ready to qualify for the defense of the attack. I believe that is a fair statement of the case.

Chairman Woll: This is the statement of Brother Bush and not of yourself.

Delegate Wright: I am trying to make the statement for him. In our different organizations we say a man shall have a jury of his peers. The suggestion is made that it will be impossible, or that Brother Bush should be satisfied to try it before a committee of the whole. Brother Bush is not satisfied to try it before a committee of the whole, for a very simple and fundamental reason. First, he is entitled to written charges; second, he is entitled to a trial committee; third, he is entitled to sufficient time to bring forward any proof he may have, any witnesses he may have, so that when the matter is presented to a committee of the whole it will not be a question of veracity between one, two, three or a half dozen members, but a question of fact.

Mr. Chairman, until the matter can become a question of fact, Mr. Bush would prefer not to take the matter up in that way. He is willing to appear before any committee, however constituted. All he asks is an opportunity to have a fair and impartial trial according to the laws of the labor unions. He says he has witnesses; he says he has documents to bring forth. If he has, I think he should have the opportunity to do so.

President Walker: The reasons that organizations provide laws for trial by jury, the reason that laws are provided for juries in civil cases, is the fact that it is impracticable to allow all these people to be in court hearing the evidence to decide the case.

Delegate Bruce: I rise to a point of order. We ruled yesterday that this convention would be the trial board and the jury. You have made that ruling since the controversy came up, Mr. Chairman, and I think Brother Walker is out of order in referring to any committee.

Chairman Woll: The chair rules that both parties to this matter are to be given full opportunity to present whatever they deem essential on this question.

President Walker: This is not an ordinary case being tried in a court in which there is any question about the evidence. The evidence presented by myself is contained in the papers printed by Mr. Bush—no second-hand authority, he is the man who is responsible. I am only asking, if his own statements are true, for him to furnish the evidence. His statement that he knows of no money that I received in connection with the co-operative stores or society, his statement that he makes no personal charges against my motives in itself, is all the proof necessary, if he is responsible for those charges in that paper.

I am not going to attempt—I would not do it under ordinary circumstances—but if there is a jury trial set for the investigation of this proposition it means that everywhere the fact that Walker is being investigated as a fakir, a swindler and a thief, is the thing that will go to the world, and nothing else will ever catch up with it. I understand what this means—I have had this experience so much I know exactly what the purpose is. I don't think any honest man who is furnished with his own documents and who has had the opportunity this gentleman had to bring his proof here can claim he has been dealt with unfairly if he is unable to prove those charges.

After printing this stuff and sending it out all over the world—yes, International Board Member Zimmerman of this state got a copy of a paper in central Pennsylvania, District 2, the bituminous field of our organization, containing that stuff—men wanted to know what the facts in the case were, they wanted to know if Walker was swindling those people, organizing fake stores—they had not thought he was that kind of a man, but there was the paper and they wanted to know. In Scranton, Pa., the same thing happened. These papers contain excerpts from other papers. Now he acknowledges he doesn't know of any money I have

gotten dishonestly in any way, shape or form out of these things, and is not charging me with any wrong personal motive. I don't know what more proof you would want to convince you he is either telling the truth now and was lying then, or was telling the truth then and is lying now.

I don't want to let my feelings carry me away. Usually a man gets a thicker hide as he goes on; usually in the old days I used to take these things as a joke—and if they got too strong we settled it personally. I don't mean to do anything that will reflect on this convention or this organization. So far as I am concerned I am willing to let the thing stand as it is and let the convention decide.

Chairman Woll: Does Brother Bush have anything further to say?

Mr. Bush made no reply to the question.

Chairman Woll: Both gentlemen, having been given an opportunity to give whatever evidence they cared to, the matter now before the convention, as per your action recorded in Thursday afternoon's proceedings, which reads: "We therefore recommend that said Walter S. Bush be cited to appear before this convention to substantiate the charges he makes against President Walker, and in the event of his failure to prove the aforesaid charges, or fails to appear, that he be henceforth expelled from the labor movement so far as the Illinois State Federation of Labor is concerned." Brother Bush has complied with the alternative course of appearing here. He has given you the statements you have heard. It is now for the convention to determine whether Brother Bush has presented sufficient evidence to disprove the charges in the report.

Delegate Wright: I just wish for one moment—and I will only take a moment—to take exception of the charge of the judge to the jury. The prisoner has submitted no evidence. He does not say he is not prepared to submit evidence. We take exception to the ruling of the honorable justice in this case. Our prisoner is denied the right, which belongs to him, at the proper time and place to submit his evidence.

Chairman Woll: The chair, in defense of his statement, will say this: That Brother Bush has been offered, to the best of the belief of the chairman, and conscientiously so, full opportunity to present whatever he cared to this convention. He has presented some testimony here. He has acknowledged this as a court by stating that he does not accuse Brother Walker of any wrongdoing, does not believe him to be dishonest or having committed a dishonest act. It is now for this convention to act upon the testimony presented to you as indicated in your action yesterday.

Delegate Connors: This recommendation calls for Mr. Bush to come before this convention and make good his statements. In the event he does not do that or does not appear he stands suspended so far as this Federation is concerned. He has been given this opportunity, he has come into the convention, but has not shown the courage of a man to get on the floor and make a statement, but from his seat he acknowledges that his bunk in his paper is false and that he had no basis for attacking the character of a man who is above reproach. A man who will charge another with a crime when he hasn't a scintilla of proof or reason, only to satisfy his vicious desire to slander, I want to say that in order to preserve this labor movement something must be done to weed them out.

I therefore move that the recommendation of the committee be reaffirmed by the convention because of no evidence having been produced to substantiate the charges. (Seconded.)

Delegate Keefe, Engineers: I wish to move as an amendment, if I am in order, that the President be exonerated by this convention of any wrongdoing and that the mandates of this convention as stated in the report of the Committee on Officers' Reports be carried out.

Chairman Woll: I think, while it is possible to bring that in as an amendment, you will agree with me it is best to dispose of one subject and then take up the other. You have heard the motion as offered, that the recommendation of the committee as expressed by this convention be re-

affirmed because of no evidence having been produced to substantiate the charges.

Delegate Willis, Herrin: Being one of the "fakirs" in the co-operative society, and my name being particularly mentioned in the sheets as read by President Walker as the secretary of the Local Co-operative Society in Herrin, on an agreement with the rest of the co-operators from the state in this convention, we held a meeting last night in the labor hall here in Alton and drafted statements relative to the situation you have under consideration here. Those statements and repudiations of what Mr. Bush has published in the Labor Gazette are now on file with the secretary of this organization, and in order to make it a matter of record I ask the convention to allow the secretary to read the statement and the names signed there from the different societies in Illinois, showing that Mr. Bush has not only slandered President Walker, of this State Federation, but he has branded every trade unionist in this state as being a crook and a grafter and a thief.

I never saw Mr. Bush in my life until he came here today. We have organized our co-operative societies with honest intent, with all sincerity as trade unionists. John H. Walker was never in the city of Herrin on the co-operative proposition, but on the recommendation of the state convention last year. After returning from Peoria we started out to organize a co-operative store. Committees were appointed from the different organizations. Without any assistance from any officer of the State Federation we launched our co-operative movement. We are making a complete success of it, and I want that embodied in the proceedings of this convention to show that at least I am not one of those crooks who are trying to defraud the labor people of this country.

Secretary Olander: I have the statement here that has been referred to by Delegate Willis. I will read it if it is desired.

Chairman Woll: Proceed.

Secretary Olander read the following:

Alton, Ill., October 21st, 1915.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor—Greeting:

We, the undersigned members of the Co-operative Society of Illinois, met in session on the above date, and after going thoroughly into the charges made by Walter S. Bush, through the Peoria Labor Gazette, against John H. Walker, charging him with organizing fake co-operative stores and receiving graft money through different sources for this work, we desire at this time, as bona fide representatives of the co-operative societies named to declare the statements made by Mr. Walter S. Bush in the Peoria Labor Gazette are absolutely false and not founded on facts, and hereby declare that President Walker has not received one cent from our societies for the assistance he has rendered them; that this assistance was generally given by President Walker upon invitation from the societies themselves in compliance with the action of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in the past two conventions, wherein the officers of the Federation were instructed to assist in encouraging the development of this movement.

As members of the society in question, and familiar with the organization and operation of the co-operative stores with which we are connected, we have absolute knowledge that President Walker has had no connection with any of our societies except to the extent of encouraging and advising the members of the societies in the formation of their stores, in compliance with the instructions he received from the State Federation convention, and we wish to state that our stores have been organized and are conducted by the members themselves as autonomous democratic organizations, with no one receiving any benefits therefrom except the actual members.

We brand the statements in the Peoria Labor Gazette as libelous and unwarranted attacks, not only on President Walker, but a defamation of the Illinois State Federation of

Labor and the co-operative movement as well.

We take this occasion to express our appreciation of the able, conscientious and honest efforts put forth by President John H. Walker in assisting to build up the co-operative movement, which is recognized over the civilized world as a necessary and valuable branch of the labor movement.

We further express our appreciation of the assistance extended by the State Federation of Labor in behalf of the co-operative movement, in devoting and extending its influence to secure the passage of the co-operative law and in instructing its officers to aid the workers in organizing co-operative stores.

We sincerely hope that this statement from the members of the co-operative movement themselves will be accepted by everyone interested as conclusive evidence that the charges in the Peoria Labor Gazette against John H. Walker were unwarranted and unfounded.

HERRIN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Hugh Willis.

Chas. A. Sullivan.

WEST FRANKFORT CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

George Stewart.

Charles Norman.

LIVINGSTON CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Elio Gori.

ROYALTON CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Jack Miller.

SCHRAM CITY CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

William Shakespeare.

CHRISTOPHER CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Arthur Adkins.

PANAMA CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Temple Donaldson.

David McDavid.

RIVERTON CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

John W. Hindmarsh.

FARMINGTON CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Louis Schuler.

O'FALLON CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

David Wilson.
Richard Corbridge.

STAUNTON CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

John H. Wieck.
Alonzo Savill.

NOKOMIS CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Ewald Sandner.

PEORIA CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Willis K. Brown.

SESSER CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Thomas Sweeney.
Earl C. Finlay.

JOHNSTON CITY CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

McIlroy Trout.

UNIVERSAL TRADING & SUPPLY CO.

Allen S. Haywood.

CENTRAL ILLINOIS CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Tilden Bozarth.

NOKOMIS CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

W. C. Argust.

STREATOR CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Thomas Kelley.

GEORGETOWN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

O. T. Van Winkle.

ROCK ISLAND CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

James C. Kinsley.

GILLESPIE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Earl Black.
Robert Cowie.
Mike Blaskey.

DECATUR CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Jessie Peebles.
F. J. Fetgatter.

ILLINOIS CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

L. A. Allton, Sec.-Treas.
Thomas Sweeney,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON STATEMENT.

Hugh Willis, Secretary.
Earl C. Finlay.
Allen S. Haywood.
Hugh Willis.

Secretary Olander: I understand that all who signed this are also delegates from their various local unions to this convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Is that correct?

The answer was in the affirmative.

President Walker: And the co-operative societies are not all represented here. Is Gillespie represented?

Delegate Finlay: Gillespie is represented.

Delegate Dunn, Painters: Included in the list read by President Walker, in the attack made upon individuals who have fostered those stores, is the name of Professor Carl D. Sandburg, of Chicago, a man whose absolute integrity is a by-word with all who know him. I know about the store he is behind in Chicago, and I know that neither Dr. Sandburg nor President Walker ever received a cent for the establishment of that store. It was a spontaneous movement on the part of the working people in that ward. Doctor Sandburg is known from coast to coast as one of our most eminent authors on economics. It is a terrible thing to make an attack on a man of that character.

Delegate Haywood, Mine Workers: I am a member of the Universal Trading and Supply Company, and at different times I have had the pleasure of getting President Walker to Hillsboro, Kortkamp, Witt and Kinkaid in connection with the co-operative movement. At Kortkamp a meeting was held to organize a store. President Walker was not consulted when they started to organize it. It started as a result of a co-operative wave that was sweeping among the miners. He came there one Sunday afternoon, described the Roachdale system and the Belgian system. They wanted to make a motion to pay him for coming there. He said he would not accept pay, that they were already paying him by sending per capita tax to the State Federation. My name is mentioned in the Peoria Labor Gazette as one of the "crooks" connected with Jack Walker. I wish to tell the brother who made the

charge that I am not a crook; that I am not as big a crook as he is, nor as big.

Delegate James Riley: We have a store in Pekin, Illinois. We had Brother Walker there. I was on one of the committees that went around to get the signatures. We collected \$200 and then this vile stuff was printed, the people would not go on, and we had to give back what was paid.

Delegate Seidel: He mentions Buel B. Davis, of Decatur. There is another hypocrite in Decatur, and that is John Ryan. He printed the same story; that John Walker went down there and made some money. I know he never appeared in Decatur at all. We had a little meeting, we advertised it, and that hypocrite did not advertise the co-operative movement, but called it a fake. Organized labor in Decatur worked against the co-operative movement because Mr. Davis printed a little pamphlet and made a good success of it. He printed all about Billy McKinley. John Walker was too smart to have anything to do with these politicians.

Delegate Norman: There is a co-operative store in West Frankfort. I notice in the list printed in the Peoria Gazette the name of a friend of mine whose honesty has never been questioned. He is at present the manager of the store. I am a director. I don't know whether I am classed as one of those crooks or not. If I am, I am willing to meet any man on God's green earth. John Walker never got anything out of the co-operative store for his services down there.

Delegate Wright (Charles), Decatur: The speaker that talked against the co-operative store in Decatur was the man who had the hammer out and helped defeat the proposition in the city of Decatur.

Delegate Hindmarsh: I would like to say a few words in regard to the store at Riverton. We seem to have a little more faith in Jack Walker than the people in the place where they collected \$200 and on account of the report in the Peoria Gazette had to give it back. At the time this was being circulated we had Jack

Walker at Riverton. Since then we have been able to organize a store, I think the strongest in capital and probably in numbers that has been formed in the state. We had Walker come to give us some help and advice, and Duncan McDonald and one member of the Miners' board, an Italian. We have a number of Italians in the district and they are good co-operators. Neither John Walker nor Pio Franckey got a cent for their services. I think Walker was lucky to get his dinner that day he was there. Even with that story that circulated in the Labor Gazette we thought about as much of Walker being a fake as it is possible for any one to think when he knows him. We knew him too well to think of him as a fakir, and there is no danger of the Labor Gazette or any one else making us think it. Last week we sent away for a thousand dollars worth of goods. After those goods are in we will have another thousand in the treasury to go on with.

Delegate Jessen: I want to speak in behalf of a person who is not present, Dr. Sandburg, of Chicago. I was the man who delivered a lecture on co-operative stores before that store was started. Dr. Sandburg is too far above reproach to be accused of anything such as was printed in the Labor Gazette.

Delegate Shakespeare, Mine Workers: I think we have gone into this thoroughly, and I move that debate cease.

Chairman Woll: The gentleman having made a statement preceding his motion, it is not in order.

Delegate Doyle, Chicago: I have been in labor politics for a long time, but I have never seen a man prove himself as cowardly as Mr. Bush has. He has slandered Brother Walker. He was asked to come in here and prove what he said. Now he comes in here and asks for a trial committee. Did he give Brother Walker a trial committee? No, he circulated these slanders and gave Walker no chance to defend himself. I think he is the biggest coward I ever saw in my life.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The motion offered by Delegate Connors was carried.

President Walker asked for a standing vote.

Several delegates asked for a roll call.

A standing vote was taken, which was counted by Vice-President All-ton, Executive Board Member Powers and Assistant Secretary Woodmansee.

The Secretary announced that 446 delegates had voted to adopt the report and recommendation of the committee, and five delegates had voted against its adoption.

Chairman Woll: The chair declares the motion carried.

Delegate Harding, Typographical Union: I desire to state my vote is simply a vote on the question of procedure. I voted No because I don't believe the proceedings have been correct. I don't want my vote to be taken as any reflection upon John Walker or any other man interested in this proposition. I have had a great deal of experience in regard to the circulation of statements, and I want to say—and I say it in all sincerity—that I don't believe there is an organization where so-called free speech is abused so much as it is among the members of the Typographical Union.

I recall an occasion in Minneapolis when James Lynch, who was president of the I. T. U. for a number of years, took precisely the same position that John H. Walker has taken in this convention. A member of the Typographical Union had published statements in a paper issued by him which reflected upon the president of the International Union. James Lynch stated there, as John Walker has stated here, "I have had to submit for one year to this abuse and this is the only chance I have had to protest." That is exactly the position President Walker took here, but, notwithstanding that, I believe his case was so clear the convention could very well afford to submit it to a trial board.

Delegate Goodwin: I desire to have my vote recorded in opposition to this procedure of the convention.

Delegate Wright (E.): I ask that my vote be recorded on the same line—simply a question of procedure.

A Delegate: I move that Mr. Bush be requested to leave the convention hall.

Chairman Woll: The action of this convention has expressed that.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: I move that this convention cast a vote in vindication of John Walker. (Seconded and carried by unanimous vote.)

Delegate Argust: Inasmuch as the statement has gone broadcast throughout the country relative to President Walker's position in regard to the co-operative movement, and inasmuch as this convention has shown by its action that there is no foundation for such statements, I move you that a committee be appointed by the present chairman and a sufficient appropriation made to give a reply in the different papers throughout this county and to give it as much publicity as possible. (Seconded.)

Delegate Gori moved as an amendment that it also be translated into foreign languages. (Seconded.)

Delegate Margaret Haley: I want to ask a question. I want to know if the motion gives this Executive Board the power to learn what newspapers have carried any of this information, and if this committee will see to it that every paper that carried the statement from the Peoria Labor Gazette, or comment upon it, is given the correct information to print, and if it fails to print it that the committee will communicate to every delegate the name of that paper, and if there are states and cities outside of this that are not represented here the trade unionists be notified of that failure to print.

Chairman Woll: I think that power is vested in the committee by the motion.

Delegate Haley: I am in the same position Mr. Walker is, and the man who dared to come to Chicago and dared to put me in the same position was given a clean bill of health by

Edwin R. Wright. I want to tell you that John Walker was instrumental in exposing that man that Mr. Wright gave a clean bill of health to, one Meyer J. Stein, that came to Chicago and staged the proceedings, and that man Edwin Wright defended him. That man came before the Senate Commission, in the presence of Mr. Fitzpatrick, Mr. Nockels and Mr. Olander, who sat there, and gave Mr. Meyer J. Stein a clean bill of health. I would like to ask the convention if Mr. Edwin R. Wright will take Mr. Stein's case to the American Federation of Labor?

Delegate Harding: I don't suppose there is a man or woman in this hall that could not make the same statement that has just been made. So far as I am personally concerned I could make that statement with equal truth about people in this hall, but I don't desire to do it and don't intend to do it. Some years ago when I had the misfortune to assert my independence in endeavoring to have Ella Young removed as superintendent of public schools there was not a man in Chicago more abused by every newspaper in Chicago, trust papers, socialist papers and every other kind. Even the socialist papers met and passed resolutions. If we are going to go into this general proposition of vindication it is absurd. So far as I am concerned I have always stood on my own bottom and learned the great luxury of displeasing a great many good people in Chicago.

Delegate Wright, Typographical Union, Chicago: The answer is contained in the official record. I have nothing to be ashamed of such as was suggested here, nothing at all. I have the record, and I have no objection to what was said and I don't believe any one here would have any objection to what was said. Miss Haley referred to one thing but forgets the rest of it. For a great many years I have taken a deep interest in the public school situation. Time after time I have brought my ideas to the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and you gentlemen—many of you delegates sitting on the floor—endorsed the ideas I presented and we tried to work them out; I took the matter up with the American Federa-

tion of Labor and they were endorsed by the American Federation. I never hesitated in going about the state to make two points, and in making these two points I made enemies—strange as it would seem—and I made enemies in strange places.

I am not making any allusion to any one, I am not taking an underhand knock at anybody. The two features I advocated were that we did not have enough teachers in the schools to teach the children, and we did not have good enough schools. I spoke in town after town publicly and said there wasn't a school teacher alive that could teach 75, 80 and in one case they had 125 children for one poor little teacher to teach. I said what we needed was more school teachers, a better grade of school books, a cheaper grade of school books and union books. I advocated that the state own the copyright on those books. You have endorsed that here. You have endorsed the other proposition I have called attention to, that we haven't enough teachers in the schools. The trouble with most of our school teachers is that you have overworked them until they are not teachers at all, because the teacher that cannot teach isn't a teacher.

I don't know why, unless it is because I took an interest in this matter, I was summoned to appear before the Legislative Committee investigation of the Chicago Board of Education. I don't know anything about this commission. I received a summons to come over and appear. I appeared. I had been very busy. I had been back with my work in my own organization and was very busy, but when the time came I went over to this board. I don't know how it was appointed, or anything else, except what I have read in the newspapers. The question was not raised at that time at all. I received a summons to come before this Baldwin Committee of which Stein was the attorney.

It seems there had been a controversy there that morning that had been reported in the newspapers. Unfortunately I had been very busy and did not read the newspapers—I do not read them usually until I get

through work. I was summoned before the committee. I had no more knowledge than a rabbit what would come up. After telling my occupation, etc., they asked me if I knew Stein. I said I knew him. They said: "Where did you get acquainted with him?" "I got acquainted with him in Springfield as a law clerk in the Senate." Stein asked: "Was I friendly to the trade unions when you were down there?" I said: "Yes." Why, Stein drafted a dozen bills for the trade unions while I was there on that committee. Stein went out of his way fifty times, probably a hundred times, to give us information. At that time he had not offended the organization. In fact, the Railroad Brotherhoods advised me to go to Stein because they had got a lot of information about things he got next to. They said he had information about legal points. Perhaps that is because he is a pretty good attorney—I don't know. He drafted one or two laws.

When the question came up and Stein asked: "Was I friendly to you?" I said: "Yes, you were friendly to us," and I would have been a liar had I said anything else. He reminded me of one or two measures, and I said: "Yes, you drafted laws for us on those subjects." He did, and he never charged a cent for it. Then the question of the schools came up and I said there what I have said here. I said it because I believed it. I have as warm a spot in my heart for the kids as anybody you know. I will go to any length to give them the proper kind of education. If we cut down the enormous school classes and allow the teachers to get down with and sympathize with their pupils and help to untangle the hard knots in the geography lesson we will have better schools and better teachers. The girl who is teaching in the mining district and in the little farming town—

A delegate arose to a point of order and stated that Delegate Wright was not discussing the question before the house.

Chairman Woll: A statement has been made accusing Mr. Wright of something, and only because of fair-

ness he ought to be allowed to make his statement. The original statement and the answer, of course, are not pertinent to the question, but in fairness to all sides the statement ought to be allowed.

Delegate Wright (E.): When somebody shies a rock at you I don't think it is contrary to the rules of order to explain your position. I believe the teachers should teach and I believe according to the best authorities we have that about eighteen children is as much as a teacher can handle, much less the forty-five we have in Chicago or the hundred and more we have down state.

I was asked if I was going to take an appeal about Stein to the American Federation of Labor. I am holding no brief for Stein or any one else, I am trying to do the work as well as I can in my humble way for the children I love and for the organization I represent. Mr. Chairman, I want to go just a little bit further.

A number of delegates objected to the speaker continuing.

Delegate Nockels, Chicago: I want to arise to a point of order. He is making misstatements in telling this story. The only attack made upon him was that he gave Stein, a notorious crook, a clean bill of health. Now, we want to tell that story to his teeth.

Chairman Woll: Delegate Wright will make his statements very brief.

Delegate Wright: I have explained the circumstances in the case.

Delegate Nockels: Then give somebody else a chance.

Delegate Wright: The entire matter came up in a slurring remark reflecting upon me and I have tried to answer it in just a word or two. If there is any charge that has been suggested reflecting upon me I would be glad to have charges preferred.

Chairman Woll: There are no charges preferred. The motion is to authorize the present chairman to appoint a committee whose duty it will be to give circulation to the ac-

tion taken here today. The amendment is that the statement to the press be printed in various languages.

The amendment to print in various languages was adopted and the motion of Delegate Argust was adopted as amended.

Chairman Woll appointed the following committee to carry out the intent of Delegate Argust's motion:

Delegate James A. Short, Stone Cutters, Chicago; Delegate Wardie C. Argust, Mine Workers, and Secretary V. A. Olander.

Chairman Woll: The chair hereby instructs the Secretary of this Federation to officially notify Mr. Bush of the action taken by this convention.

President Walker: I appreciate the attitude of this convention in this matter more than anything or everything else.

Delegate Connors: I move that we suspend the rules and adjourn to meet at 8 o'clock tomorrow morning. (Seconded.)

Secretary Olander: In view of the understanding that appeared to exist in the convention yesterday, that we would hold a session tonight, we have prepared a hall for an evening session. You have disposed of forty-four resolutions, the great majority of them. You have disposed of this other matter, and, in so far as your secretary is able to judge, a comparatively short session will clean up the business. A number of delegates have told me if no night session is held they will not be here at the finish of the convention.

I have one other question I would like to have the convention act upon, the question of the candidates for office. The question of counting the nominations, sending out the notices, receiving the acceptances and printing the ballots is up to the Secretary, I presume, with the understanding that the Executive Board is to have something to say about them. However, the convention is in session and I feel it my duty, in view of the action you have just taken, to call your attention to an acceptance that I have in my hand, dated September 26, from Walter S. Bush, accepting the nomi-

nation as candidate for the position of President. He received the nominations of seven locals. It does seem to me, after the action that has been taken here and the fact that your constitution, in so far as men being eligible as delegates to the convention is concerned—and that necessarily governs the question of officers as well—bars employers, and inasmuch as you have had the question of hiring and discharging up, that you should decide upon this matter now. I am not taking this up because I entirely agree with the action amending the constitution. I will say frankly, in reference to the insertion of the words relative to hiring and discharging, that I think you went too far. However, employers are also barred. If this nomination question is not settled and understood now, it will come up to me after the convention.

Delegate Harding: In accordance with the constitution adopted Walter S. Bush is ineligible for an office in this organization, and for that reason I move that he be not placed on the ballot. (Seconded.)

Delegate Lichtenstein: A point of order. This by-law does not go into effect until April of next year, but under the motion the issue is as clean-cut as it can be. Mr. Bush was expelled from the labor movement as far as the Illinois State Federation of Labor is concerned, and therefore is ineligible to run from now on.

Secretary Olander: It does seem to me Delegate Harding's motion is the best way out of it for everybody. Employers are mentioned in the present constitution.

The motion offered by Delegate Harding was carried unanimously.

Delegate Golden, Teamsters, moved that the rules be suspended and an adjournment taken to 8 o'clock p. m., the convention to meet in Dreamland hall.

The motion was seconded and carried by a vote of 231 to 135.

The convention was adjourned at 6:30 to reconvene at 8 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

FIFTH DAY—Evening Session

The convention was called to order at 8 o'clock p. m., Friday, October 22, President John H. Walker in the chair.

President Walker: We have to select the meeting place for the next convention and select a delegate to the American Federation of Labor. Our election will not occur until December and the American Federation of Labor convention is in November. It will therefore be necessary to elect the delegate here. If there are no objections we will proceed to dispose of these two matters, and then we can take up the different reports. Hearing none, it is so ordered. Nominations will be in order for delegate to the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Lord (James): I nominate John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

No other candidates being presented, nominations were closed and a motion was made by Delegate Kearney that the election be made by acclamation. The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Williams (A.): I did not hear this delegate express an opinion in regard to the referendum matter that will come up.

President Walker: The delegate that accepted the honor understands that he will be expected to carry into effect the instructions of the convention, and I don't think you will find any fault with Delegate Fitzpatrick with regard to any instructions given him.

The chair has mislaid a letter and a telegram in regard to convention cities. The telegram had the name of the mayor and one of the members of the labor movement, William Topham, signed to it. The communication contains an invitation to select Streator as the next convention place. The letter is from Champaign and is signed by the mayor, inviting us to hold the convention there.

Aurora was placed in nomination for the convention city by Delegate Lawrenz, Chicago.

Champaign was placed in nomination by Delegate Harding, Urbana.

Quincy was placed in nomination by Delegate Gaude, Brewery Workmen.

Peoria was placed in nomination by Delegate Argust.

Delegate Connors: I wish to second the nomination of Quincy as a meeting place for the State Federation of Labor. I am in favor of Quincy because of the facilities they have for entertaining the delegates. They have a labor temple in Quincy with one room that seats 225, two rooms that seat 150, one room that seats 125, and one room that seats 50. There are four directors' rooms, one large convention hall that seats 800, bowling alleys, libraries, and bath rooms. I believe we should take the convention to Quincy and show the working men and women of that city that we appreciate the good work they have done for the movement. A convention has been held in Aurora since we met in Quincy twenty-six years ago.

Delegate MacGowan: It strikes me that we have a more serious thing to consider than the equipment of a city. I desire to second the nomination of Aurora, a city completely surrounded by unorganized plants and establishments, and if there is any one thing the Illinois State Federation of Labor should do it should be a factor in the organization of the unorganized. I believe a convention of this kind, showing the power and strength of the labor movement, can do more to organize and put into good condition Rockford, Elgin and other northern Illinois towns, than anything we can do.

Delegate Lawrenz, Chicago: We have all the conveniences in Aurora that are necessary for holding the convention. We have good hotels and one of the finest halls in the state of Illinois.

Delegate Mary Anderson: I second the nomination of Aurora. In the last General Assembly we had serious opposition from that district. We had the notorious Judge Turnbaugh from that district. We have factories for women in that locality. There is a cotton factory in this district that opposes us. If this convention can do anything to help that district, which is very poorly organized, we ought to go to Aurora for that reason and for that reason only.

Delegate Cahill: I have got a grouch on my stomach and I would like to unload it. I don't want to take exception to the local committee, because I think they have done all they could do, but in this city we have been forced to live in hotels under conditions that should not be tolerated by the factory inspection laws. I am naturally inclined to Aurora so far as the cities are concerned, and feel if the convention goes there it will help to influence better union conditions.

Delegate Bisser: We would like to have this convention come to Quincy to help organize the different crafts there. We have been fighting them year in and year out. You will have all the facilities necessary to carry on a convention in Quincy. There are enough committee rooms for all your work.

Delegate Kearney: If you go to Quincy next year we will make it our business to see that you do not get such conditions as have been complained of in other cities. We haven't had the convention since 1890. As the sister over there said, we have been unfortunate in our town in the matter of organizing women. About eight years ago a certain international organizer came to that town and put the blink on it. He busted up an organization of 300 strong we had there. If you bring this convention to Quincy we may be able to rectify the wrong done that organization.

Delegate Maddox: I heard a speaker say something about Alton. A remark of Mother Jones made last fall comes to my mind. She said we do not make sacrifices in the labor

movement. We did not expect you to come here and not make some sacrifices. We asked you to come here to help us. You voted to help us and I believe you have helped us, and then on the eve of your departure some delegate I have known to go out of the hall and grouch day after day and refuse to permit the local committee to please him in anything, gets up and takes a slap at us. The local committee did everything in its power to make your visit here comfortable and as pleasant as possible. We are not responsible for what a hotel manager does when he fails to live up to his agreement with us. If by putting up with some inconvenience for a week you can help a local labor movement, you should do so. If you can't put up with it, you are not fit to be delegates and your organizations should not have sent you.

Delegate Hunt, Quincy: We have one hotel with 200 rooms, another hotel with 250 rooms, another with 75, another with 42, another with 60, and another with 75, all told 890 rooms, and we have a hotel with 40 rooms for colored people. We have 1400 acres of beautiful parks and a river on which we can take you for a ride. We can take you up to see the Keokuk power plant.

Mr. James L. Murphy, Editor Mooseheart Magazine, was introduced by the chairman, and said: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention—By your very gracious permission I am here tonight to represent two cities, the city of Aurora, the city of lights, and the city of enlightenment, Mooseheart, on the north. I ask you to come there to visit that city, which merges into Aurora, and has the only trade school for little boys and girls today, the only unionized trade school upon which the stamp of approval of the American Federation of Labor is placed. Visit that school that has been built by the dollars of union men and supported by the dollars of union men. Last Labor Day, when the union labor people looked around for a place to hold their celebration they came to Mooseheart. There the brilliant Brandon, who organized

Mooseheart, said: "The overall, whether it waves from the clothes line or covers the body of a working man, next to the Stars and Stripes, is the greatest flag upon which the sun shines and the shadows fall."

You have been told for more than a hundred years that the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world. It is not true. The hand that rules the world today in nearly every instance is a blood-stained, selfish hand of greed, the hand that drives little boys and girls into factories and mills and mines to turn their little hearts into gold, for a master whose heart is as cold and cruel as the grave. So we ask you to come to Aurora so you can visit that shrine of childhood erected by your dollars.

The convention decided by vote to select by a rising vote.

Champaign and Peoria were withdrawn by Delegates Harding and August.

Quincy received 235 votes and Aurora 182 votes. Quincy was declared the choice of the convention.

Delegate Bisser: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—I thank you.

Delegate Mary Anderson: We people in Chicago do know John Fitzpatrick very well, but I feel a great many of the down state delegates do not know our John Fitzpatrick. For that reason I move that he go before the delegates and say a few words. (Seconded and carried.)

President Walker: I don't want to embarrass John Fitzpatrick, but he is one of the squarest, cleanest and truest men in the labor movement in this country or anywhere else.

Delegate Fitzpatrick: I will have to thank the women delegates of Chicago for wishing this on me. I wanted to come to the convention, stay in the background and watch the delegates who come to this convention in action. I wanted to learn some of the activity of the trade union movement through Illinois, so that if we ever get in close quarters in the city of Chicago we may be able to use the experience we get here in that convention. I want to thank you

for the honor you have conferred upon me in electing me to be your delegate to the American Federation of Labor.

One delegate asked if I would follow instructions. I don't think I would be a union man if I were not able to comply with the principles of the organized labor movement in the State of Illinois and the city of Chicago. I will do the best I can to carry out the purposes of the trade union movement of Illinois. I don't want to detain you any further, because I understand a number of the delegates will try to get to their homes if you get through early enough tonight. I wish to thank you for the confidence you have placed in me.

Delegate Williams (A.): I think Brother Fitzpatrick has a misconception of the question I asked. I wanted to know if he was in sympathy with the referendum that was adopted by this convention. I never thought he would fail to carry out the instructions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON UNION LABEL.

Delegate Smith, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 2.

Introduced by Delegates F. G. Hopp, Fred A. Lohn, John Werlik, Chicago Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Union Label is a guarantee that goods bearing same are made under union conditions; and

WHEREAS, Trade unions are paying large sums of money in funeral benefits, most of which is spent for non-union caskets and funeral supplies; and

WHEREAS, Union Label caskets and funeral supplies can be purchased at no greater cost and equally as good in quality; and

WHEREAS, By giving our support to the Union Label goods above mentioned we will be materially aiding the Carpenters, Painters, Upholsterers and Tailors in the efforts to organize the casket industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in regular convention assembled, that we recommend to all affiliated organizations and their members, that in time of bereavement they secure the services of only such undertaker as will supply a casket and funeral supplies bearing the labels of the above mentioned trades; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all members be advised to personally see the label on their purchases and that the incoming officers and Executive Board be and are hereby instructed to aid in the furtherance of these resolutions.

Secretary Smith: Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 40.

WHEREAS, The Union Label is a guarantee that goods bearing same are made under union conditions; and

WHEREAS, Trade unions are paying large sums of money in funeral benefits, much of which is spent for non-union caskets and funeral supplies; and

WHEREAS, By giving our support in the purchase of caskets and funeral supplies to the Union Label, we will materially aid the Carpenters, Painters, Upholsterers, Tailors and others in their efforts to organize; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor, that we recommend to all affiliated organizations and their members, that in time of bereavement they secure the services of only such undertaker as will supply a casket and funeral necessities bearing the labels of the trades involved; and be it further

RESOLVED, That members be advised to personally assure themselves that the label is on their purchase and that the officers and Executive Board hereby stand instructed to urge upon all unions within the State of Illinois the advisability of embodying in their laws a provision that no death benefit or funeral expenses shall be paid or payable because of the

death of a member unless the burial of the deceased member was under recognized union conditions.

F. G. Hopp, C. F. of L.

Fred A. Lohn, C. F. of L.

Ben Meyer, Cigarmakers No. 14.

H. E. Adeloff, Cigarmakers No. 14.

J. A. Kain, Cigarmakers No. 14.

O. S. Kelley, Cigarmakers No. 14.

H. Goebel, Cigarmakers No. 14.

Fred Bose, Cigarmakers No. 14.

Endorsed by the Chicago Trades Union Label League, October, 1915.

F. G. HOPP, Secretary.

Secretary Smith: Your committee recommends the non-concurrence in this resolution, as the subject matter is covered by Resolution No. 2.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 13.

Introduced by Delegate L. P. Straube, Commercial Portrait Artists' Union No. 14286.

WHEREAS, The protective character of organized labor's union stamp or label is being more generally recognized and appreciated as the consumers are educated to a realization of its purpose and intent; and

WHEREAS, In the entire field of human activity and endeavor, no branch of service has been more flagrantly exploited, to the detriment of the public, than the production of pictorial art in its varied forms; and

WHEREAS, Commercial Portrait Artists' Union No. 14286, A. F. of L., actuated by the same high principles that govern every other trade organization in the establishment of a union label or stamp to designate the product of its members, have created a union stamp to be affixed to portraits and all other pictorial and art productions coming within its jurisdiction, as herewith illustrated; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in regular convention assembled, concur in the action taken by Commercial Portrait Artists' Union No. 14286, A. F. of L., and endorse the union stamp as created by that organization; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this, the thirty-third annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, stand instructed to fully acquaint the membership of their respective organizations, with the new union stamp that has been added to the many others which have inspired respect and admiration for trade unionism and its labors for and on behalf of humanity, not in part, but as a whole, and advise them to give no order for or accept delivery of any portrait, picture, photo enlargement or bromide, unless it bears the union stamp of Commercial Portrait Artists' Union No. 14286, A. F. of L.

Secretary Smith: Your committee feels that it is not in accord with the policies of the A. F. of L. for local unions to adopt their own labels, and as this resolution requests this convention to endorse a label that is not indexed in the A. F. of L. record, your committee recommends non-concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 47.

Introduced by Delegates Ewald Sanders, Mine Workers No. 493, Nokomis; Hugh Willis, Herrin Trades Council; Fred Nachschoen, Mt. Olive Trades and Labor Council.

At the regular meeting of the Mt. Olive Trades and Labor Council the following resolution was adopted:

WHEREAS, There is a body affiliated with the Illinois State Federation of Labor known as the Women's International Union Label League, whose object is to promote the welfare of the union label; and

WHEREAS, A greater part of necessities of life are purchases by women; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor shall, in order to educate the women of this state, devise ways and means to assist the Women's International Union Label League in carrying out their agitation by having indoor Chautauqua or a series of meetings.

Secretary Smith: Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Johnson, Mount Olive: A union man forgets his duty when he fails to tell his wife to go out and purchase union-made goods. If we expect to make a success of the movement we must organize the women. Men can go out and get union-made goods easily, but how many stores are there in Illinois where women can get necessary articles with the union label? Very few. That is part of the educational movement we have overlooked. The time is ripe in the labor movement of Illinois to put the women in the same position we are in.

The object of the resolution is to devise ways and means to educate the women, the buyers of supplies for the homes of union men. The co-operative store is a place where the union man can safely spend his money, where he can send his children and get satisfactory treatment. The co-operative movement has its enemies. The movement is young in this state, but it is growing. If the women are educated in trade union principles the movement will be more successful.

Delegate Jessie Peebles: We women in Decatur had a meeting. There were 480 women and only two men in the hall. We organized a label league. We organized a broom-makers' union. When employers tried to employ scab electricians the Women's Union Label League put them in a different mind in four days, and we got the strongest contract that was ever given to a band of union men. We put one man out of business who would not employ union men, who said he would leave his work undone before employing them. We elected a mayor. We worked against an organization that had been in existence for eighteen months. In three weeks, through the Women's Union Label League, we were able to put our mayor in. I think men ought to wake up and find out what women are doing.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 37.

Introduced by Delegates Mrs. Jessie G. Peebles, Mrs. Phoebe Walker, Anna Fitzgerald.

WHEREAS, The Woman's Union Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary is doing good work in behalf of union-made products and in patronizing union cards in stores and shops; and

WHEREAS, There seems to be a tendency among retail merchants to deceive the women as to the union label, it not only seems advisable, but necessary, to educate the women along union label lines; and

WHEREAS, The Woman's Union Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary is organized to do this very work, as well as to organize trades unions wherever possible; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor assist the International Woman's Union Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary to form new leagues wherever possible and request the delegates to this convention, on their return home, to take the matter up at their earliest convenience.

Secretary Smith: Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Short, Secretary of the Committee on Organization, asked to be excused from further attendance, as he was obliged to leave the city. He stated that the chairman of the committee would make the report. The chairman stated that the delegate was excused.

Resolution No. 7.

Introduced by Delegates R. H. Larner and David J. Brown, Iron, Steel and Tin Workers No. 11, Granite City.

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America have adopted a union label; and

WHEREAS, One of labor's most potent powers for good depends upon the close co-operation for the demand

for products bearing the union label; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we as delegates to the Illinois State Federation of Labor, assembled in the city of Alton, Illinois, pledge our best efforts in the cause of making the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' union label a stronger factor for the future good of our fellow workers in those trades.

Endorsed by Tri-City Central Trades Council at regular meeting October 6, 1915.

T. M. CAVANGLE, Secretary.

Secretary Smith: Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 20.

Submitted by mail, Tobacco Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union has had on the market for years a union label attached to all tobacco, snuff and cigarettes manufactured by members of the Tobacco Workers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, The patronage of the union label is one of the most potent factors for the promotion of the highest aspirations of our entire labor movement; therefore be it

RESOLVED, And it is hereby and herein declared, that it is the rightful duty of all members of every craft and calling wherever organized, when making purchases of any of the necessities of life, to demand union labeled products, thereby giving employment to organized labor in preference to the unorganized; and be it further

RESOLVED AND DECLARED, That as union labeled tobaccos, snuff and cigarettes of all classes and character suitable to the taste of mankind, can now be secured simply by our demand for them, we therefore, as delegates to the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, in Alton, Illinois, October 18, 1915, now pledge our honor as union members to a concentrated and consistent ef-

fort in demanding that the Blue Label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union shall be affixed to all purchases of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes we buy hereafter.

Secretary Smith: Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The following resolution was submitted by the introducer as a substitute for Resolution No. 8, printed in the pamphlets containing the resolutions for the use of the delegates:

Resolution No. 8.

Introduced by Tony Weth, delegate Bakers and Confectionery Workers, Chicago.

WHEREAS, The organized Bakery Workers are in a continuous struggle for the betterment of bakery shop conditions; and

WHEREAS, Complete success in all of our endeavors can only be obtained if organized labor, their friends and sympathizers use their purchasing power in favor of patronizing bakery goods made under union conditions and bearing the union label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America; and

WHEREAS, A number of labor organizations have enacted stringent rules and regulations for their members to favor the patronage of union-made products; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the thirty-third annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to render all moral support possible to the organization's efforts of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union and its affiliated locals; and be it further

RESOLVED, To request all organizations affiliated with this Illinois Federation of Labor to urge upon their members to demand the union label of the organized Bakery and Confectionery Workers whenever they purchase bakery goods or patronize restaurants and lunch rooms, for reasons that bread not bearing the union label is manufactured in bak-

eries whose owners are absolutely antagonistic to the cause of organized labor.

Secretary Smith: Your committee recommends this resolution as a substitute for resolution No. 8 in the printed list of resolutions, and recommends its adoption.

Delegate Weth: I would like to ask the delegates to recognize our label. We are not very well organized in our trade in this state. There are only a few towns that have the union label on bread. The original resolution provided for a fine being put on when union men do not recognize our label, but we realize that could not be done. We would like to have the different local unions help us organize. The Chicago Federation of Labor and the Chicago Label League have helped us, and we have been successful there. It makes it hard for our organized men when unorganized men from other parts of the state come there and try to pull down their wages. In this town we could not get any union bakery goods. If we go to Quincy we hope we will not have to eat scab bread.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 55.

Introduced by Delegates L. A. Allton, T. T. Moorehead, O. S. Kelley, H. Bogaske, A. E. Adeloff, Barney Cohen, Ben Meyer, Henry Goebel, Fred Nachschorn, Charles Wright, John Gearey, Jerry A. Kain, Fred Bose.

We are again compelled to appeal to the labor movement of Illinois, as on previous occasions, in behalf of our trade. From past experiences we know that the mere fact of the introduction and adoption of resolutions have not resulted in the good intended by said resolutions. For this reason that said resolutions as a rule do not reach the rank and file of the great membership for their information and support; and therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Cigar-makers representing the various locals affiliated with the Illinois State Federation of Labor, do again appeal to the representatives here assembled.

The Cigarmakers are unable at this time to make their appeal stronger, but the fact remains that if the organized workers in the State of Illinois would give their unstinted support in the purchase of cigars, and the demand that said cigars bear the union label, unemployment would decrease and our membership would increase, and this applies to other trades as well, who are confronted with the above situation.

That the locals throughout the state be urged to set aside fifteen (15) minutes of their time at their meetings for labor propaganda, and that in this manner they be educated to the facts as to the value of their purchasing power, especially in their demand for union-made articles; and be it further

RESOLVED, That upon the adoption of this resolution, the Secretary-Treasurer of the Illinois State Federation of Labor have a sufficient amount of the above resolutions printed, and that a copy be sent to all affiliated bodies of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Secretary Smith: Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

Delegate Kain: The Cigar Makers have an object in putting that resolution before you. I don't think there is an organization outside the Bartenders that has suffered more than the Cigarmakers' Union. Wherever prohibition has carried it has caused a decrease in our membership. The city of Chicago at the present time is flooded with cigar makers who have come from different parts of the country. They must be taken care of. The only thing left for us to do was to assess those who were working to feed the unemployed. We have assessed ourselves 25 cents a week, which is given out at the rate of 50 cents a day. Some of our men who have large families come to Chicago. Those families cannot sleep in the streets. There is one means to take care of them. We have a joint advisory board composed of five different locals, and I assure you there is not a Thursday night when we hold a joint meeting that we do not have ten or twelve or

fifteen destitute cases for which we have to dig down in our pockets.

If the delegates from the various trades would use the same agitation they use in the saloon, and when patronizing drug stores, restaurants, cigar stores, barber shops, see that the union label of the cigar makers is on the cigars they smoke there would be some place to put our members back to work. I know of no trade that has suffered so much during the past couple of years. Under the proposition that was carried in Ohio a few hundred of our members were thrown out. When a man in a small town loses his job, where he has probably built up a home, what is left for him to do? After a man has worked at the cigar trade fifteen or twenty years it is a pretty hard thing for the old dog to learn a new trick. I appeal to the delegates to do what they can to assist the Cigar Makers by demanding the union label wherever they have an opportunity to do so.

Delegate Bogaske: This resolution provides that fifteen minutes of the time of the local shall be used to educate the members in regard to the union label propaganda. I want to cite a case that came to my notice today. I will mention no names. Right down here in the southern part of the state there is a city of 8,000 that is kept up by union labor and they tell me that frequently during the year they cannot get a union cigar in the city. Occasionally a box with the label on floats in there by mistake. We want the delegates to act as educators, as agitators, and go back home and educate their members in regard to what the label really stands for.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

PRISON-MADE BROOMS.

Upon the portion of the President's report under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

The subject-matter under the caption of Prison-made Brooms, page 41, President's report, was referred to this committee. Your committee recommends that this convention commend the efforts of Mr. Boyer, the

Chicago Federation of Labor, and the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and recommends that the officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor use their best efforts to abolish the manufacture of all goods in prisons that come in competition with free labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Boyer: For the past 21 years the Broommakers have been making efforts to abolish the manufacture of brooms in the penal institutions of the state. About a year ago we asked the assistance of the organizations in Chicago and the Chicago Federation of Labor to abolish the manufacture of brooms in the Bridewell in that city. We secured the assistance of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and I wish to express my appreciation of the splendid cooperation given us by Secretary Nockels and President Fitzpatrick at that time. We are about the smallest organization affiliated with the State Federation of Labor. After the Bridewell abolished the manufacture of brooms for sale on the open market we tried to abolish their manufacture in Joliet. They were manufactured at Chester, at the Boys' Industrial School and at the School for the Blind. The Broommakers' organization does not oppose the employment of the blind in the manufacture of brooms. What we have demanded is that the blind men in those institutions receive the benefit of the appropriations made by the Legislature, and that is something they have not been getting until recently when, with the assistance of the Chicago Federation of Labor, we made a protest.

We asked the assistance of the Chicago Federation of Labor in abolishing the manufacture of brooms in Joliet. The first time we went to the governor we received very little encouragement. President Walker and Secretary Olander gave us all the assistance they could. We appreciate the general assistance given us by these two officials. We decided to call upon the governor with a committee from the State Federation. The governor promised to give us some consideration. We put our proposition in

writing and started to investigate a little more thoroughly the manufacture of brooms in the Joliet prison.

There has been a great deal of talk about abolishing the contract system in prison. So far as our trade is concerned we find the contract is far better than the system of manufacture for sale in the open market. The former warden of Joliet was paying twice as much for the material as was necessary. After we had given this matter to the governor the warden, Mr. Allen, resigned and the governor referred the matter to Warden Zimmer. He stated he had found conditions worse than we had complained of.

I thank the officers of this Federation for the assistance they have given us. Some time ago the American Federation of Labor sent me to Peoria to make an effort to have the manufacture of brooms in the work house abolished, or stop the efforts of the politicians to increase the output. We went to the secretary of the central body, Mr. Bush. I informed him I had been sent there by Secretary Morrison of the American Federation of Labor. He promised assistance, but stalled me off for a number of days. I wired the American Federation of Labor asking them to take the matter up with the officials of the Peoria Trades and Labor Assembly. Secretary Morrison sent a long message to the Peoria Trades and Labor Assembly. On the day they were to have a meeting Bush placed this communication in his pocket and sat in the meeting. I was there. I was not acquainted with many of the delegates. The chairman of the Assembly did not know me. I asked Bush to see that I got the letter. I did not get the letter and the telegram was not read. However, a number of the trades unionists in Peoria did help me. About that time President Walker came to Peoria, took the matter up with the mayor and the increase in the output was stopped. We are still making some brooms in Peoria. I was there the other day and it is about the worst broom shop I have ever seen.

Vice-President Allton: The Peoria Trades and Labor Assembly as it is now constituted, I am certain, will

give Brother Boyer all the assistance necessary in his endeavor to have that sweat shop system in the Peoria work house abolished.

Delegate Boyer: I was there last week and the present officers of the Peoria Trades and Labor Assembly did give me assistance.

The committee's report was adopted.

UNION LABELS.

Upon the subject matter under the caption of "Union Labels," page 71, President's report, referred to the label committee, your committee recommends the following: That the officers of the Illinois Federation of Labor circulate articles on the union label at frequent intervals, and that every effort be made to keep the true value of the union label prominently before the workers.

We recommend that this part of the President's report be adopted.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McLaughlin: I would like to have a little information to take down around the vicinity where I live and in the stores of St. Louis. If you go over there and ask for a union-made article of clothing and they haven't it they will hand you down something else and say: "Here is a garment made in a shop that is strictly union. We haven't the label in it, but we will get you the label and put it in." That is true, especially of the stores that handle the Hart, Schaffner & Marx clothing. do they get those labels?

President Walker: The only way to be sure is to take nothing unless it has the label in it.

Delegate Norman: An article appeared in the United Mine Workers' Journal some time ago saying that the mining tools made by Beall Brothers of Alton were made by union labor. Since I have been in Alton I have found that is not the case. They have three shops and only one has any union men in it and only the finishers have a card. They haven't a local union in the city. It seems to me the

picks that are coming out of Beall Brothers' shop with the union label on are not union-made when everybody from the moulder to the finisher is nonunion. The finisher finishes the tools and puts the stamp on. I will see that that statement in the United Mine Workers' Journal is contradicted in big, black box car letters.

President Walker: The subject under discussion is the general recommendation in reference to the label. The matter the brother speaks of is a particular condition existing in one of the plants here and is not in order at this time. The information I get is that there is a condition here that makes it impossible for the bona fide organizations that have jurisdiction to make a fight at this time. As a matter of good judgment they do not want to take a public position on the question, because later it may affect them when they make a real fight in a legitimate way to organize the plant.

Delegate Wieck: The organization that tried to organize East Alton is not recognized by the American Federation of Labor. So far as I can find out from those gentlemen who have visited Alton the strike that was on is not now in existence, but they are soliciting aid in the mining regions of Illinois. They were in Staunton, but they did not get any money. Beall Brothers own three shops. In the part of the building where the office is located there are twelve members of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers. If you go there and let Beall do all the talking he will try to convince you he has a union shop. There are three organized machinists, making fifteen organized men out of 350. A brother from Saunton went with me and talked to Ed Beall. There is no union of metal polishers and the shovels are made by non-union men.

They put the union label on tools they make. The blacksmiths' business agent of St. Louis was there with us. About fifty per cent of the mining tools they sell are made in the East Alton plant. They send them along with the few that have the label on and sell them all together. The union that grants a stamp to an open shop is

not giving a square deal. I said to the delegates who represent the machinists and blacksmiths that if we lose they will lose those fifteen men, but if they win them there are thirty members in the East Alton shop. The miners buy these tools and we sell them in our union stores. Our manager in Staunton let an order go in after we held it up about twelve months waiting for the time we could come over and make an investigation. I know when our men find this out there will be no more of them bought. I want any of the business agents to dispute what I say if it is not true.

Delegate Werlik: Our International vice-president was in town yesterday and he told me the Beall firm absolutely refused to deal with our organization, and said the only way for a metal polisher to get into his shop is to get a recommendation from the Y. M. C. A.

Delegate Sandner: When I came here my local asked me to find out about the mining tools of the Beall Brothers. I want some information so that when I go back I can tell the men what the condition is. This fellow is advertised all over the country as a man who pays good wages and encourages big families. I want to know whether he is on the fair or the unfair list.

Delegate Lamb: I regret very much that Resolution No. 38 has not been acted upon. We have been waiting for three days to get a rap at one of those shops here. I believe the miners' delegates are entitled to the truth before leaving the city. I represent the machinists' organization. I have been working in this district six years, and I want to say that the Beall Shovel Works of Alton recognizes two organizations out of three. Just before our labor forward movement on the 4th of August this year we went up to Beall Brothers and tried to get them to allow the polishers and buffers to organize. Beall took an adverse position, he did not want the men organized.

The machinists there are doing maintenance work at 42 cents an hour and working on an agreement. We did not grant the label to the com-

pany, because our label only goes into a shop that is 100 per cent organized, not only for the machinists but for pattern makers, metal polishers and everybody else. Unfortunately, I believe we have no one here who is delegated to talk for the blacksmiths, but we have a delegate here who is interested in that particular plant. Beall came to me when this agitation was going throughout Illinois and said: "Lamb, give me something to assure those fellows I am right." I said: "If you will come clear on your East Peoria plant I will do so." I could not give him what he was asking for. He was right with us up here when he signed that contract, but it was with the understanding that he have nothing to do with the East Alton plant. There are 17 men there eligible for my organization. We have a few men in there, but he does not know it.

Before I introduced Resolution No. 38 I called upon Charles Beall, who is connected with this plant. I find out now he has one-third interest in the plant where he said he had no interest. I think this information ought to go to the Miners' delegates. A dual organization has sprung up in the East Alton plant, called the "Metal Workers, No. 24." The city of Alton has recognized those people in so far as this is shown and on the strength of that recognition they got a donation of \$25. I want to say to the Miners' delegation: Don't recognize those Metal Workers, because they are a dual organization. I understand they have assessed the miners to help those fellows along and we cannot find where the strike is on. Somebody is going through the bona fide unions and getting money, but I don't know why it is. The man who is responsible for that is from St. Louis and calls himself Scarlett. He does not come to us to ask for help, but goes through the mining camps where they are generous and ready to help.

Secretary Olander: It may be one copy of the resolution is lost, but the other is here. There is no such thing as a resolution getting away. The delegates were looking for that resolution to put some extra names on it or make some corrections. That is the copy that was referred to the com-

mittee. There can be no complaint against the committees; they have been doing the finest kind of hustling in this convention.

The office of the Illinois State Federation of Labor has been trying to get at the facts regarding this Beall Brothers' factory. We have been writing here and to St. Louis, and in the entire year have not been able to get as much information as we got here tonight. I got letters from blacksmiths and others that simply straddled the question. I tried to get information in regard to the dual organization of Metal Workers. If the brothers who are up against this sort of proposition will let the Federation know it we will get the information before the miners and everybody else.

President Walker: Beall's union mining tool plant is on a plane with Beall's union labor record in the Senate. He wrote to the president of the State Federation of Labor a similar letter to the one written to Brother Lamb—he wanted something to show that he was fair to labor. I sent him a copy of the report of the mine workers who were on a committee when he was in the Senate. Beall did not seem to be satisfied with the record himself, which convinced me it was not a very good record. He wrote back asking if I could not give him a personal letter. I wrote that I could give him only the report of the committee, and if I wrote him a personal letter it would be worse than the report of the committee.

I made the statement that possibly a discussion here would not be the best thing for the men in the labor movement. This dual labor movement was on strike. The real organization did not want to hurt even those men if they could lick them and win, and they were supporting them without giving them an open endorsement. They did not want to say anything that could hurt them, because they expected if those fellows got through and didn't lick them they were going in to try it themselves. They don't like to send out anything about the men on strike because they feel it might be used against them if they are in the same position in a short time.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

President Walker: Resolution No. 38 deals with the Duncan proposition.

Delegate Lamb: It deals with a machine shop similar to the Beall Brothers' shop.

Secretary Smith: That completes the report of the committee, which is signed:

ANNA FITZGERALD,
Chairman.
HALBERT L. SMITH,
Secretary.

F. G. HOPP,
ERNEST WOLLETTE,
WILLIAM MOYER,
JAMES DOYLE,
WALTER S. NYLEN,
SAM JURRUCH,
H. G. CURTIS,
MARGARET BLAKE,
HENRY B. WAGNER,
HARRY HALTON,
J. W. RIZZIE,
M. P. SCHILTZ,
Committee on Union Label.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

President Walker: The secretary will read Resolution No. 38 and we will act upon it now.

The secretary read the following resolution:

Resolution No. 38.

Introduced by Delegates Ed. Carbine, Al Towers, B. F. Lamb and Charles Markham.

WHEREAS, The Machinists, Moulders, Blacksmiths and Pattern-makers have been for the past three months patiently trying to secure a conference with the Duncan Machine Co., of Alton, Ill., manufacturers of all kinds of mining machinery, and

WHEREAS, The attitude of this firm is adverse to meeting representatives of organized labor from the mechanical trades, and

WHEREAS, The Duncan Machine Company have mining interests in the States of Illinois, Kansas and Oklahoma and recognize union miners, and

WHEREAS, The attitude of this firm in the City of Alton seems to be one of an open shop policy, and

WHEREAS, Because of this open shop policy, union miners throughout the State of Illinois are compelled to handle this non-union product much to their dislike and apparent dissatisfaction. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, At this convention on record as opposed to this open shop policy that forces union miners to handle non-union products; that the convention select a committee to confer with this mining machinery company, with a view of peaceably organizing the unorganized crafts in said plants, and that we go on record as pledging our moral support and giving all possible assistance in the efforts being made to peaceably organize.

Secretary Olander: I move the adoption of the resolution. (Seconded.)

Delegate Lamb, Machinists: Delegate Maddox said this convention came here to help organize the unorganized. On the 4th day of August we had a labor forward movement under the auspices of the central body. Just prior to that, through the good graces of President Walker, we had an appointment with Mr. Jim Duncan, manager of that plant. We waited patiently until the time arrived and then we were told on the morning of the 5th that he had left in a hurry for Chicago. From that time until the opening of the convention we were waiting patiently to get hold of Mr. Jim Duncan in order that we might do business with him. In the meantime organizers of the Blacksmiths, Patternmakers, Machinists and Moulders endeavored to get a conference with him. He has taken the position that he will run an open shop. The intention of the resolution is to have a committee appointed. We wanted it appointed early in the convention so it could report back and put that shop where it rightfully belongs if they will not recognize organized labor.

We want to clean up that situation because the miners are asking for union-made tools. I believe with a concerted effort and the support of

the officials of the State Federation we can win our fight. We expect through the influence of President Walker to get that conference. We tried to approach those fellows, but somehow or other they seem to be afraid to get into the organized labor movement for fear of losing their jobs. Not only should we consider the Duncan plant, but I would like to have incorporated in that action of the convention to also take in the Beall Shovel Works. We are going to have a committee appointed by the chair, preferably a miners' committee, to meet with the Blacksmiths, Machinists, Metal Polishers, Pattern Makers and others interested. We feel by concurring in the proposition the chair can appoint a committee to confer with us and we will do the best we can to secure results.

Delegate Stuart, Mine Workers: In West Frankfort there are shipped loads of tools from Beall Brothers. The miners do not know the conditions that exist here, and so they buy the shovels and machines. The machines have the union stamp on them. Our co-operative store even handles them. It is of vital interest to the miners and I would like to hear something more of this. I would like to hear a few questions in regard to the Beall plant. We had a delegate come from Alton to our local union. He was asking for moral and financial support for sixty men he claimed were on strike. We gave him an order for \$60. We had his name—probably it is fictitious—and have tried to trace him. We have not been able to do so. We don't know where the money went.

Delegate Jones, Mine Workers: I am from West Frankfort where there is a lot of these miners' tools used, and if every other local took the same action as the one I represent did we would bring this man Beall to the point where the brother yonder wants him brought. Four or five weeks ago our delegate to the Trades Council reported to the local union the result of a meeting where they received information about the Beall Brothers products. There was a man in West Frankfort who was supposed to represent the organized workers at the

Beall plant. He was soliciting aid. We marked up in big letters on the blackboard the fact that the plant was on the unfair list. Every storekeeper, hardware and grocery store was warned to move the tools into the back end of the building pending a settlement of the question. I would like to know if the What Cheer plant in Iowa is on the fair list?

President Walker: They have the label, but I am not sure of the circumstances under which they are getting it. The sales agent of the What Cheer Company is an old coal miner and a union man. He says everybody in the place is organized.

Delegate Haywood: This matter first came to our attention through the columns of the Mine Workers' Journal. A few weeks later a letter came in saying there was a strike in the Beall Brothers plant and that the men on strike were recognized by the American Federation of Labor. I took the matter up with President Walker. I believe the miners' delegates here can get enough information from the discussion to enable them when they go home to assist the machinists and other organizations to such an extent that the Beall plant will be organized entirely, because they depend chiefly upon the miners for their trade. I believe every miner delegate should go back to his home and advise the members not to purchase anything from Beall until we hear from the committee that is to be appointed.

Delegate Hall, Springfield: I have made a personal investigation of this Beall Brothers affair. I can bear out what Brother Wieck has told you. I was taken into the office and a machinist was brought out, a blacksmith and a helper were brought out to testify. I asked if they were foremen and they said, "No." They answered all the questions I put, to the satisfaction of Mr. Beall, and showed me the contract they had signed several years back. I understand they are paying the same scale as under the old contract. We have with us the business agent of the Blacksmiths and Helpers. While he is not a delegate, I think he should be heard. It is of interest to the miners to get these facts. I find the coal drills and picks

bear the union label. The shovels and sledge handles do not. A lot of fellows want to buy the Beall Brothers tools because they think it is patronizing home industry. When I went down Mr. Beall was up in arms. I told him I had heard they had nothing but union-made goods. He wanted to know what position I had in the organization, and I told him. When Brother Wieck went down he told him that Brother Hall, who holds the highest position in the Miners' Union, had been there the day before and was pleased with the conditions. I assure you I was not. They have 12 blacksmiths and helpers and 3 machinists that are organized, but nothing was said about the others. I hope you will hear my friend the business agent who is not a delegate.

Delegate Fetgatter: As far as the Beall Brothers shovels are concerned they have been practically put on the hammer in Centralia, because the miners of No. 5 have about quit buying these tools from the Centralia Coal Company. There is a shovel being sold at Centralia called the American Shovel. It is supposed to be manufactured in Decatur, Illinois. I have failed to see the label on it and I would like to know the conditions in that plant.

President Walker: If they haven't the label on them I wouldn't look any further.

Delegate Argust: I move that every miners' delegate be instructed to report to the members of his local the fact that the tools of the Beall Brothers plant and the Duncan plant are being manufactured under nonunion conditions and are on the unfair list.

President Walker: The matter before the convention is a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee to take the matter up in conjunction with the machinists and other trades involved in the Duncan machine shops. Brother Lamb requested that same committee to act in the Beall Brothers plant. The committee will report and then the facts will be communicated to the office of the State Federation of Labor. It will then be communicated to the organizations throughout the state by the officers of the State Federation.

Delegate Wieck: The business agent of the Blacksmiths' Union is with us. He wishes the floor. I move that he be given that privilege. (Seconded and carried.)

Business Agent Harlbeck, representing the St. Louis blacksmiths, in discussing the question said:

The mining tool company of Beall Brothers, known as Shop No. 1, is located in Alton. Every man who works in the tool plant belongs to Local 179 of the Blacksmiths and Helpers. Shovel plant No. 2, in the city of Alton, is unorganized. We sent men there who were eligible to our organization. I asked Mr. Beall several times for the privilege of organizing the plant in conjunction with the representatives of the Metal Polishers and the Machinists. He refused absolutely to grant us that privilege. No. 3 plant is located in East Alton. They manufacture a sort of railway supply tools that are used in different parts of the railroad work and in the mines. No. 1 plant is practically organized as far as the Blacksmiths and Machinists are concerned, but No. 3 plant, which makes the sledges the miners use is not. The shovel plant is unorganized all the way through. Some of the miners have an idea the union label is on the shovels, but it is not. The Beall plant makes shovels for the "Union Shovel Company," and that is the name that is on there.

We have tried to have Mr. Beall and his officers allow us the privilege of organizing those plants. We said if he would do that we would write to the miners stating that he was thoroughly organized. They have refused every time we have made the request. The shovel plant is an unorganized plant all the way through. Mr. Beall, as I said before, is organized in the mining tool plant No. 1. I have written many letters to miners' secretaries and to Brother Olander when he was seeking for information. I told him what I have told you now. I have a letter acknowledging the receipt of my letter. I wrote to the miners' secretaries stating the conditions. When the strike was on in East Alton of the men in the organization not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor I wrote to the miners' secretaries to beware of the man who was seeking

their assistance. I said he did not belong to an organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and they let loose of him. That is about the statement of conditions.

Delegate Seidel: As the Machinists do not grant the label unless there is a hundred per cent organization, I would like to know who furnishes the label.

Delegate Riley: I think there is a Beall plant in Peoria that makes tools. They have an agent going to the local unions. He signs the cards and signs an initiation fee of fifty cents and he is supposed to get the tools at cost.

President Walker: If we start to find out the status of all the machine shops making mining tools we had better adjourn until tomorrow.

Delegate Wilson (R. J.), Mine Workers: I move as an amendment that we include the Beall Brothers plant with the Duncan plant and that the same committee investigate both places. (Seconded and carried.)

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON LAWSON CASE.

The following report was read by Secretary Olander:

WHEREAS, John, R. Lawson member of the International Executive Board of United Mine Workers of America, an outstanding figure in the bitter struggle of the Miners of Colorado for constitutional government and social justice has been sentenced to life imprisonment, and

WHEREAS, It has been admitted by the prosecution that John R. Lawson was miles away from the place where gunman John Nimmo was killed and that a judge until lately in the employ of the coal corporations, together with a servile and corrupt jury, have railroaded Lawson to prison on the assumption that he had influenced the act committed, and

WHEREAS, We regard this as a flagrant and vicious attack on the liberties of those who dare speak for the Colorado coal mines; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor, representing over one-half million workers, in convention assembled, vigorously pro-

test against the wanton imprisonment of John R. Lawson and over 500 other members of organized labor in Colorado, and that we demand in the name of liberty, justice and democracy that a fair and impartial trial be given to him and them by an unbiased court and jury so that their conduct can be judged and their guilt or innocence tested and established before the whole world.

JAS. LORD,
JOHN FITZPATRICK,
ELIZABETH CHRISTMAN,
JOHN PLUMMER,
AGNES JOHNSON.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous rising vote.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Delegate Gaude, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

Your organization committee begs leave to submit on the following matters referred to us for consideration:

Resolution No. 16.

Introduced by Delegate Margaret Murray, Office Employees' Association, No. 12755, Chicago.

WHEREAS, Office workers are as much in need of organization as any other class of workers, being subject to the same evil conditions of employment, such as: Low wages, long hours, overtime without pay, speeding up, and other disadvantages, and

WHEREAS, The business schools are turning out great numbers of stenographers, bookkeepers, typists, and other office workers each year to compete in the labor market with those already in the trade, thus lowering the wages of the more skilled workers, and

WHEREAS, The Office Employees Association, No. 12755, of Chicago, is organized to remedy these conditions, to establish a wage scale more in keeping with the American standard of living and to secure a more satisfactory return from the cost of study-

ing any of the branches of office work, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in meeting assembled pledge ourselves to encourage and assist in every way in the organizing of local unions of office workers in our home cities and towns and then to employ only paid-up members of such unions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor, through its officers, assist in the work of organizing the office employes in the union offices and the other offices in the city of Chicago.

Chairman Gaude: Your committee recommends concurrence and asks our officers to comply with the request therein contained.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 42.

Introduced by Delegates John Miller, Mine Workers, Royalton; Wm. Moyer, Central Labor Union, Mine Workers, Westville. Ill.; Ed. Carbine, Machinists, Chicago.

WHEREAS, The Goodman Mining Machinery Company, of Chicago, Ill., have since the 3rd day of July, 1912, refused to allow any man working for them to belong to a union, or organization of his fellows, and

WHEREAS, As the company themselves are members of the Manufacturers' Association, the un-Americanism, injustice and inconsistency of their position is demonstrated by their own actions, and

WHEREAS, During all this time they not only refused to recognize the machinists' organization, but they have employed thugs, gunmen and murderers, and have used the police force of the city of Chicago to beat up brutally, ill use and put in the jail every man that refused to submit to the tyrannical and despotic rule, and go back to work as servile slaves of this labor crushing corporation, and

WHEREAS, The members of the machinists' union, formerly employes of this machinery trust during all the

time have heroically fought for the right to organize and for reasonable hours and wages of employment, humane conditions and decent treatment and have suffered patiently this barbarous treatment in hopes that the company would some time be convinced of the inhumanity and absolute unfairness of their position, and

WHEREAS, This combination of modern despots and barbarians still persist in their absolutely dishonest and indefensible position toward the men who work in the production of machinery.

WHEREAS, For the last three years we have fought this company, and have gained through this Federation of Labor convention, it having helped us to take away the trade from this scab firm, which means that lots of the sewer rat's who worked for this company and took our places had to be laid off, as the large majority of the work the company used to have has been sent to fair shops; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assemble and condemn in the most emphatic terms the attitude of this labor-hating, scab-loving concern, that we pledge our unqualified support morally to our brothers of the Machinists' organization who have made such magnificent battle for human rights, and be it further

RESOLVED, That our incoming officers be instructed to do everything in their power to assist the Machinists' organization to win the struggle and be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask all affiliated unions and all organized labor to lend every assistance they can to the end that this company be required to recognize the Machinists' Union and settle on a basis that will mean justice to the men on strike.

The committee recommended concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded to concur in the recommendation.

Delegate Carbine, Machinists: You have had a discussion on the question of mining machinery tonight, and I want to ask the miners' delegates

now to take this home to their locals. We have been conducting a fight against the Goodman Manufacturing Company for three years. They are having mining machinery installed throughout this country and the men who install it do not carry union cards. I want the miners' delegates to go to the next international convention with resolutions in regard to mining machinery, especially that made by the Goodman Company of Chicago.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

BRICKLAYERS, MASONS AND PLASTERERS.

Upon that part of the President's Report appearing on page 72, relating to the affiliation of Bricklayers with this body, your committee reports as follows: We commend the president for his activity in this matter and recommend that this convention ask the A. F. of L. to send a representative to the coming convention of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union and extend to that organization a hearty invitation to affiliate with the A. F. of L., and in the meantime that the application of the Bricklayers be left in the hands of the Executive Board.

The report of the committee was adopted.

STATE GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS.

Chairman Gaude: Your committee reports as follows on that part of the report of President Walker under the above caption, pages 39-40:

It is a source of considerable satisfaction to your committee, and it should be to the delegates, that such splendid work can be accomplished by our officers, and we express the hope it be continued. We wish to recommend that the incoming officers make an effort to establish a state organization of Postal Clerks, as we find that there are at least six locals of that union within the State.

The report and recommendations of the committee were concurred in.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

Chairman Gaude: Upon that part of the President's report under the above caption your committee reports as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Legislative Committee be requested to work for an increased appropriation to carry on factory inspection work, for it is well known that our factory inspection department is sadly handicapped because of an insufficient number of inspectors. Your committee would also ask that this convention, through its officers, convey to the Governor our opinion that the only efficient inspectors are to be found in our trades unions. The person who does not possess intelligence enough to belong to the union of his craft is mentally deficient and is not a capable inspector. Your committee also recommends that an organizer be appointed as soon as the President thinks advisable, in order that a greater effort may be made, to end that all unorganized workmen, and especially women, be brought within the labor unions of our state. We also wish to call attention to the need of an organizer in the Tri-City Federation of Labor and ask that the A. F. of L. be asked for the assistance of an organizer in that district.

The report and recommendations of the committee were adopted.

Chairman Gaude: That completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed.

CHARLES GAUDE, Chairman.
JAMES A. SHORT, Secretary.
HARRY WALDORF,
JULIUS LICHENSTEIN,
J. B. KEENAN,
JOHN RADKA,
EMMA STEGHAGEN,
A. G. HARTMAN,
D. F. CLANCY,
GUNNER G. ENGSTROM,
PATRICK S. CAHILL,
J. B. HICKEY,
CHARLES WRIGHT,
ROBERT J. WILSON,
FRANK S. SPELMAN,

Committee on Organization.

The report was adopted as a whole and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE.

Vice-President Allton read the following report:

On the appeal of the Caplan-Schmidt defense committee and the California Building Trades Council your committee on Finance recommends that the Secretary be instructed to prepare a statement regarding the necessities of this case, to be published in the News Letter and addressed to all affiliated unions, with the recommendation that they make such donations as their means will permit.

JOHN M. IRISH, Chairman.
AL. TOWERS,
L. A. ALLTON,
THOMAS KELLY,
JAMES C. KINSLEY,
GEORGE B. JENKINS,
M. J. WHALEN,
J. F. DAUGHTON,
Finance Committee.

The report of the committee was adopted.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE BOARD ON RESOLUTION No. 34.

We, the Executive Board, acting on Resolution No. 34, as referred to us by the convention, unanimously decided to render all assistance possible to the Carpenters Union No. 16 of Springfield in their grievance against James W. Gullett, and have appointed President John H. Walker and Board Member James F. Daughton as a sub-committee to carry out the intent of the resolution.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

The report of the Executive Board was adopted.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE BOARD ON LABOR TEMPLE.

Vice-President Allton read the following report:

Your Executive Board acted on the question of a State Labor Temple, embodied in resolutions numbers 35 and 53 and the President's report, referred to the Board by the Committee

on Officers' Reports. We considered the suggestions and recommendations included as well as those presented in person by delegates from the Springfield Federation of Labor, and recommend that the incoming Executive Board be authorized to proceed, with full power to act, thereby they may carry out the recommendations in the President's report on page 70, and within the next ninety days have a consultation with some reliable attorney with a view to providing a plan to be submitted to the affiliated organizations for their consideration.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

The report of the Executive Board was concurred in.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FRATERNAL RELATIONS.

Delegate Boyer, for the committee, reported as follows:

Your committee believes that great benefit has been derived from the fraternal relations brought about with the Railway Brotherhoods, Farmers, Teachers' Associations, Bricklayers and other non-affiliated organizations and that such relations should be continued and extended wherever possible.

In order that a solid front may obtain in the efforts in legislative and other endeavors, the officers of the Federation should put forth every effort to the end that all labor in the state shall stand shoulder to shoulder in opposition to the oppressors of labor, and that the friendly relations and co-operation of the legislative committees on all labor organizations in Illinois shall continue in securing legislation that will be beneficial to the workers.

The presence of representatives of these organizations on our convention is highly appreciated, their participation in the deliberations has been a source of pleasure and benefit to all.

Through exchange of fraternal delegates with neighboring states uniform action relating to legislation, boycotts and other matters of interest to the workers may be more effective, the bonds of unity more closely drawn and a real spirit of fraternity brought about.

We recommend that the President be empowered to appoint fraternal delegates to represent the Federation at State conventions and labor meetings in surrounding states during the coming year, and that the President attend in person or by a representative any conference of wage earners in the state, or in the adjoining states, which may be called for the advancement of the trade union movement.

We further recommend that the officers be instructed to continue and extend the fraternal relations with the Railroad Brotherhoods, Farmers, Bricklayers and Teachers' Associations.

WILL R. BOYER,
EMIL SEIDEL,
D. J. FARLEY,
PETER FISCHER,
PHILIP SCHUG, JR.,
M. C. GRIEL,
THOS. LONG,

Committee on Fraternal Relations.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Olander: I will read the names of nominees who have sent in their acceptances. As this is the first time we are operating under the referendum system, unless the convention objects, I want to leave the door open as long as possible. If there are any corrections to be made or any suggestions to offer that can be done.

Following is the list:

NOMINATIONS.

President.

John H. Walker, United Mine Workers, Local 503, Westville. Nominated by 237 locals.

First Vice-President.

Robert G. Fitchie Teamsters, No. 753, Chicago. Nominated by 10 locals

Theo. Bisser, Brewery Workers, No. 239, Quincy. Nominated by 41 locals.

Geo. H. C. Palmer, Typographical Union No. 288, Galesburg. Nominated by 4 locals.

Edw. J. Evans, Electrical Workers No. 134, Chicago.

Second Vice-President.

John M. Irish, Bartenders, No. 286, Peoria. Nominated by 99 locals.

Ed. Carbine, Machinists No. 208, Chicago. Nominated by 33 locals.

Third Vice-President

Michael J. Whalen, Street Railway Employes No. 125, East St. Louis. Nominated by 114 locals.

P. J. Carlson Carpenters No. 241, Moline. Nominated by 4 locals.

Agnes Nestor, Glove Workers No. 18, Chicago.

Secretary-Treasurer.

V. A. Olander Seamen, Chicago. Nominated by 226 locals.

Members of Executive Board.

Thos. Kelly, Barbers No. 140, Streator. Nominated by 119 locals.

Jos. W. Morton, Stationary Firemen No. 7, Chicago. Nominated by 115 locals.

Jas F. Daughton, Retail Clerks No. 208, Springfield. Nominated by 111 locals.

Al. Towers, Molders No. 182, Belleville. Nominated by 109 locals.

Geo. B. Jenkins, Carpenters No. 44, Urbana. Nominated by 96 locals.

Jas. C Kinsley, Street Railway Employes No. 313, Rock Island. Nominated by 88 locals.

Albert Vincent, Miners No. 2404, Virden. Nominated by 14 locals.

August Aring, Miners No. 859, Belleville. Nominated by 9 locals.

Jas. B. Keenan, Boilersmakers No. 22, Danville. Nominated by 5 locals.

Henry Culver, Street Railway Employes No. 416, Peoria. Nominated by 5 locals.

Con Burke, Miners No. 73, LaSalle. Nominated by 4 locals.

John J. Kearney, Bartenders No. 153, Quincy. Nominated by 4 locals.

Steve Mayo, Painters No. 29, Galesburg. Nominated by 4 locals.

Garrett Metz, Meat Cutters No. 320, Chicago. Nominated by 3 locals.

Auditors.

J. A. Kain, Cigar Makers No. 14, Chicago. Nominated by 112 locals.

Wm. Jampel, Barbers No. 108, Belleville. Nominated by 92 locals.

Tilden Bozarth, Miners No. 755, Staunton. Nominated by 85 locals.

Peter Donnelly, Miners No. 620, LaSalle. Nominated by 6 locals.

Bert Gray, Miners No. 859, Belleville. Nominated by 4 locals.

C. L. Dodgson, Bartenders No. 692, Virden. Nominated by 3 locals.

Wm. Hall, Miners No. 492, Springfield. Nominated by 3 locals.

Tellers.

Rud Farnetti, Miners No. 929, Oglesby. Nominated by 9 locals.

Agnes Johnson, Boot & Shoe Workers No. 94, Chicago. Nominated by 6 locals.

Fernand Bernard, Miners No. 1103, Westville. Nominated by 5 locals.

Wm. Copas, Miners No. 1356, Georgetown. Nominated by 5 locals.

Frank Stafford, Miners No. 2514, Belleville. Nominated by 5 locals.

R. E. Woodmansee, Typographical Union No. 177, Springfield. Nominated by 4 locals.

John Hittmeier, Miners No. 125, Mt. Olive. Nominated by 3 locals.

Peter Jones, Hod Carriers No. 248, LaSalle. Nominated by 3 locals.

Joe McIntosh, Miners No. 1910, Harrisburg. Nominated by 3 locals.

Jas. Mason, Miners No. 2708, Belleville. Nominated by 3 locals.

Robt. A. Pell, Painters No. 33, Joliet. Nominated by 3 locals.

John Vitton, Miners No. 1051, Ladd. Nominated by 3 locals.

Chas. Wright, Cigar Makers No. 20, Decatur. Nominated by 3 locals.

Peter Zink, Miners No. 859, Belleville. Nominated by 3 locals.

Delegate to A. F. of L.

Thomas Hitchings, Miners No. 2514, Belleville. Nominated by 18 locals.

W. K. Brown, Carpenters, Peoria.
Nominated by 6 locals.

Thomas Scopes, Machinists No. 473,
Danville. Nominated by 4 locals.

Delegate Woll: In reference to the delegate to the American Federation of Labor. The constitution which goes into effect disposes of the election of a delegate to the body; it provides that the president shall be the delegate. The nominations will certainly not be in order.

Delegate Jessen moved that the names of candidates for delegate to the A. F. of L. be omitted from the list. (Seconded.)

Delegate Cottrell, Peoria: I would like to know how this convention can go on record taking the referendum away from the rank and file, striking the names of nominees off the ballot for the next convention of the American Federation of Labor without submitting it to referendum? Didn't the last convention submit a constitution to the referendum with this included? Can you take the names off the ballot without a referendum vote?

President Walker: Do you want the chair to make a ruling on the matter? If it was one of the major propositions in the Federation I would say unqualifiedly I don't believe they could. Even in this matter there may be honest differences of opinion as to whether it is a technical objection or a real honest objection. I think the average trade unionist would not look upon the election of a delegate to the American Federation of Labor in the same light they would the regular permanent officers of the organization. If I continue to serve as president—I say this to show you there is no personal motive on my part, because I would much rather, if I continue to serve, that it would not be made at all—I will be your delegate. I have been a delegate from our own international union to the American Federation of Labor for the last eight years. I don't know that I will continue in that capacity or will be eligible to serve, but it is about the only direct connection I have with the organization I helped form, the organization that is as close to me, possibly

as anything in the way of organization can get, and I would rather take my chances on being elected as a delegate to that organization for the sake of the closer relation with my own organization than to serve as a delegate representing the State Federation.

So far as the personal equation is concerned, I would much rather be a delegate from that organization if I am to serve as a delegate in the future, but as a matter of economy and as a matter of good, sound sense and for the best interests of the State Federation my own judgment is, if I were not president at all, that every president of every state federation in the United States and every organization of similar character in Canada that is affiliated should be at every American Federation of Labor convention in order to be able to render the best possible service to his state federation that can be rendered. I think under those circumstances the membership will not only accept but endorse the proposition in the new constitution.

Delegate Woll: The delegates, of course, know well my position on the referendum proposition. I am not going to speak on that, but I am going to speak in fairness to what the organizations have determined. If you will look to your constitution providing for officers you will not find the provision for a delegate to the American Federation of Labor, and a strict interpretation of our constitution would remove that from an elective office and it would be purely a temporary representative proposition. I therefore feel that the action of this convention in electing a delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention was strictly in keeping with the law and with the referendum had thereon.

As to the future election of delegates to the American Federation of Labor, if I recall the constitutional provision correctly, it provides that the president shall be the delegate to the American Federation of Labor; and, inasmuch as the president must be elected by the referendum vote it logically follows that he is also the delegate of your organization and is

likewise elected by a referendum vote and not in any other way. I feel the action taken by this convention is proper and in keeping with the wishes of your members, although I may differ with them as to viewpoint.

The motion of Delegate Jessen was carried.

Delegate Lichenstein: I move that the delegates here assembled give expression to their appreciation of the report made and the service rendered by Frank P. Walsh, chairman of the Commission on Industrial Relations, in issuing the report on industrial conditions in this country; that the action of this convention be communicated to Hon. Frank P. Walsh and a resolution drawn up assuring him of the appreciation of the Illinois State Federation of Labor for his services; also that a copy be sent to President Wilson.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous rising vote.

Secretary Olander: I want to say a word in regard to the work of the convention. Besides the long reports of the officers you have handled 65 resolutions. Every resolution had been acted upon. I want to take this opportunity, as the secretary of the convention, and the work horse of the convention to thank the Credentials Committee and all other committees, and particularly the chairmen, for their work. I never saw a bunch work better. The two assistant secretaries, Brother Maddox and Brother Woodmansee, deserve our thanks for the work they have done.

The local committee also has been very helpful. I think Brother Maddox has worked even harder than the Secretary has. To him we owe a great deal of credit for the promptness with which the printing was furnished us. Brother Woodmansee had another part of the work, and he performed it equally well.

I do not think you can point to another convention that has covered as much ground as you have in five days. There are 596 delegates seated, and despite the rush of matters, we have missed nothing in the way of reports, and I feel very grateful to the dele-

gates for their helpfulness to me, particularly to the committees, and of course the President.

Vice-President Allton in the chair.

Delegate Woll: President Walker has advised us that he is to be a delegate to the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor, representing the United Mine Workers of America. Our laws provide that during the time he will not receive any salary from the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Today we have shown our appreciation in the manner you know of well. I feel we could do nothing better than add to that expression of appreciation for the good, honest and sincere work done by compensating him and allowing his salary to continue while he is attending and doing that work for the United Mine Workers of America in San Francisco during the convention of the A. F. of L. Indeed, I feel that while he is there he will work for this organization equally as well as his own organization.

I therefore move that it be the sense of this convention and the instructions of this convention to the Secretary to continue to pay the salary of the President while attending the American Federation of Labor convention.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Plummer, Printers, and Delegate Lawrenz, Teamsters, Chicago, and carried unanimously.

President Walker: I think this is the sixteenth convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor at which I have had the honor and the pleasure of being a delegate, and it is no flattery when I say that this is the first time when, with practically no exceptions, the entire delegation came here, not for political reasons, but to serve the best interests of the labor movement of the State of Illinois. This is the first time that all the business has been transacted with practically all the delegates in the convention. This is the first time that the election of officers did not see almost double the number of delegates there were present at any other session. I believe that our movement

now is on the firm basis of real trade unionism and that it does hold real hope and a bright prospect of better things for the workers of Illinois.

I want to thank the delegates for their treatment of me in this convention. I have never before in my life allowed my feelings to get the best of me as I did today, and I want to say what I started to say this afternoon, and that is that I would not

exchange the expression of your attitude toward me for a deed to the earth, and I expect, so far as lies in my power to do it, to earn a continuation of that sentiment. I thank you.

At 11 o'clock p. m., Friday, October 22, all the business having been completed, President Walker declared the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

J. A. Olander

Secretary-Treasurer,
Illinois State Federation of Labor.



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Illinois State Federation of Labor

Proceedings Thirty-Fourth Annual Conventiom

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Illinois State Federation of Labor

Proceedings Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention

Quincy, Ill., October 16-20, 1916

FIRST DAY — Morning Session

Quincy, Ill., October 16, 1916.

The Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m., in the Labor Temple, Mr. Theodore Bisser, president Quincy Trades and Labor Assembly, in the chair.

Address of Mayor Abbott.

Hon. W. K. Abbott, Mayor of Quincy: Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Visitors and Delegates to this Convention—During the period of my incumbency of the office of Mayor of the City of Quincy I have had the honor of delivering the greetings of welcome to many representatives of organizations throughout this state that have met here from time to time in their annual conventions, and it has always given me a certain pride and gratification to be able to think that Quincy has been selected by these people to hold their meeting and deliberate upon their affairs. But at no time on any previous occasion has that pride and pleasure been so deeply impressed upon me as upon this occasion. I am meeting people, not only identified with some industry or some business or some enterprise or some order, but I am meeting dele-

gates who are representing the great mass of the people of this state and this country. I feel that you are simply the advance guards of the toiling masses who are the producers of wealth and who are entitled to a recognition that is their due and their need.

With that thought in mind in delivering to you the welcome of our city I feel that I am reaching out beyond this gathering, that I am going back to the places you come from, to the towns and villages where you have your homes, to the shops, the mills, the factories and the foundries, even to the homes and firesides and extending this welcome to all of those in addition to you who are here today. That is the big thought that is in my mind and that is what makes this occasion a source of gratification and pride.

This meeting is typical of the representatives of the people, not only of our state but of the United States. I would like to have you grasp my thought on this occasion—that I feel all that is back of you when I see you here. I appreciate what your presence here means. You are here to advance the cause in which you are enlisted, in which you give your serv-

ice, that cause in which is involved the heart and life blood of this country. I am sincerely and honestly with you in this movement. I will not attempt to go into the matters which brought you here. You have your transactions to go through, and it is not my province to enter into the things that brought you here, but simply to welcome you to the city.

We are more than proud and gratified to have you here with us on this occasion, and we hope that you will enjoy yourselves after the business sessions are over. We think the opportunities are here and we will be glad to have you take advantage of them. We think of hospitality as one of the virtues, that same hospitality that has been manifested through the ages, that same hospitality that was manifested by Abraham when he entertained the angels unawares. We don't mean to say we are unaware the angels are here, but we want to entertain you as far as we possibly can.

I am about to turn over the key of the city to you in so far as it is in my power to do so. You will all remember that after the flood there was a sign put in the heavens which said to the people that there would never be any more occurrences of that kind. That sign was a convincing argument that the statement was true and that it was to be kept. So I take it that this key is a sign that you are welcome to Quincy, that we have all confidence in you, and we therefore turn this key over to you. It is a handsome key. I will say further that if you happen to transgress the least bit and come within the pale of any ordinance or law we will not play hog with you—there are no hogs in the streets of Quincy—so you need not fear anything that will happen to you from that source.

This key does nothing except unlock the gates of the city, it does not unlock every lock in Quincy. I was somewhat exercised about turning over the key until I saw this one. I once heard of a fellow who came home late at night and somehow got

his keys mixed and unlocked the wrong door. The lady of the household was sitting up waiting for her husband, who was in the habit of staying down town late, and she was ready to receive him warmly. The poor fellow who used the wrong key got the reception and he was laid up for a week as a consequence. This key, however, will not lead you into any mischief. There are only two places besides the gates of the city this key will unlock, the house of correction—I know you don't want to go there—and the county jail.

We are going to do our best to entertain you, our disposition is the best in the world. We are hospitable and we admit it. We want you to carry away the pleasantest memories of Quincy when you leave, and we hope those memories will be such that they will long continue. In fact, they might be like the memories of the minister and his colored brother. The minister prided himself on his wonderfully retentive memory. He put it up against the memory of anyone he knew. One day he met a colored man who also prided himself on his good memory. They told all sorts of stories, they went into history and religion. Neither could get the best of it.

The minister was somewhat piqued and when they were parting he said, "I will always remember what we say, I will remember the last word we said, too." He stood a moment and said, "Do you like bacon?" The colored man said, "That's what I do," and they parted. The years rolled around and after a while they both passed away. They had not met in the meantime. When the minister arrived at the heavenly place he looked around for the colored man but could not find him there. He concluded he would seek him in the other place, so his shade went down to the warmer regions. After a time he came upon the one he sought. He immediately recognized him, held up his hand and said, "How?" The shade of the colored man said, "Fried, of course!" Now I want you when you go away to have memories like that

and that you will want to come back to Quincy again.

Chairman Bissler: I need not say much in introducing the next speaker because he is probably as well known in the Illinois State Federation of Labor as any man I might mention. He has done a great deal for organized labor, Brother John J. Kearney.

Address of John J. Kearney,

Mr. Chairman, Brother Delegates, Fraternal Delegates, Officers and Friends—There has never been a time in my life when anything gave me more pleasure than to appear before you on this occasion. I will be as brief as I can in performing my duty in welcoming you to this city. In this meeting I see the faces of many men who sacrificed time and energy for the uplift of humanity. I appreciate the honor that has been bestowed upon me this morning, that of welcoming the convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to this city. This is not the first time Quincy has been honored by having held here the convention of the State Federation. We do not contend that Quincy is the greatest union city in the country, but we do contend that our unions have always been foremost in the fight to better the condition of the workers, and our motto always has been that we will be where duty calls us:

You are meeting in the home of the organized labor movement of Quincy, a home in which none but unions and central bodies have stock. We feel that all the needs and wants of the delegates can be met in this hall and this Labor Temple. Twenty-six years ago the eighth annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor met in this hall. I think there were fifteen delegates present, about one-third of that number being from Quincy. When I look at the present gathering I can realize how far labor has advanced since that day. However, the fact that you are able to meet here in this building in such great numbers is due to the work of those pioneers of

1890 and the years that preceded that convention. When we consider the legislation that has been enacted through the efforts of the State Federation and the other things that have been done for the protection of the workers we are proud of the record.

It is a great pleasure to me to meet one of the delegates who attended the convention held in Quincy in 1890, Brother John C. Harding, of Chicago, a member of the Typographical Union. The efforts of organized labor have not always met with success. Unfair employers, biased judges and courts have done much to impede labor in its progress, but we should unite even more closely in our efforts to better the conditions of the workers, and keep up the struggle every day in the year, not only in our conventions. If we do that we will be in a better position to fight the enemies of organized labor, whether biased judges of unfair employers.

On behalf of organized labor in Quincy I want to extend to you the most hearty welcome to our city. We hope your stay will be a very pleasant and profitable, that you will do credit to your organizations and that your work will have a reflection in the laws that will be enacted by the next legislature. In behalf of the men who toil in the factories, the mills and the mines of this country let us work for the emancipation of the men and women who toil, regardless of what crafts or trades they belong to.

While it is not my mission to recommend anything to this convention I do feel that it is not out of place to say this much, that if we were as careful in selecting men to represent us in the legislatures of the various states and in the Congress of the United States as we are in selecting delegates to represent us in this convention it would not be necessary to send committees to the legislatures and to Congress begging them to make laws in the interest of the people. If we select the right kind of men to represent us in those places to make laws for us it would not be necessary to send begging commit-

tees there to appeal to them to enact laws that will be for the benefit of all the people.

We are going to carry out to the best of our ability the promises we made to you in Alton and in Peoria. So far as I know this is the first time the Illinois State Federation of Labor has met in a home owned and controlled by union labor. In Alton we promised you that not one penny would be used that did not come from the pockets of organized labor. We are under obligations to nobody else, and I hope the cities that get the conventions in the future will follow this course. If you go to some of those people outside and get a few dollars from them, when a grievance arises they will say, "We are fair. Didn't we contribute to the convention expenses?" We have done nothing of that kind.

In the beginning of my talk I referred to the convention that met in Quincy. Now I am going to recall another of the early conventions. When we met in Joilet years ago the report of the treasurer read something like this: "Receipts, nothing; disbursements, nothing. Balance, nothing." Thank God that day is gone. Now we have enough money to pay salaries and meet the expenses of organizing. I hope when we meet in our next convention the Federation will be bigger and better than it is today, and I hope also that we will all be working in harmony and peace for the uplift of mankind. I thank you.

Chairman Bisser: It is a great pleasure to extend to you on behalf of the Convention Committee of Quincy and vicinity our most sincere and hearty welcome. I feel it is an honor to represent organized labor of Quincy, but the greatest pleasure of the entire convention is the privilege of introducing to you Brother John H. Walker, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Before I turn the convention over to him I wish to present President Walker, in the name of the convention committee, this gavel with which to preside over your deliberations.

Response to Addresses of Welcome.

President John H. Walker: I want to assure the delegation of my appreciation of their attitude toward me. I don't know of anything I value higher than the knowledge that there is the feeling in your hearts that you have displayed toward me; and I don't know of anything I would not do, except injure yourselves, to continue that feeling on your part.

In behalf of the delegation I think I can say to the Mayor, the representative of the trade union movement of the community and the chairman of the convention committee that we feel we are welcome to Quincy. I think the delegates feel as I do about the convention hall, that although you may have paid for it you are part of the movement and we feel it is ours just as much as it is yours, so we feel as nearly at home when we are away from home as it is possible for men and women to feel.

The welcome of the Mayor this morning impressed me as being the honest expression of a man who is really in sympathy with the labor movement, who has feeling for the common men and women, and, in my judgment, they are the only ones that are worth while in our country. He tried to convey, as best he could in words, his feelings and to convince us that Quincy is really glad to entertain us, to make our stay pleasant and to help us in our work. For this we thank him.

I think there may be in Quincy, the same as almost anywhere else in the world, a few people who are not particularly proud of our being here and who would not do anything to make our stay either pleasant or profitable. To those people I feel I can say, representing the convention, that we are not asking any favors of them and we will try to give as good an account of ourselves in dealing with them as we are able to give; and if it is possible before we leave we will either convince them we are right and that they ought to be with us, or we will strengthen the labor movement here

is such a manner that it can take care of them properly in the future.

The labor movement has for its big, outstanding, first purpose getting for working men and women the kind of opportunity they ought to have to work, every penny they are entitled to for the labor they perform, the safest, most healthful and pleasant conditions of labor that can be provided and the kind of treatment on the part of the employers they ought to have. That is the first purpose of the labor movement. I don't think there is an honest man or woman on earth that can find fault with it publicly, I don't think there is an honest man or woman on earth that can find fault with it secretly, and I don't think there is an honest man or woman on earth who will not give the movement a hearty endorsement.

Since the movement was started it has extended its jurisdiction until all over the world it is fighting to help the workers get for themselves in exchange for the wages they receive the things they ought to have, and to prevent wrong-doing and exploitation. They intend to give the children an opportunity to develop physically and mentally so they will not only be able to take care of themselves but contribute to the well-being of humanity to the greatest extent possible. They expect to take care of the sick, the injured, the old, the helpless and the weak. No movement can have any higher or better purpose than ours, and we expect to try to make this world the best place it can be made for a human being to live in, to arrange to see to it that the resources placed here by nature and by our own capacity may be developed to the highest point possible, and to see that humanity gets the best that can possibly be got out of it.

That, I think, expresses as nearly as I can put it in words my conception of the purpose of our movement, and while we are here we will be working to those ends. I think we will have the support of every good man and woman in this community in our ef-

forts, and we will appreciate it. As for the others, well, we will protect ourselves from them as best we can, convert them if there is a possibility of converting them, and arrange things so that the decent people in the community will be able to protect themselves from them in the future.

Again in behalf of the convention I desire to extend to the Mayor, to the representative of the labor movement of the community and to the chairman of the convention committee our sincere appreciation for the welcome that has been given us.

Convention Call.

Secretary Olander read the following official call for the convention:

Chicago, Ill., August 21, 1916.

Illinois State Federation of Labor.

To All Affiliated Organizations of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

Greeting:

The Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor will convene in the city of Quincy, Illinois, Monday, October 16th, at 10 a. m., and will continue in session from day to day until its business is completed. All affiliated organizations are urged to send representatives.

Unity of action is necessary to the proper solution of our problems. There are many questions of grave importance to the working people which must be considered and acted upon. Every local union and central body in the state should be affiliated with the Illinois State Federation of Labor and should be fully represented at the convention.

Duplicates of credentials should be mailed to Secretary-Treasurer V. A. Olander, 166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill., not

later than October 1, but failure to send advance duplicate credentials will not debar delegates from presenting their credentials at Quincy.

In accordance with Article IV., Section 5 of the Constitution to facilitate the work of the convention, all delegates should forward copies of resolutions (in duplicate) which they desire to introduce, to the office of the Secretary-Treasurer one week in advance of the convention.

Fraternally submitted,
ILLINOIS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR,
John H. Walker, President.
V. A. Olander, Secretary.

Delegate Mooney, Johnston City: I move that the call be accepted as read. (Seconded and carried.)

President Walker: It just occurred to me, speaking rather seriously, that in replying to the addresses of welcome this morning, it would not be out of place to tell you something that occurred last night that will be appreciated under the circumstances. I believe by the time this convention adjourns we will have better evidence that both sides are in earnest in this matter. Last night the Bartenders and Waiters gave a little banquet, and the toastmaster called upon the president of the state organization of Bartenders and Waitresses, one of the best union men in the movement in the state. He was called upon to give his experience in married life. He has been married only about three months, and he said he did not like to speak on the subject because he hadn't any evidence to substantiate his statement, but he expected that a year from this time he would be able to do so. So I think possibly by the time the convention adjourns we will have the positive evidence on the part of the Mayor and the citizens that we are really welcome, and I believe we will be able to leave the positive proof with them that we are glad we came.

Under the terms of our constitution the committees on resolutions and constitution are expected to meet before the convening of the convention. Those two committees are at work. I will give you a list of the names later in the session. I will take this opportunity to appoint a number of the other committees so they can proceed with their work as quickly as possible.

COMMITTEES.

Rules and Order of Business.

John J. Bruce, Street Railway Men, Chicago; E. B. Passmore, Machinists, Moline; Charles Markham, Molders, Belleville; Henry Schwartz, Hospital Nurses, Dunning; Henry Bisser, Brewery Workers, Quincy; August Hondock, Miners, Westville; J. M. Patterson, Carmen, Bloomington; James S. Jamison, Post Office Clerks, Chicago; Robt. C. Atkinson, Switchmen, Blue Island; George F. Golden, Teamsters, Chicago; Margaret Hastie, Typographical, Decatur; Madge Argo, Label League, Joilet.

Committee on Officers' Reports.

Frank Hefferly, Miners, Collinsville; Martin McGraw, Brewery Workers, Chicago; Wm. R. Boyer, Broom Makers, Chicago; William Tracy, Brick Makers, Chicago; Agnes Nestor, Glove Workers, Chicago; T. F. Pell, Central Body (Painters'), Joliet; Albert Peterson, Engineers, Chicago; John P. McGrath, Bartenders, Springfield; Emil Seidel, Machinists, Decatur; Dennis Lane, Meat Cutters, Chicago; Herman Jessen, Painters, Chicago; Clayton A. Pense, Pressmen, Chicago.

Delegate Hefferly was substituted for William Burton, Miners, Herrin, when the announcement was made that Mr. Burton was absent on account of illness.

Committee on Resolutions.

Matthew Woll, Photo Engravers, Chicago; John Harding, Typographical Union, Chicago; T. T. Moorehead, Cigar Makers; Edw. A. Wieck, Miners, Staunton; John McGrath,

Bartenders; Clifford Henkel, Machinists; Fred Ebeling, Cooks, Chicago; Hunter Keith, Bartenders, East St. Louis; H. W. Grant, Clerks, Bloomington; J. J. McNamara, Building Laborers.

Committee on Constitution.

T. F. Pell, Central Body Joliet; Frank Farrington, Miners, Springfield; P. J. Carlson, Carpenters, Rock Island; John Conlan, Street Railway Employees, Peoria; John A. Patterson, Beer Bottle Wagon Drivers; L. T. McArthur, Teamsters; Peoria; Geo. H. C. Palmer, Galesburg; Mary Anderson, Women's Trade Union League, Chicago; Florence Hall, Teachers; F. L. Connors, Switchmen, Chicago.

Committee on Organization.

Charles Gaude, Brewery Workers, Chicago; James J. McAndrews, Elevator Starters, Chicago; Henry Reitz, Guard Keeper Matrons, Joliet; Richard Whennen, Cement Mill Workers, Oglesby; James A. Short, Stone Cutters, Chicago; Thomas Casey, Barbers, Rock Island; Clara Katzor, Shoe Workers, Chicago; Peter, Defenbaugh, Brick Workers, Streator; John Fahy, Carpenters, Chicago; Roland Adams, Central Body, Alton; A. E. Adeloff, Cigar Makers, Chicago; Harry Reifschneider, Clerks, Belleville.

Committee on Finance.

Robert G. Fitchie, Milk Wagon Drivers, Chicago; Ed Carbine, Machinists, Chicago; Michael Whalen, Street Railway Employees, East St. Louis; Thomas Kelley, Barbers, Streator; Jos. W. Morton, Firemen, Chicago; Al Towers, Molders, Belleville; James Daughton, Clerks, Springfield; George B. Jenkins, Carpenters, Urbana; Albert Vincent, Miners, Virden.

Committee on Union Label.

Anna Fitzgerald, Label League, Chicago; Charles G. Carleton, Typographical Union, Chicago; Mrs. Elizabeth Wright, Union Label League, Decatur; Steve C. Sumner, Teamsters, Chicago; Walter S. Nylen, Tailors, Chicago; Joseph C. Colgan, Street

Railway Employees, Chicago; Clyde Weston, Movie Operators, East St. Louis; Edgar Ballman, Carmen, Danville; Emil Arnold, Painters, Chicago; Ernest Woolett, Musicians, Chicago; Hugh Willis, Miners, Herrin; Walter A. White, Meat Cutters, Peoria.

Messengers: Charles Bennett, La Salle; William Moyer, Westville.

Assistant Secretaries: R. E. Woodmansee, Springfield; H. C. Maddox, Alton.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

William Jampel, Belleville, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

A. F. OF L. LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

CHICAGO—ELEVATOR CONDUCTORS & STARTERS, No. 11959.

Charles Reynolds
Mat Taylor
Harry Wolf
Fred Varney
Edward Nockles
James J. McAndrews
John J. Sullivan
Mack L. H. Larsen
Daniel J. Deehan
Charles Schwass

CHICAGO — GARDENERS & FLORISTS, No. 10615.

A. Vanderpoel

CHICAGO—OFFICE EMPLOYEES' ASSOCIATION, No. 12755.

Miss Margaret Murray

DECATUR—FEDERAL, No. 14481.

John L. Hopkins

DUNNING—HOSPITAL NURSES & ATTENDANTS, No. 14655.

Henry Schwarz

ELGIN—NURSES AND ATTENDANTS, No. 14715.

Leroy Bradley

GRANITE CITY — TIN, STEEL,
IRON AND GRANITE WORK-
ERS, No. 10943.

Julian Betrix
Alice Oldenberg
Harry Trott

JACKSONVILLE — HOSPITAL
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Fred Baker

KANKAKEE—No. 321.

John Braun

PEORIA—No. 378.

John E. Dempsey

PEORIA—No. 167.

Robt. Clark

PERU—No. 33.

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Edward Stranckmeyer

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LA SALLE—NO. 148.

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George Peobel

PEORIA—Bartenders, No. 286.

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Wm. Kowalske

QUINCY—Bartenders, No. 153.

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STREATOR—No. 650.
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LA SALLE—No. 173.

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Otto Kaiser
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Charlie Snelle
William Strong
Steve C. Sumner
J. G. Kennedy
Ed. Koehler
Elmer Larson
Peter Madsen
Joe Forner
F. W. Grimsley
Ted Hartman
Ray Haslett
A. C. Hensel
John Kaiser
William J. Cusack
Thos. Atkinson
George Bender
Ray Bryant
James Buckley
Harry Coleman
J. W. Cook
Fred Dahms
Al Ford
W. J. Guthrie

(TEAMSTERS.)

CHICAGO—No. 772.
F. Sharkey

E. ST. LOUIS—No. 729.
J. W. Gentry
B. J. Kerins
Wm. A. Eggers
R. H. Davis

GALESBURG—No. 203.
J. E. Wilkins

JOLIET—No. 179.
Joseph McCarthy

QUINCY—No. 80.
Chas. A. Bell

QUINCY—No. 188.
Aug. Heidbreder.

PEORIA—No. 660.
W. H. Koch

TELEGRAPHERS.

CHICAGO—No. 23.
Ed. R. Derrickson

CHICAGO—No. 126.
William Ferguson Kay

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION.

ALTON—No. 306.
Joseph Adams

BLOOMINGTON—No. 124.
Jasper T. Riffin

CHICAGO—No. 16.
Chas. G. Carleton

DECATOR—No. 215.
Margaret Hastie

QUINCY—No. 59.
John Otten

SPRINGFIELD—No. 177.
Thos. S. Davis

WOMEN'S UNION LABEL LEAGUE.

BLOOMINGTON—No. 341.
Mrs. Ruth A. Dornemann

CHICAGO—No. 9.
Mrs. J. F. O'Neill.

DECATUR—No. 264.
Elizabeth Wright

JOLIET—No. 319.
Mrs. Madge Argo

FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

MINNESOTA STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR.

George W. Lawson

MISSOURI STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR.

E. L. Hiles

CHICAGO PAINTERS' DISTRICT COUNCIL.

Alfred Rasmussen

L. P. Lindelof

Frank Gardiner

Delegate Thomas, Allied Printing Trades Council, Chicago, moved that the report be accepted and the delegates seated. Seconded and carried.

Printed copies of the officers' reports were distributed by the messengers.

President Walker: At the Alton convention it was decided to relieve the president of the necessity of reading his report. Since that time the American Federation of Labor has seen fit to follow the example of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Unless the convention decides to reverse its action the chair will pursue that course in this convention. The reports of the officers are printed and ready for distribution. When the messengers distribute these reports they will also distribute copies of the proceedings of the last convention of the Illinois Co-Operative Society, which is now the Central States Co-Operative Society.

Under the terms of the constitution the resolutions that are to be acted upon by the convention are supposed to be in the hands of the secretary before the convention convenes. Some of the delegates have resolutions they are intensely interested in and not being familiar with the terms of the constitution did not forward them to the secretary before the convention. Now they wish the privilege of introducing these resolutions. Under the law there is nothing the officers can do but refuse to accept them. I don't believe the door should be thrown open to the introduction of resolutions, but I believe we should give

them sufficient time to get them in, then set a time for closing the introduction of resolutions.

Delegate Bruce, Street Railway Employees: I move that resolutions be received up to noon, Wednesday.

Secretary Olander: The section of the constitution governing this is printed on every credential. The News Letter carried it week after week. However, I believe that most of those who want to introduce resolutions are about ready now.

Delegate Bruce: We have an important matter to bring before the convention and it was impossible to prepare a resolution until after Sunday. We did not know the details of the New York situation until Sunday and we wish to introduce a resolution in regard to it.

I move that resolutions be received up to five o'clock Tuesday evening. Seconded.

Delegate Wieck (E.): I move as a substitute that the hour be five o'clock today, and that after that resolutions can be introduced only by unanimous consent. (Seconded.)

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers: I am opposed to the substitute. If we are going to allow any liberality at all in introducing resolutions let us fix a time that will enable the delegates to introduce them. We are about to adjourn, we will meet early this afternoon and there will be no time for the delegates to prepare resolutions. I hope the original motion will be adopted.

Delegate Clarke, Iron Workers: I have taken the place of a delegate who was elected by my local. I have wired my international for information that is necessary before I can introduce a resolution. If this convention decided upon five o'clock this evening I will have to abide by the will of the majority, but I would like to have more time to prepare the resolution.

The motion offered by Delegate Wieck was lost.

The motion offered by Delegate Bruce was carried.

Chairman Bisser, of the Convention Committee, announced that the molders of the city would hold a special meeting in honor of Mr. John P. Frey, Cincinnati, editor of the Molders' Journal, who was visiting the convention, the meeting to be held Tuesday evening.

The chairman of the committee announced also that the local Brewery

Workers would entertain the visiting Brewery Workers at Eagles' Hall Tuesday evening.

At twelve o'clock the convention was adjourned to two o'clock p. m. of the same day.

Following are the reports of the officers, printed copies of which were distributed prior to adjournment of the morning session:

Report of President John H. Walker

Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention Illinois State Federation of Labor, Quincy, Ill., Oct. 16, 1916

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Greeting:

In accord with the established custom, I hereby submit to you a brief reference to the important matters that have transpired since our convention a year ago, together with recommendations that, in my judgment, will be for the benefit of our movement.

The past year has been one of more than usual activity on the part of the labor movement in Illinois. During the year, I have addressed at least two hundred meetings in the different portions of our State, on the different questions of interest at that time with which our movement in those localities was concerned.

I have taken part in a considerable number of conferences which had for their purpose advancing the interests of our movement locally, in many places, and in a number of instances generally, and have also addressed a number of the conventions of our Illinois State organizations.

The second annual convention of the Illinois State co-operative movement, which is now the Central States Co-operative Society, was held in Staunton and was attended by double the number of delegates and persons interested that were present at the first meeting.

The movement has made steady and satisfactory growth in its almost every aspect during the last year, and I believe that it is now established on a permanent basis in our State. It has accomplished much good already for the workers in the localities in which it is established, and my judgment is that it will accomplish more good as time goes by than any other movement of the workers, except the Trade Union movement itself.

A sufficient number of copies of the verbatim proceedings of the co-operative convention are here, and every delegate will be furnished with a copy, so that he may thoroughly inform himself as to the status of the movement in our State at this time, and also get a glimpse of the substantial advantages that it means to the working men and their families, and its great possibilities for the future.

Since the convention, the sub-committee of managers of the different co-operative stores, provided for by the action of the convention for that purpose, met in Springfield, at the Illinois State Federation of Labor headquarters, September 24, 1916, and decided to district the State from a co-operative point of view, for the purpose of arranging for buying wholesale, for all of the stores as early as possible, through one buyer.

They created three districts. Howard Shelton, manager of the Springfield co-operative store, has been given charge of the Springfield district, which will include the stores in that immediate territory and north of Springfield.

Peter Moerth, manager of the Staunton co-operative store, has been given the central district, which will include stores in that territory, and R. E. Baty, manager of the Sesser co-operative store, has been given the stores in the southeastern district. Each of them will take the matter up with the stores in their districts, as to the articles they want to buy and the quantities, and then send in the orders to Mr. Moerth, who is chairman of the sub-committee, who will compile the whole, then buy the quantities desired, making whatever arrangements for shipment that will be the most advantageous; thus the second step in the development of a real co-operative movement in our country has been taken.

This means beginning the wholesale movement with no added cost or responsibility, and at the same time getting some immediate advantages and providing for arranging the wholesale method of buying their products on a large scale for all of the co-operative stores at the earliest possible date, and the installation of the department with a man in charge of it, at the earliest possible moment.

The Injunction Question

We also held a special convention of the representatives of all the Trade Unionists in the State of Illinois, on May 28, 1916, in Chicago, at which President Gompers of the A. F. of L. was present.

The convention was called for educational purposes, as well as for crystallizing sentiment and agreeing on a concrete plan of action in dealing with that most vitally important matter that affects every man, woman and child in our movement in the State of Illinois, the INJUNCTION QUESTION.

A sufficient number of copies of the proceedings of that convention are also here and every delegate will get a copy of it, so that he may familiarize himself with what took place at that meeting, and be able to act in this convention, with full knowledge of what was done, at that time.

As the injunction evil is the greatest menace to the progress of the Trade Union movement and the welfare of the common man in our State at the present time, I believe that this convention should deal with it in such a manner as to leave no room for doubt in the minds of anyone as to the deadly earnestness of the workers in Illinois in their effort to secure relief from it.

The following is the report of the special committee selected by the special Injunction Limitation convention, to deal with this matter, and which was adopted by a rising unanimous vote of that meeting, and I would recommend that this, the regular annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, go on record as endorsing the action of that special convention, and instructing its officers to do everything that it lies in their power to do, to carry it into effect.

Report of Committee.

To the Special Conference of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

The committee to which was referred the report of President Walker begs leave to submit the endorsement of the report and recommends the approval and endorsement of the following bill, approved by the Illinois State Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor:

Section 1. Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly: It shall not be unlawful for working men and women to organize themselves into or carry on labor unions for the purpose of lessening the hours of labor or increasing the wages or bettering the condition of the members of such organizations; or carrying out their legitimate purposes as freely as they could do if acting singly.

Section 2. No restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of this State, or any judge or judges thereof, in any case involving or growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property or to a property right of the party making the application, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law, and such property or property right must be described with particularity in the application, which must be in writing and sworn to by the applicant or by his agent or attorney.

Section 3. No restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, from terminating any relation of employment or from ceasing to perform any work or labor; or from recommending, advising or persuading others so to do; or from attending at any place where any person or persons may lawfully be, for the purpose of obtaining or communicating information, or from persuading any such person to work or to abstain from working; or from ceasing to patronize any party to such dispute; or from recommending, advising or persuading others so to do; or from paying or giving to, or withholding from, any person engaged in such dispute any strike benefits or other moneys or things of value; or from assembling in a lawful manner, and for lawful purposes; or from doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of such dispute by a single individual; nor shall any of the acts specified in this section be considered or held to be illegal or unlawful in any court of this State.

Section 4. That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce, and the right to enter into the relation of employer and employe, or to change that relation; or to assume and create a new relation for employer and employe; or to perform and carry on business with any person in any place; or to do work and labor as an employe,

shall be held and construed to be a personal and not a property right. In all cases involving the violation of the contract of employment, either by the employe or employer, where no irreparable damage is about to be committed upon the property or property right of either, no injunction shall be granted, but the parties shall be left to their remedy at law.

Section 5. No person shall be indicted, prosecuted or tried in any court of this State for entering into or carrying on any arrangement, agreement or combination between themselves made with a view of lessening the number of hours of labor or increasing wages or bettering the condition of workingmen, or for any act done in pursuance thereof, unless such act is in itself forbidden by law if done by a single individual.

The committee further submits the approval of the following recommendation contained in President Walker's report:

"I would therefore recommend that this measure be made the paramount legislative measure by the Trade Union movement of the State of Illinois, from now on, and that everything else be subordinated to the supreme effort of securing the enactment of it into law at the earliest possible moment.

"I would further recommend that a committee be selected by this conference for the purpose of waiting on the proper authorities representing each of the political party organizations in the State of Illinois, to request that they include in their platforms a plank endorsing the enactment of this measure into law, and guaranteeing that the powers of their organization will be used to that end. The results of the efforts of that committee with each of the different political party organizations within the State should be reported as soon as they are completed, so that the voters will know just exactly what to expect from each of those organizations.

"I would, in addition, recommend that the program of procedure, with reference to the different candidates for State Representatives, Senators, Governor, Lieutenant-Governor and Speaker, as agreed to by the Alton Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, be endorsed by this conference, and that we pledge ourselves to use every influence in our power to see that it is carried into effect. We should endeavor to interest any other organization that might be sympathetic. Everything possible should be done to make a most thorough campaign to secure the enactment of this measure which will place Illinois on the same plane in this fundamental principle as is the United States now, and forever make clear that labor is not a commodity or article of commerce, but is a portion of the life of the human being itself, and that human rights are prior to and higher than those of anything else on earth."

The committee also recommends that the Executive Board of the Illinois State Federation of Labor be and is hereby requested, authorized and empowered to take every action necessary to carry out the spirit and purpose of the recommendations made by President Walker, and as contained in his report, as well as the declaration herewith recommended.

In addition to the foregoing, your committee submits the following statement for your approval and endorsement, with the recommendation that the widest publicity be given to this declaration:

To the Workers and Liberty-Loving Citizens of Illinois:

The representatives of the organized wage earners of our State met in special convention assembled in the City of Chicago this 28th day of May, 1916, to consider the grave injustice and wrong practiced upon the toilers and citizens of this great State. Under the rulings of courts, the interpretation of laws enacted to protect the citizens of Illinois, the efforts of the toilers, the wealth producers, to protect their rights and their interests, have been so construed as to deny them the exercise of normal activities, constitutional rights for the protection and the promotion of the rights and interests of the toilers of our State. Under strained construction of the law, voluntary organizations of workers, organized for mutual protection and not for profit, are placed in the same category in the eyes of the law as unlawful combinations or trusts. Under extension of the powers of equity courts, injunctions have been issued against workers denying to them the constitutional rights of free assemblage, free speech and the freedom of the press.

Under strained constructions and powers of the courts of equity, personal rights have been regulated when the fundamental principles of equity are designed to protect rights of property alone. Under proceedings for contempt of these unwarranted injunctions, citizens—men and women of Illinois—have been denied the right of trial by jury. Thus the law has been so interpreted, powers of equity courts so extended, as to divide the citizens of Illinois; the protection of constitutional and statutory law and rights have been denied the wage workers of the State, while the full privilege and protection has been accorded to all other citizens.

This situation has become intolerable. It is not only unjust and unwarranted but places a stigma and humiliation upon the wage earners of the State. The toilers of Illinois are law-abiding and ask no immunity for anyone guilty of violating law; they ask for no special privilege, but they must have and do insist upon being accorded equal rights and equality of opportunity before the law.

Deeply conscious of the great wrong of which we complain, and of the rights to which the toilers of our State are entitled, we, the representatives of the workers of Illinois in special convention assembled, pledge ourselves and those for whom we have been delegated to speak, to take every lawful action in order to secure the enactment of a law, by the Legislature of the State of Illinois, which shall rectify the wrongs and the injustice of which we complain, and to establish in the State the provisions of such a law identical in purpose to the labor provisions of the Clayton Anti-Trust Law enacted by Congress and signed by the President of the United States, October 15, 1914.

The organized movement of the workers of Illinois hereby pledges itself to make this measure the paramount issue in the pending political campaign in the State of Illinois, and shall hold to a strict accountability the men and the political parties in Illinois, who and which asks for the suffrages of the citizens of our State.

In the cause of justice, freedom, democracy and humanity, we submit this our cause to the sympathetic consideration and co-operation of our fellow workers and fellow citizens of the State.

Fraternally submitted,

FRANK FARRINGTON,
Pres. Ill. Mine Workers, Chm.

MATTHEW WOLL,
Pres. Int. Photo-Eng. Union, Secy.

JOHN P. DOYLE,
State Secy.-Treas. Farmers' Ed. and Co-op. Union.

MRS. RAYMOND ROBINS,
Pres. Nat. Women's Trade Union League.

S. B. GLENN,
Pres. Rockford Central Labor Union.

JOHN FITZPATRICK,
Pres. Chicago Federation of Labor.

JOHN R. ALPINE,
V.-P. Am. Federation of Labor.

AL TOWERS,
Belleville Trades and Labor Assembly.

EMIL SEIDELL,
Decatur Trades and Labor Assembly.

J. A. CULP,
Chm. R. R. Brotherhoods Jt. Legis. Board of Ill.

JAMES B. CONNORS,
Asst. Pres. Switchmen's Union of N. A.

R. G. SODDERSTROM,
Streator Trades and Labor Assembly.

H. C. MADDOX,
Secy. Alton Trades and Labor Assembly.

FRANK J. KENNEDY,
Int. Org. U. A. of P. and S.

HENRY BOGASKE,
Springfield Federation of Labor.

MARGARET HALEY,
American Federation of Teachers.

ELISABETH CHRISTMAN,
Pres. Int. Glove Workers' Union.

MARTIN MCGRAW,
Int. Union of Brewery Workmen.

ANNA FITZGERALD,
Pres. Nat. Women's Union Label League.

In line with the action of that convention, a special committee was appointed to interrogate every candidate for Representative and State Senator as to their views on the injunction question. This action was taken for the purpose of learning their attitude and advising the Trade Unionists and friends of labor in this State just how every candidate stood on this vitally important question.

The following are the names of the different candidates who answered that communication, also their replies:

Are the candidates for the Legislature in your Senatorial district for or against Labor's Injunction-Limitation Bill?

The following list shows the attitude of various candidates in the primaries for State Senators and Representatives, as indicated by them in answers to the letter sent out for the Anti-Injunction Committee by Secretary Olander of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Where the views expressed are clearly stated in favor of the bill, leaving no doubt, the answer is noted as "Favorable."

In other cases various notations are used to enable the reader to form an opinion.

All of the present members of the Senate and House did not reply. The information in such cases is based upon the report of the Joint Labor Legislative Board.

Candidates whose names do not appear in the list failed to make any reply or acknowledgment of the letter from the Federation.

State Senators are being elected this year only in the districts with even numbers, as in the Second, Fourth, Sixth, etc.

SENATORIAL DISTRICTS.

FIRST DISTRICT—Most of the First Ward, Part of the Second Ward, and a Small Part of the Fourth Ward, City of Chicago.

Representatives.

JOHN GRIFFIN—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

WM. M. BRINKMAN—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

SHEADRICK B. TURNER—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

JOHN MORRIS—Favorable.

CHAS. W. HOWORTH—Favorable.

SECOND DISTRICT—The Western Part of Eighteenth Ward and Parts of Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth and Nineteenth Wards in the City of Chicago.

Senator.

FRANCIS A. HURLEY—Attitude unknown.

MEYER CROSSMAN—Favorable.

H. McGEEAN—Favorable.

DANIEL O'CONNELL—Favorable.

MICHAEL P. HAMILTON—Favorable.

A. W. GLADWIN—Favorable.

JOHN M. POWELL—Favorable.

Representatives.

- FRANK RYAN—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 GEO. N. LIPSCHULCH—Favorable. "Not present during vote on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session, being absent on account of serious illness in family."
 A. YARMO—Favorable.
 RICHARD GOGGIN—Favorable.
 RANDALL E. MARSHALL—Favorable.
 ALBERT IRWIN—Favorable.
 R. J. MARCY—"I will treat labor fair."
 G. C. WEINMANN—"Will support any just measure."
 A. E. SMITH—Favorable.
 TIMOTHY F. TIERNEY—Favorable.

THIRD DISTRICT—Parts of the First, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Wards in the City of Chicago.**Representatives.**

- J. P. WALSH—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 EDW. M. SANTRY—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 ROBERT R. JACKSON—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 W. T. MAHONEY—Favorable.
 WM. RICHARD COON—"Every man and woman is entitled to a good home, good education, recreation, etc., in order to make them healthy and fit for their daily tasks. I favor the passage of such laws that will guarantee to labor the above mentioned necessities."
 H. E. SCHULTZ—Favorable.
 CLIFFORD A. STANFIELD—Favorable.

FOURTH DISTRICT—The Thirtieth Ward and Parts of the Third, Fifth and Twenty-ninth Wards and One Precinct of the Thirty-first Ward in the City of Chicago.**Senator.**

- AL F. GORMAN—Attitude unknown.
 J. A. BOYLE—Favorable.
 TIMOTHY F. FLOOD—Favorable.
 W. J. CRONIN—Favorable.
 JOHN KOWALSKI—Favorable.

Representatives.

- WM. M. ROSSELL—Favorable.
 HERBERT KILENS—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 G. C. HILTON—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 THOS. A. BOYER—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 FRANK C. McNICHOLAS—Favorable.
 JOHN SCHICK—Favorable.
 WM. H. VAN HOOK—Favorable.
 JOHN E. PEIRCE—Favorable.
 R. J. KOWALEWSKI—Favorable.
 PETER G. NIX—Favorable.
 THOS. P. McGRATH—"I am in favor of any legislation that will benefit labor."
 WM. J. BAXTER—Favorable.

FIFTH DISTRICT—The Sixth and Parts of the Third and Seventh Wards in the City of Chicago.

Representatives.

- MICHAEL L. IGOE—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 JOHN H. HELWIG—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 ALEXANDER H. HEYMAN—"Am giving matter serious consideration."
 CLAUDE F. SMITH—"Unable to vote for it in its present form."
 T. G. VENT—Correspondence on the subject not completed.
 W. A. HAMMAN—Favorable.
 E. R. TIEDEBOHL—Favorable.
 WM. P. MEYERS—Favorable.
 JOHN C. FLORA—Favorable.
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SIXTH DISTRICT—The Twenty-fourth Ward, Most of the Twenty-Sixth Ward, and Parts of the Twenty-second, Twenty-third and Twenty-fifth Wards, in the City of Chicago, and the Towns of Evanston, Ridgeville and Parts of New Trier and Niles, All in the County of Cook.

Senator.

- GEO. W. HARRIS—Favorable.
 W. J. STAPLETON—Favorable.
 E. BERGREN—Favorable.
 N. C. WERDELL—Favorable.
 CHAS. L. SWANSON—"Although I have not as yet thoroughly diagnosed the bill, so I could promise my support, I will state that I am in sympathy with the cause of labor."

Representatives.

- R. E. WILSON—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 JOS. A. WEBER—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 E. M. STOUT—Favorable.
 B. V. HUBBARD—Favorable.
 ALLAN J. CARTER—Favorable.
 C. H. JOHNSON—Favorable.
 R. E. CHURCH—Favorable.
 HARDY W. LEWIS—Favorable.
 E. J. HEINE—"General features and provisions of the bill, as I have studied them, are in line with my views."
 A. L. KEMNITZ—"Have not had time to consider the bill."
 BENJ. S. HERBERT—"Will give this most important subject very careful consideration."
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SEVENTH DISTRICT—The Towns of Thornton, Bloom, Rich, Bremen, Orland, Lemont, Palos, Worth, Lyons, Proviso, Leyden, Elk Grove, Schaumburg, Hanover, Barrington, Palatine, Wheeling, Northfield, Norwood Park, Maine, Nearly All of the Towns of Stickney, New Trier and Niles, All in the County of Cook; Also a Small Part of the Twenty-seventh Ward (extreme northwest), in the City of Chicago.

Representatives.

F. R. DE YOUNG—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 J. W. McCARTHY—Favorable.
 CHAS. S. BELL—Favorable.
 C. A. HERCULES—Favorable.
 A. F. ROBINSON—Favorable.
 GUSTAV J. KRAEMER—Favorable.
 R. A. MEIER, JR.—Name withdrawn.
 W. J. CAMERON—Favorable.
 WM. A. ADAMS—Favorable.
 H. O. MEYER—Favorable.
 J. A. PROUT—Favorable.

EIGHTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Boone, Lake and McHenry.

Senator.

ALBERT J. OLSON—Attitude unknown. Unfriendly to several labor measures in previous sessions. See legislative report.
 RODNEY B. SWIFT—"I am a worker for organized labor and my heart is in the movement to organize the farmers. I will aid all sensible and practical movements for the man who works."
 MARIUS JORGENSEN—Favorable.

Representatives.

THOS. E. GRAHAM—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 EDW. D. SHURTLEFF—Not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session. Opposed it in debate.
 J. H. VICKERS—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 A. J. MARKLEY—"Will support measures beneficial to labor."
 L. BECKLINGER—"Contemplated law is all right as long as there is no violence used or traffic obstructed."
 JORGEN M. HANSEN—Favorable.

NINTH DISTRICT—Most of the Twelfth Ward, and Parts of the Fourth, Fifth and Eleventh Wards, in the City of Chicago.

Representatives.

R. J. MULCAHY—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 JOS. PLACEK—Favorable. Voted favorably on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 D. E. SHANAHAN—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session. Was Speaker of the House.
 OTTO KRAMPIKOWSKY—Favorable.
 FRANK BRUNKE—Favorable.
 FRANK VONDRASEK—Favorable.
 A. F. CHOLEWINSKI—Favorable.
 E. J. QUINN—Favorable.
 JOS. PAVELCHIK—"I believe there ought to be some laws passed on that order."
 LOUIS A. CEJKA—Favorable.

TENTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Ogle and Winnebago.

Senator.

JOHN A. ATWOOD—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

HERMAN HALLSTROM—Favorable.

Representatives.

H. S. HICKS—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

E. A. FESTERLING—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

J. F. McCONAUGHY—Favorable.

ROBERT TOOLE—Favorable.

D. HAL. SMITH—Favorable.

C. W. BAKER—Correspondence not complete.

ELEVENTH DISTRICT—Most of the Thirty-first and Thirty-second Wards and Parts of the Twenty-ninth, Seventh and Ninth Wards, in the City of Chicago.

Representatives.

FRANK J. RYAN—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

H. F. SCHUBERTH—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

JOHN H. LYLE—Voted favorably on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session, but stated he would not vote for it on final passage.

W. J. GRACE—Favorable.

G. W. O'NEIL—"Will have to give the bill more study."

JOHN P. SMITH—"Will vote for passage of any bill that will better working conditions."

RICHARD J. KNIGHT—Favorable.

J. J. HARRINGTON—Favorable.

J. D. McHUGH—Favorable.

J. THOMPSON WHITE—Favorable.

THOS. F. HENNESSY—Favorable.

TWELFTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Carroll, Jo Daviess and Stephenson.

Senator.

MICHAEL H. CLEARY—Friendly to labor on past record as reported by the Legislative Board.

JOHN D. TURNBAUGH—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

O. R. ZIPF—"I have read this bill over carefully and I cannot see anything in it that is unreasonable or unfair."

Representatives.

CHAS. F. FRANZ—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

G. W. WRIGHT—Favorable.

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT—The Eighth Ward, Most of the Ninth Ward and Part of the Seventh and Thirty-second Wards in the City of Chicago, and the Town of Calumet, All in the County of Cook.

Representatives.

JAS. W. RYAN—Favorable.
 G. A. DAHLBERG—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 C. A. YOUNG—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 S. W. GOVIER—Favorable.
 W. F. McPHEE—Favorable.
 E. J. O'CONNOR—Favorable.
 R. B. VAIL—Favorable.
 JOHN MONROE—"I am naturally inclined to curb the injunction as it relates to interfering with the rights of labor, organized or unorganized. I am inclined to favor the bill."
 E. J. SCHNACKENBERG—Favorable.
 W. H. ALLEN—Favorable.
 T. J. VIND—Favorable.

FOURTEENTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Kane and Kendall.

Senator.

H. C. KESSINGER—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in House, last session.
 F. S. JOHNSON—Favorable.
 ROBERT BURKE—"Reasonable restriction ought to be placed upon issuance of injunctions."

Representatives.

FRANK R. DALTON—Favorable. "Was favorable to the bill in last session, but for some reason was not recorded and therefore appear as having been absent or not voting."
 DE GOY E. ELLIS—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 FRANK GOLDMAN—Favorable.
 A. L. MANN—"Will study the bill."

FIFTEENTH DISTRICT—Parts of Tenth, Eleventh and Twentieth Wards in the City of Chicago.

Representatives.

PETER F. SMITH—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 JOS. O. HRUBY—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 THOS. CURRAN—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 IGNATIUS FRASZ—Favorable.
 FERDINAND SVOBODA—Favorable.
 F. J. VAVRICEK—Favorable.
 G. H. GANCARZ—"Will help your cause."
 JOS. SZYMANSKI—Favorable.
 WM. J. McAULIFFE—Favorable.
 J. J. JELINEK—Favorable.

SIXTEENTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Livingston, Marshall, Putnam and Woodford,

Senator.

WM. H. BENTLY—Favorable.

CHRISTIAN HAASE—Report of Legislative Board indicates not favorable to labor measures.

Representatives.

MICHAEL FAHY—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

F. A. BARR—Favorable.

DANIEL G. REECE—Favorable.

SEVENTEENTH DISTRICT—Parts of the Tenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Wards in the City of Chicago.

Representatives.

J. S. BURNS—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

J. W. EPSTEIN—"I want my future actions judged by what I have done in the past." Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

EDW. J. SMEJKAL—Attitude unknown. Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session, but was Chairman of Appropriation Committee and therefore unable to be present during many of the votes.

MICHAEL BIONDE—Favorable.

R. J. SHERIDAN—Favorable.

EIGHTEENTH DISTRICT—The County of Peoria.

Senator.

JOHN DAILEY—Attitude unknown, but legislative report indicates not favorable to important labor measures in last session.

BERT LEE COTTRELL—Favorable.

J. E. DEMPSEY—Favorable.

Representatives.

THOS. N. GORMAN—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

J. F. LYNCH—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

H. L. DONALDSON—Favorable.

J. R. STULL—Favorable.

J. A. HOFFMAN—"I can see no objection to the bill."

C. S. STUBBLES—Unfavorable.

JOHN F. LYLE—Favorable.

NINETEENTH DISTRICT—The Thirty-fourth Ward, Most of the Thirteenth Ward, and Parts of the Twelfth, Fourteenth and Thirty-fifth Wards in the City of Chicago, the Towns of Riverside, Berwyn, and Most of the Town of Cicero, All in the County of Cook.

Representatives.

J. C. McGLOON—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

J. T. PRENDERGAST—Favorable.

- S. P. RODERICK—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 M. T. CULLERTON—Favorable.
 P. F. COFFEY—Favorable.
 P. A. HOLLEB—Favorable.
 T. A. HOGAN—Favorable.
 E. T. McCAFFREY—Favorable.
 T. J. STACK—Favorable.
 J. J. SUP—Favorable.
 WM. H. SAGE—Favorable.
 J. T. WELCH—Favorable.
 H. B. WOLFF—Favorable.
 J. F. HEMMONS—Favorable.
 W. J. JACKEL—Favorable.
 F. SIDLO—Favorable.
 F. V. STUCHAL—Favorable.
 C. F. MANAHAN—"Favor spirit of it, but am not enough of a lawyer to determine how far it would tie the hand of the authorities in handling disturbances that almost invariably accompany a strike."
 JAMES T. WELCH—Favorable.
-

TWENTIETH DISTRICT—The Counties of Grundy, Iroquois and Kankakee.

Senator.

- E. C. CURTIS—Attitude unknown. Legislative Board reports that as Chairman of Appropriations Committee in Senate, last session, he was unable to be present during roll call on many bills.
 WM. TAYLOR—Favorable.
 JAS. F. MALLANEY—Favorable.

Representatives.

- D. O'CONNELL—Voted favorably on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 R. R. MEENTS—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 ISRAEL DUDGEON—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 J. W. RAUSCH—Favorable. "The scope of the bill should be extended to include farmers' organizations."
 P. H. CAREY—"Have read bill but not carefully as yet. Generally speaking, I am in accord with principles it contains."
 A. A. McBROOM—Favorable.
 WM. H. DUNN—Favorable.
-

TWENTY-FIRST DISTRICT—Most of the Fourteenth Ward and Parts of the Seventeenth, Thirty-third and Thirty-fifth Wards in the City of Chicago.

Representatives.

- BENJ. M. MITCHELL—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 T. P. DEVEREAUX—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 F. J. BIPPUS—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

MICHAEL F. MAHER—Favorable.
 G. M. MAYPOLE—Favorable.
 J. GRUNAU—Favorable.
 WM. E. GOLDEN—Favorable.
 W. W. JOADWINE—Favorable.
 A. W. MERCER—Favorable.
 E. C. YOUNG—Favorable.
 H. W. HARRIS—Favorable.

TWENTY-SECOND DISTRICT—The Counties of Edgar and Vermilion.

Senator.

M. B. BAILEY—Attitude unknown.
 G. W. BURY—Favorable.

Representatives.

W. P. HOLADAY—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 A L. STANFIELD—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 C. M. CRAYTON—Favorable.

TWENTY-THIRD DISTRICT—The Fifteenth Ward and Parts of the Sixteenth, Thirty-third and Thirty-fifth Wards in the City of Chicago, and the Town of Oak Park, All in the County of Cook.

Representatives.

GEO. R. BRUCE—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 C. M. MADSEN—Favorable.
 WM. G. THON—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 F. P. DELABY—Favorable.
 C. W. McNERNEY—Favorable.
 E. M. OVERLAND—Favorable.
 H. H. PRESTON—Favorable.
 P. F. SCHAEFER—Favorable.
 J. B. SHAPIRO—Favorable.
 E. P. SCHROEDER—Favorable.
 W. W. TODD—"I am going to stand for all that is to the interest of the great majority and as near as I can see now that interest will be best served by something like the Canadian Arbitration Law and by abolishing the abuse by our courts of our laws, including the injunction."

TWENTY-FOURTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Champaign, Moultrie and Piatt.

Senator.

R. D. MEEKER—Attitude unknown. See report of legislative board.
 W. F. BURREN—Favorable. "I am for this or any other bill which gives you or anyone else equal rights under the law."
 J. W. RODMAN—"If I should become convinced that this bill is needed in order to secure to labor its rights, I will support it."
 H. M. DUNLAP—Undecided.

Representatives.

- F. E. WILLIAMSON—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 C. A. GREGORY—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 J. G. HICKS—Favorable.
 WM. H. H. MILLER—Favorable.
 J. C. W. PITTMAN—Undecided.
 O. L. DAVIS—Favorable.
-

TWENTY-FIFTH DISTRICT—The Twenty-eighth Ward, nearly all of the Twenty-seventh Ward, most of the Thirty-third Ward, Parts of the Thirty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Wards in the City of Chicago.

Representatives.

- JOHN G. JACOBSON—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 C. L. FIELDSTACK—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 J. M. MASON—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 L. P. CARDWELL—Favorable.
 W. T. ALBRIGHT—Favorable. "Note me as being for the great cause of labor."
 F. H. LANDMESSER—Favorable.
 J. G. LEWANDOWSKI—Favorable.
 A. W. SCHWANE—Favorable.
 WALTER E. BOERGER—Favorable "Such legislation will greatly curb many existing evils."
 F. T. BAIRD—"Favor laws of benefit to organized labor."
 O. M. LUMBY—"In favor of any legislation to protect rights of workers."
 MICH. F. McMAHON—Favorable.
 F. P. CAVIEZAL—Favorable.
-

TWENTY-SIXTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Ford and McLean.

Senator.

- N. ELMO FRANKLIN—Attitude unknown.
 JACOB MARTENS—"See no reason why this bill should not pass."

Representatives.

- WM. ROWE—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 D. D. DONAHUE—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 J. C. HARVEY—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 GEO. E. DOOLEY—Favorable.
 WM. H. WRIGHT—Favorable.
 R. E. FOX—Favorable.
-

TWENTY-SEVENTH DISTRICT—Parts of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Wards in the City of Chicago.

Representatives.

- J. M. DONLAN—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 J. A. G. TRANDEL—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

A. ROSTENKOWSKI—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

EDWARD WALZ—Favorable.

LUDWIG MILLER—Favorable.

TWENTY-EIGHTH DISTRICT—The Counties of DeWitt, Logan and Macon.

Senator.

W. R. SHAW—Favorable. "I am for it."

J. A. HENSON—Favorable.

B. F. LILYBECK—Favorable.

A. H. MILLS—"Shall give both sides unbiased consideration."

Representatives.

CLIFFORD QUISENBERRY—Introduced and voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

EDW. E. PERKINS—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

T. C. BUXTON—"Sec. 2, line 3 following 9th word should read also to persons and personal injury. I should be favorable to it if such a change was made, as it now stands it seems a little too strong." Was absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

G. F. THOMPSON—Favorable.

C. L. ZANEIS—Favorable.

H. A. CRAWFORD—Favorable.

HORACE McDAVID—"I have always felt kindly towards union labor. If I am elected I propose to give any measures which are brought before the House fair consideration and to study them carefully."

TWENTY-NINTH DISTRICT—Parts of the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Wards in the City of Chicago.

Representatives.

J. H. FARRELL—Favorable. "I find the bill embodies the restoration of Illinois fundamental rights, free speech and free press and assembly necessary to liberty. I stand for these principles." Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

B. J. CONLON—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

JOHN B. DUNN—"Will favor organized labor by voice and vote."

FREDERICK LANTZ—Favorable.

JOS. S. DEVONEY—Favorable.

J. D. IROSE—"There is no question in my mind but that the issuing of injunctions in labor matters has been abused in the past."

WM. F. C. McCONNELL—Favorable.

ROBT. L. REID—Favorable.

VINCENT DUDICK—Favorable.

THIRTIETH DISTRICT—The Counties of Brown, Cass, Mason, Menard, Schuyler and Tazewell.

Senator.

W. I. MANNY—Attitude not stated. See report of legislative board.

G. W. MORTON—"Unless there is something I cannot see at present, I will favor passage of such a bill."

G. F. KUHLMAN—Sympathetic.

Representatives.

- A. M. FOSTER—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 JOHN H. OLTMAN—Favorable.
 F. L. WARRINGTON—"In favor of a law copied closely after federal law on this subject."
 W. E. WILKENS—Favorable.
 D. F. LAWLEY—Favorable. "It is real equity, I am for full rights for men and women."
 F. C. WALLBAUM—"Will give all bills careful consideration."
 ELMER O. NEEF—Favorable.
-

THIRTY-FIRST DISTRICT—Parts of the Twenty-first, Twenty-second, Twenty-third and Twenty-fifth Wards in the City of Chicago.

Representatives.

- F. J. SEIF, JR.—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 HARRY F. HAMLIN—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 E. I. FRANKHOUSER—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 B. J. GLASER—Favorable. "Your bill is a good one."
 JAS. J. PROBASCO—Favorable.
 C. G. BERG—Favorable.
 J. F. WALSH—Favorable.
 W. E. MOONEY—Favorable.
 J. C. WERDELL—Favorable.
 H. C. BERGLAND—Favorable.
 C. MUELLER—Correspondence on subject not completed.
-

THIRTY-SECOND DISTRICT—The Counties of Hancock, McDonough and Warren.

Senator.

- W. A. COMPTON—Attitude not stated. Failed to vote for a number of important labor measures in last session. See report of legislative board.
 J. M. EVEY—"I see no reason for not supporting it."

Representatives.

- JOHN HUSTON—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 R. A. ELLIOTT—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 J. M. PAGE—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 ISAAC N. WILLIS—"Principles set forth are right. Know of no reason why I should not vote for them."
 CARL E. SPERRY—"In favor of organized labor in as far as it improves the condition of the laboring man without resorting to force and brutality."

THIRTY-THIRD DISTRICT—The Counties of Henderson, Mercer and Rock Island.**Representatives.**

- WM. C. MAUCKER—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 THOS. CAMPBELL—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 C. H. DITTO—"In favor of most, if not all of the bill."
 F. J. BALL—Favorable.
 C. F. GAETJER—"Favor legislation beneficial to labor."
-

THIRTY-FOURTH DISTRICTS—The Counties of Clark, Coles and Douglas.**Senator.**

- J. R. HAMILTON—Attitude unknown. See report of legislative board.
 C. R. RARDIN—"Will give it fair consideration."
 JOEL T. DAVIS—Favorable.

Representatives.

- C. A. PURDUNN—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 H. W. DRAKE—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 E. W. GREEN—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 R. HOWARD—Favorable.
-

THIRTY-FIFTH DISTRICT—The Counties of DeKalb, Lee and Whiteside.**Representatives.**

- WM. L. LEECH—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 F. A. BREWER—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 J. P. DEVINE—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 E. CARTER—Favorable.
-

THIRTY-SIXTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Adams, Calhoun, Pike and Scott.**Senator.**

- CHAS. R. McNAY—Favorable.
 JAS. CALLANS—Favorable.
 R. B. SIEPKER—Favorable.
 EDWARD YATES—"The general theory of the bill is well constructed and strongly presented."

Representatives.

- WM. H. HOFFMAN—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 ROLLAND M. WAGONER—"Find no objection to the bill and see no reason why I could not support it."
 E. T. STRUBINGER—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 J. R. ALBRIGHT—Favorable.

THIRTY-SEVENTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Bureau, Henry and Stark.

F. W. MORRASSY—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

RANDOLPH BOYD—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

J. R. MOORE—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

J. W. WALTERS—Undecided.

THIRTY-EIGHTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Greene, Jersey, Macoupin and Montgomery.**Senator.**

STEPHEN D. CANADY—Report of legislative board shows very favorable record.

WM. HUBBARD—"Cannot pledge my support to the bill as it stands, until I understand Section 3 more clearly." Was absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in the House, last session.

F. ROWDEN—Favorable.

W. C. PIERCE—Favorable.

Representatives.

H. A. SHEPHARD—Favorable.

OTTO C. SONNEMANN—Favorable.

T. J. CARROLL—Favorable.

ROBERT WHITELEY, JR.—Favorable.

THIRTY-NINTH DISTRICT—The County of LaSalle.**Representatives.**

LEE O'NEIL BROWNE—Calls attention to the support he give the bill in last session.

O. E. BENSON—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

WM. M. SCANLON—Voted for the Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

LEO N. TAYLOR—Favorable.

FORTIETH DISTRICT—Counties of Christian, Cumberland, Fayette and Shelby.**Senator.**

T. JEFF TOSSEY—Favorable.

Representatives.

ARTHUR ROE—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

F. T. DENNY—Favorable.

T. EWING CHERRY—Favorable. "Humanity must be considered of first importance or no real progress of our race can be made. Some law similar to the Clayton Act would meet our approval."

CHAS. A. BOWLES—Favorable.

FORTY-FIRST DISTRICT—The Counties of DuPage and Will.**Representatives.**

- M. F. HENNEBRY—Favorable. Voted for the Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 W. R. McCABE—Voted for the Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 S. F. TOMPKINS—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 O. G. CHRISTGAU—"I favor the bill in its essentials."
 LLEWELYN ROGERS—Favorable.
 H. P. SHACKLEY—Favorable.
 V. GRABUS—Favorable.
 J. R. BENTLEY—Favorable.
-

FORTY-SECOND DISTRICT—The Counties of Clay, Clinton, Effingham and Marion.**Senator.**

- F. C. CAMPBELL—Favorable.
 S. E. DAVIDSON—Favorable.
 R. S. JONES—Favorable.
 GEO. J. MONKEN—Favorable.

Representatives.

- J. W. THOMASON—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 FRED NAUMER—Favorable.
 C. L. McMACKIN—Favorable.
 HARVEY O. JONES—Undecided.
-

FORTY-THIRD DISTRICT—The Counties of Fulton and Knox.**Representatives.**

- J. E. DAVIS—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 O. B. WEST—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 W. H. BASIL—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 P. W. GALLAGHER—Favorable.
 C. M. DOWD—Favorable.
 R. E. MARSHALL—"My energies shall be directed at all times for the cause of labor."
-

FORTY-FOURTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Jackson, Monroe, Perry, Randolph and Washington.**Senator.**

- FRANK M. HEWITT—Favorable. Favor state law that would put Illinois in harmony with federal enactment.

Representatives.

- WM. T. MORRIS—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 HARRY WILSON—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 JAS. M. ETHERTON—"See no objection to the bill."

FORTY-FIFTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Morgan and Sangamon.**Representatives.**

EDW. L. MERRITT—Favorable. Voted for Injunction Bill in last session.

T. E. LYON—"If re-elected I shall continue to vote, as I have always done in the past, for all measures affecting union labor that appear to me to be fair and just." Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session. Absent or not voting on Car-Limit Bill. Voted against Women's Nine Hour Bill.

M. L. HILDRETH—Favorable.

I. S. DUNN—Favorable.

W. A. PAVEY—Undecided.

D. McDONALD—Favorable.

FORTY-SIXTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Jasper, Jefferson, Richland and Wayne.**Senator.**

W. DUFF PIERCY—Report of legislative board shows favorable attitude towards labor measures.

CHAS. L. WOOD—Favorable.

Representatives.

JOHN KASSERMAN—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session of legislature.

JOHN J. COOPER—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

FORTY-SEVENTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Bond and Madison.**Representatives.**

F. A. GARESCHE—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

CHRIS. RETHMEIER—Favorable. "At last session of legislature, on account of sickness in family, could not be present and for that reason did not vote for the bill."

NORMAN G. FLAGG—"Provisions in Section 2, especially, are more radical than I can now support, unless I can see things differently upon further study." Absent or not voting on Injunction Bill in last session.

FORTY-EIGHTH DISTRICT—The Counties of Crawford, Edwards, Gallatin, Hardin, Lawrence, Wabash and White.**Senator.**

J. A. WOMACK—Favorable.

T. B. WRIGHT—Favorable.

Representatives.

CARL GREEN—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

R. F. TAYLOR—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

J. A. WATSON—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.

RENE HAVILL—"Favor the workers."

J. F. UDE—"From what I see of your recommendation of this time, I do not believe that I would be opposed to it."

FORTY-NINTH DISTRICT—The County of St. Clair.**Representatives.**

- J. T. DESMOND—Voted for the Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 J. W. RENTCHILER—Absent or not voting on Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 J. T. WOOD—Favorable. "I am for it."
 C. F. SHORT—"Will support labor measures."
 F. HOLTEN—Favorable.
 N. HEMMER—Favorable.
 E. W. KREITNER—Favorable. "I feel that 'Prerogatives of a King's Bench' are at this day and age anarchial and in direct opposition to the constitution of the United States."
 WM. JAMPEL—Favorable.
 WM. A. SCHWARZTRAUBER—Favorable.
-

FIFTIETH DISTRICT—The Counties of Alexander, Franklin, Pulaski, Union and Williamson.**Senator.**

- D. T. WOODWARD—Favorable.

Representatives.

- J. H. FELTS—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 CHAS. CURREN—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 C. A. STEWART—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 A. J. KIMMEL—Favorable.
 CHAS. A. CANTRELL—"Will support such legislation as will aid and benefit organized labor."
 STUART LEWIS—Favorable.
 E. J. ODUM—Favorable.
 THOS. SULLIVAN—In sympathy with purpose of measure and have not at present any amendment to suggest."
-

FIFTY-FIRST DISTRICT—The Counties of Hamilton, Johnson, Massac, Pope and Saline.**Representatives.**

- ELWOOD BARKER—Favorable. Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 ORAL P. TUTTLE—Voted for Anti-Injunction Bill in last session.
 AUSTIN HILL—Favorable.
 WM. F. HALL—Favorable.
 ROY SUMMERS—Favorable.
 PAUL H. CASTLE—Favorable.
-

WOMEN QUESTION CANDIDATES ON EIGHT-HOUR BILL.

Report of the Women's Trade Union League of Chicago on replies received from candidates for the Legislature to the following question:

"IF ELECTED TO THE LEGISLATURE WILL YOU HELP TO CONSERVE THE HEALTH OF THE WORKING WOMEN BY SUPPORTING EIGHT-HOUR LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN WORKERS?"

Replies were received from the following candidates, all favorable except when otherwise stated:

FIRST DISTRICT.

No replies from candidates for Representatives from this district.

SECOND DISTRICT.

Parts of wards 18, 11, 12, 13, 19.

Senate.

Michael P. Hamilton
Roman G. Lewis
John Powell

Daniel O'Connell
Harry McGeean
Patrick H. O'Toole.

House.

Richard A. Goggin.

THIRD DISTRICT.

Parts of Wards 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, Chicago.

House.

John P. Walsh

David R. Robinson
William Richard Coon.

FOURTH DISTRICT.

Ward 30, parts of 3d, 5th, 29th and 31st, Chicago.

Senate.

Frank McDermott

Timothy Flood.

House.

Peter G. Nix

John Schick

FIFTH DISTRICT.

Ward 6, parts of 3d and 7th.

House.

Wilbur A. Hamman
Worth Allen
William P. Meyers

Thomas G. Vent
Claude F. Smith
Edward R. Tiedebohl

SIXTH DISTRICT.

Twenty-fourth ward, parts of 26, 22, 23 and 25th, Chicago, towns of Evanston, Ridgeville, parts of New Trier and Niles, in Cook County.

Senate.

Nicklas C. Werdell
Wm. J. Stapleton

George W. Harris
Senne S. Spenser
Charles L. Swanson.

William M. Brown would not pledge and did not vote for the Women's Nine-Hour Bill.

House.

Allen J. Carter
Ralph E. Church

Melville E. Adams
C. Herman Johnson

Benjamin S. Herbert would not pledge.

Arthur L. Kemnitz would not pledge.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Towns of Thornton, Bloom, Rich, Bremen, Orland, Lemont, Palos, Worth, Lyons, Stickney, Proviso, Leyden, Elk Grove, Schaumburg, Hanover, Barrington, Palatine, Wheeling, Northfield, parts of towns of New Trier, Niles, Norwood Park, Maine, all in the county of Cook.

Senate.

Alex. F. Robinson
John W. McCarthy
Hugo J. Thal

C. A. Hercules
William J. Cameron
William A. Adams

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Counties of Boone, Lake and McHenry.

Senate.

Walter J. Walsh

Marius Jorgenson

House.

Charles F. Hayes
Andrew J. Markley

Louis Becklinger
Jorgen M. Hansen.

NINTH DISTRICT.

Parts of 4th, 5th, 11th and 12th wards, Chicago.

House.

Frank Vondrasek
Otto J. Krampikowsky

Emil J. Heine
Frank Brunke

TENTH DISTRICT.

The counties of Ogle and Winnebago.

Senate.

Herman Hallstrom

House.

D. Hal Smith

E. A. Ray
Robert Toole

ELEVENTH DISTRICT.

Parts of the 32d, 31st, 29, 7th and 9th wards, Chicago.

House.

John P. Smith
Wm. J. Grace
John E. Conroy

Frank J. Ryan
George W. O'Neil
John J. Harrington

TWELFTH DISTRICT.

Counties of Carroll, Jo Daviess, Stephenson.

Senate.

Oscar R. Zipf

E. R. Ling

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT.

Parts of wards, 7, 8, 9, 32, Chicago, and town of Calumet.

House.

James W. Ryan

Walter H. Allen
John Monroe

FOURTEENTH DISTRICT.

Counties of Kane and Kendall.

Senate.

Arwin E. Price

House.

R. A. Milroy

Fred Goldman

SECOND DISTRICT.

Senator.

TIMOTHY F. TIERNEY—Favorable.

Representative.

GEORGE W. LIPSHULCH—Voted for nine-hour bill for women last session. Wrote expressing sympathy with any movement that goes to limit the hours of any working person within keeping of a decent life as we conceive it in this country and that tends to preserve mother and womanhood.

FOURTH DISTRICT.

Senator.

JOHN A. BOYLE—Favorable.

TWENTY-EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Representatives.

A. H. MILLS—Answers "Yes," if you include the mothers in the homes within the terms 'working women'; and if not, would give both sides unbiased consideration."

FIFTEENTH DISTRICT.

Parts of 10th, 11th and 20th wards, Chicago.

House.

Peter J. Afeld

SIXTEENTH DISTRICT.

Counties of Livingston, Marshall, Putnam and Woodford.

Senate.

No replies from candidates for the Senate.

House.

Daniel G. Reece

Chas. H. Turner

George W. Hunt

Chas. H. Carmon not pledged. Favors shorter hours, but does not want to pledge.

SEVENTEENTH DISTRICT.

Parts of 9th, 10th, 19th and 20th wards, Chicago.

House.

John S. Burns

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

EIGHTEENTH DISTRICT.

County of Peoria.

Senate.

No replies from candidates for the Senate.

House.

H. L. Donaldson
John E. Dempsey
Chas. F. Black

J. R. Stull
John F. Lyle
Paul H. Castle

NINETEENTH DISTRICT.

The 34th ward, part of the 12th, 13th, 14th and 35th wards, Chicago, towns of Riverside, Berwyn, part of the town of Cicero, in Cook County.

House.

William H. Sage
Herbert B. Wolff

Thomas A. Hogan
Frank V. Stuchal

TWENTIETH DISTRICT.

Counties of Grundy, Iroquois and Kankakee.

Senate.

No replies from candidates for the Senate.

House.

J. W. Rausch

A. A. McBroom

TWENTY-FIRST DISTRICT.

Parts of 14th, 17th, 33d wards.

House.

George M. Maypole
Benjamin M. Mitchell
William E. Golden

Frank Murray
Edward Newman
John Grunau
Arthur Burdahl

Frank H. Guffin not pledged. Favors the principle, but doesn't care to pledge himself to any specific act.

TWENTY-SECOND DISTRICT.

Counties of Edgar and Vermilion.

Senate.

No replies from candidates for the Senate.

House.

William P. Holaday.

TWENTY-THIRD DISTRICT.

The 15th ward, part of 16th, 33d and 35th wards, Chicago, and the town of Oak Park.

House.

Geo. R. Bruce
J. B. Shapiro
Rudolph C. Weichbrodt
A. B. Wisler

Harvey H. Preston
Peter A. Anderson
Christian M. Madsen
Paul F. Schafer

TWENTY-FOURTH DISTRICT.

Counties of Champaign, Moultrie and Piatt.

Senate.

No replies from candidates for the Senate.

House.

F. E. Williamson

William H. Miller

J. C. W. Pittman

TWENTY-FIFTH DISTRICT.

Twenty-eighth ward, and part of 27th, 33d, 35th and 26th wards, Chicago.

Frank L. Landmesser

Frank T. Baird

Joseph G. Lewandowski

Michael McMahon

A. W. Schwane

Walter E. Boerger

Joseph M. Mason

TWENTY-SIXTH DISTRICT.

Counties of Ford and McLean.

Senate.

No replies from candidates for the Senate.

House.

George E. Dooley

William Rowe

Richard Ezra Fox

TWENTY-SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Parts of the 16th, 17th and 18th wards, Chicago.

House.

Albert Rostenkowski

TWENTY-EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Counties of DeWitt, Logan and Macon.

Senate.

B. F. Lillybeck

House.

Claire E. Hutchins

Chas. L. Zaneis

H. A. Crawford

Edward C. Perkins not pledged. Mr. Perkins says: "I have always stood for good labor legislation and will continue to do so." His record shows that HE OPPOSED THE WOMEN'S NINE-HOUR BILL.

TWENTY-NINTH DISTRICT.

Parts of the 21st and 22d wards, Chicago.

House.

James H. Farrell

Joseph D. Irose

John B. Dunn

Henry W. Boerner

Joseph S. DeVoney

Wm. F. C. McConnell

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

THIRTIETH DISTRICT.

Counties of Brown, Cass, Mason, Menard, Schuyler and Tazewell.

Senate.

George F. Kuhlmann

John C. Work

Galen W. Morton unpledged. Mr. Morton says: "If the bill you introduce is an honest bill to protect the working girls from such abuse as I know them to suffer, then I will vote for the bill."

House.

W. E. Wilkins

John H. Oltman

Davis F. Lawley

THIRTY-FIRST DISTRICT.

Parts of the 21st, 22d, 23d and 25th wards, Chicago.

House.

William E. Mooney

Richard J. Burke

John F. Walsh

James J. Probasco

C. Gottfried Berg

THIRTY-SECOND DISTRICT.

Counties of Hancock, McDonough and Warren.

Senate.

Francis M. Branich

No replies received from candidates for Representatives.

THIRTY-THIRD DISTRICT.

Counties of Henderson, Mercer and Rock Island.

House.

Charles H. Ditto

Thomas Campbell

Fred J. Ball

THIRTY-FOURTH DISTRICT.

Counties of Clark, Coles and Douglas.

Senate.

Joel Davis

House.

Robert Howard

THIRTY-FIFTH DISTRICT.

Counties of DeKalb, Lee and Whiteside.

Senate.

No replies from candidates for Senate.

House.

Ernest Carter

THIRTY-SIXTH DISTRICT.

Counties of Adams, Calhoun, Pike and Scott.

Senate.

Charles R. McNay.

House.

Roland M. Wagner

THIRTY-SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Counties of Bureau, Henry and Stark.

House.

John W. Walters.

THIRTY-EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Counties of Greene, Jersey, Macoupin and Montgomery.

Senate.

Stephen D. Canaday

W. C. Pierce

House.

William Koenikramer

THIRTY-NINTH DISTRICT.

County of LaSalle.

House.

George North Taylor

FORTIETH DISTRICT.

Counties of Christian, Cumberland, Fayette and Shelby.

Senate.

No replies from candidates for the Senate.

House.

Charles A. Bowles

F. T. Denny

Lincoln Bancroft.

T. Ewing Cherry unpledged. Mr. Cherry says: "Believe your proposition is right in principle. If fair and equitable you can count on me if elected."

FORTY-FIRST DISTRICT.

Counties of DuPage and Will.

House.

Bernard L. Kelley

FORTY-SECOND DISTRICT.

Counties of Clay, Clinton, Effingham and Marion.

Senate.

S. E. Davidson

Robert S. Jones

House.

J. W. Thomason

Jas. B. Lewis

FORTY-THIRD DISTRICT.

Counties of Fulton and Knox.

House.

P. H. Gallagher

Frank I. Comstock

Chauncey Dowd.

FORTY-FOURTH DISTRICT.

Counties of Jackson, Monroe, Perry, Randolph and Washington.

House.

William T. Morris.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

FORTY-FIFTH DISTRICT.

Counties of Morgan and Sangamon.

Senate.

No replies from candidates for the Senate.

House.

Ivan S. Sunn

Duncan McDonald

Hugh Green not pledged, writes he favors proper protection for women.

FORTY-SIXTH DISTRICT.

Counties of Jasper, Jefferson, Richland and Wayne.

House.

John Kasserman writes he is in favor of principle of eight-hour law for women workers, but opposed our bill last year and likely will continue to do so on account of the small hotels in the villages.

FORTY-SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Counties of Bond and Madison.

Senate.

No replies from the candidates for the Senate.

House.

Dan H. Slinger

FORTY-EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Counties of Crawford, Edwards, Gallatin, Hardin, Lawrence, Wabash and White.

Senate.

Thos. Ben. Wright.

No replies from candidates for the House.

FORTY-NINTH DISTRICT.

County of St. Clair.

House.

William Jampel

John T. Wood

FIFTIETH DISTRICT.

Counties of Alexander, Franklin, Pulaski, Union and Williamson.

Senate.

No replies from candidates for Senate.

House.

A. C. Hentz

Stuart Lewis

Thomas Sullivan

FIFTY-FIRST DISTRICT.

Counties of Hamilton, Johnson, Massac, Pope and Saline.

Senate.

No replies from candidates for the Senate.

House.

Elwood Barker

Dr. F. S. Smith

Austin Hill

ROLL CALL ON WOMEN'S NINE-HOUR BILL IN THE FORTY-NINTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY, ILLINOIS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Those voting in the affirmative are: Messrs.

Barker	Hoffman	Rinehart
Browne, L. O'N.	Holaday	Roderick
Bruce	Hruby	Rostenkowski
Burns	Jackson	Rothschild
Curran, T.	Jacobson	Ryan, Frank
Davis	Kane	Ryan, J. W.
Desmond	Kilens	Scanlan
Donahue	LePage	Scholes
Donlan	Lipshulch	Seif
Dudgeon	Lyle	Smith
Epstein	Madsen	Stewart
Farrell	Mason	Taylor
Felts	McCabe	Thomason
Fieldstack	McCormick	Turner
Gardner	Mitchell	Tuttle
Garesche	Morrasy	Walsh
Gorman	Morris	Watson
Graham, T. E.	Mulcahy	West
Graham, W. J.	O'Rourke	Williamson
Griffin	Placek	Wilson, H.
Hennebry	Provine	Wilson, R. E.
Hicks	Rethmeier	Wood
Hilton	Richardson	Mr. Speaker
		Yeas—69.

Those voting the negative are: Messrs.

Atwood	Festerling	Perkins
Basel	Flagg	Pierson
Bentley	Foster	Purdunn
Bippus	Frankhauser	Quisenberry
Boyd	Green, C.	Ray
Boyer	Green, E. W.	Rentchler
Brewer	Groves	Rowe, W.
Brinkman	Hamlin	Shurtleff
Brown, W. M.	Harvey	Sonnemann
Burres	Helwig	Stanfield
Butler	Hubbard	Strubinger
Curren, C.	Huston	Thom
Dahlberg	Kessinger	Tice
Dalton	Lantz	Tompkins
Devereux	Leech	Turnbaugh
Devine	Lynch	Vickers
DeYoung	Lyon	Vursell
Drake	Meents	Weber
Elliott	Merritt	Young
Ellis	Pace	Nays—59.

Absent or not voting:

Benson	Kasserman	Santry
Buxton	Maucker	Schubert
Campbell	McGlooin	Shepard
Conlon	Moore	Smejkol
Cooper	Murphy	Trandel
Fahy	O'Connell	Thompson
Franz	Prendergast	Wilson, Geo. H.
Gregory	Ryan, Frank J.	25.
Igoe	Roe	

I would request that every delegate get a list of the names of the different candidates to these offices in the coming election and where the candidates have failed to go on record publicly, as agreeing to support of our Injunction-Limitation bill;—that they do everything that lies in their power themselves and get every other trade unionist and friend of labor to do everything that lies in their power to defeat these candidates, and, where they have agreed to support our measures, and to do what they can to secure their enactment, I would recommend that our membership everywhere and the friends of the labor movement do everything that lies in their power to secure their election.

The committee also in line with the action of the special convention on this matter, appeared before the convention of the Socialist party and before the Committees on Resolutions which were to report back on this subject to the State conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties.

The following is briefly the planks that we requested that these conventions adopt in their platforms and below them in the order named, is the action of these conventions.

"As without life, there can be no labor," and because every moment of labor in any capacity means a moment of life given; and that they can not be separated, we declare that labor is part of the human life itself, and is not a commodity or article of commerce, and that it is entitled to prior and higher consideration than any property or vested right on earth, and we pledge ourselves to the enactment of legislation, that will require our courts to make that distinction, and that will guarantee and protect the individual in his right to labor being a personal right, and to restore to the workers of Illinois, the right that has been taken from them in violation of the law, in violation of the constitution of our nation, and of the State, by arbitrary usurpation of power on the part of our state courts, free press, peaceful assemblage, trial by jury, and to meet the witnesses against them face to face and cross-examine them, in all disputes between workers and employers.

We pledge ourselves to the enactment of a law making eight hours the maximum amount of labor that a woman may work in any one day, at a gainful occupation in the State of Illinois.

We pledge ourselves to the enactment of a Compulsory Compensation law, which will provide a State Insurance Fund to meet the cost of its operation, to the end that all workers injured, in the course of their toil, shall have adequate, medical and surgical care and attention and provisions to enable them and their dependent ones to supply their ordinary needs until they are able to return to work, or in the case of death by accident, until the widow and orphans are able to care for themselves.

SOCIALIST.

First. For the enactment of an anti-injunction bill which will provide that no injunction can be issued in labor disputes without proper notice to the workers.

Second. Seventy-five car limit bill.

Third. Initiative and Referendum bill.

Fourth. Provision for constitutional convention.

Fifth. If this can not be carried, a bill for an amending amendment to the state constitution which will enable more amendments to be presented at one time for vote of the people.

Sixth. Women's nine-hour bill.

Seventh. The full crew bill.

Eighth. The child labor bill.

Ninth. One day rest in seven bill.

Tenth. The uniform text book bill.

Eleventh. Women minimum wage law.

Twelfth. Old age pensions.

Thirteenth. Labor's preferred wage lien.

Fourteenth. Weekly pay bill.

Fifteenth. Bill for special benefit of the men working in compressed air tunnels, miners, etc.

Sixteenth. Bill providing for penalizing of bosses for selling jobs and extorting money of working men for jobs.

Seventeenth. Street car men's ten hour in twelve bill.

Eighteenth. Constitutional amendment providing for compulsory compensation for injuries in all lines of work.

As the Socialist party State convention was held before the special injunction convention, I submitted to them the entire demands of labor as made by the Joint Labor Legislative Board in the last session of the Illinois Legislature, which had been defeated.

This explains why they endorsed all our original demands rather than the few that were presented to the other two State political party conventions, that we had decided to make the Injunction bill the paramount issue.

REPUBLICAN.

We favor a further limitation of the legal hours of labor for women.

We favor the extension of the Workmen's Compensation Act to all industrial as distinct from agricultural workers as far as may be practicable.

We favor additional legislation to secure for all citizens protection in the enjoyment of all their rights, both civil and political.

DEMOCRATIC.

In harmony with the spirit of democracy, which has always endeavored to secure for the laboring man and woman decent and safe surroundings, we favor an eight-hour day for all men and women engaged in industrial non-agricultural enterprises as a legal day's work.

We recommend that the Workmen's Compensation Act be made compulsory upon all the employers within the scope of the present act.

The reasons for our making the Woman's Eight-Hour law, and also a Compulsory Compensation law with an Insurance Fund to pay it out of, two of our demands on the Democratic and Republican Party State conventions, after deciding to subordinate everything to the work of securing the enactment of our Injunction Limitation bill, were that the conditions of working women of the State of Illinois are a disgrace and a shame in this respect, as compared with nearly all of the other states in our country, and that the injustice is so apparent that there ought to be little question of every decent man in both houses, supporting such a measure, the fairness and reasonableness of their demands have also been recognized by the United States Senate and Congress in dealing with the District of Columbia, so we felt that this law could be asked for, without in any way detracting from our strength in the fight to secure the enactment of our Injunction Limitation bill, and when one stops to consider what our demands in the way of a Com-

pensation law mean; only that if a man gets injured, he will get the right kind of medical, surgical treatment, and hospital care that he should get, and that his family will get the bare necessities at least until he is able to return to work, or if he gets killed or dies that his widow and orphans will get the necessities and an opportunity of education until they are able to take care of themselves, it should, I think, make clear to every human being that has a heart in them, that we could do nothing less and do our duty towards the human beings which we represent.

No more inhuman condition can obtain than that in which, where men and women working honestly for a living, doing their best, are stricken down by accident while at work, are then left helpless without even the assurance that their injuries will be treated, let alone that they and any dependents, might be assured a living until they were well enough to return to work.

If there is anything that could be more inhuman it would be for widows and orphans to be left to charity or to starvation when the husband or father (the bread-winner) was killed in the course of his employment. We are not civilized until that thing is provided for and we felt that both of these demands ought to be made and that instead of detracting from our influence in our fight to secure the enactment of the Injunction Limitation bill, that the fact that we made them ought to add to it.

Led by Roger C. Sullivan of Chicago, members of the Resolutions Committee favorable to the corporation interests and against labor, attacked the motion to incorporate a plank in the Democratic state party platform, giving workers in the State of Illinois the same relief from the abuse of injunctions on the part of State Courts that the Clayton law gives to the workers in the Federal Courts.

The first vote on the motion which they made to table was ten for and nine against. Later on one of the other members of the committee changed his vote from "no" to "aye," making the final vote against giving us the relief we sought, eleven to eight.

Senator Kent Keller then got a motion passed specifically endorsing the action of the present administration for the enactment of the Clayton Injunction Limitation bill, and the report of the committee was adopted.

This leaves their platform in the position of endorsing the Limitation of Injunctions as requested by us, in Federal Courts, at the same time denying that same relief to us in the state courts.

I sincerely hope that every delegate, when they go back to their local unions, will bring to the attention of their members everywhere not only the request that we made, but the action taken by these conventions so as to enable the ordinary workers everywhere in our state to understand just what attitude these political parties have taken towards their requests on these measures.

BRICK MAKERS' DISPUTE.

In accordance with the action of the Alton convention, instructing the officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to do everything in their power to bring about a satisfactory settlement of the controversy between the United Brick and Clay Workers of America and the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Union.

That matter was introduced in the San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor, and after considerable discussion on the matter, in which the position of both sides was clearly stated, it was referred to the president of the A. F. of L., with the request that he do everything in his power to bring about a settlement of that dispute.

In accordance with that action, President Gompers called a conference in Chicago of the representatives of both of these organizations, along with President John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor and myself, with President Gompers, representing the A. F. of L., and I am pleased to report that, as a result of that conference, an agreement was reached providing that all hostilities between those two organizations should immediately cease—that they should work in co-operation with each other for the best interest of the men working in that industry, that the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers would withdraw their objections to the Clay Workers affiliating with the Central Bodies and the State Federation of Labor in the State of Illinois, with the further stipulation that both of these organizations at their next International conventions, try to bring about a final amalgamation of the two unions.

Since that time, the United Brick and Clay Workers have affiliated with the different Central Bodies in the localities which they are located in—they have also affiliated with the Illinois State Federation of Labor and their delegates are here seated in this convention.

The United Brick and Clay Workers' organization, in the last year, have almost doubled its actual bona fide membership, and made union shop agreements, carrying with them not only substantial progress for their memberships, but in most instances, like the Mine Workers' organization, have established the check-off system, and the prospects at the present time are bright for a complete amalgamation of the two unions and for greater progress than ever before on the part of the organization of that industry.

STRAUBE MATTER.

In passing, may report that the dispute between L. P. Straube, former member of the Stereotypers' organization, and the International officers of that union because of which he was expelled from his organization by those International officers and refused even the right to belong to another union and act as a delegate to a Central Body because of his, while acting as an officer of the local union, ordering a strike in accordance with what he understood to be the terms of the written contract between them and their employers, that gave him the right to do it, but with which the International officials disagreed, is, through the activity of the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Illinois State Federation of Labor, President Gompers, and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., in a fair way to be adjusted in such a manner that Brother Straube can again have the right technically, as well as morally, which every man who understands the situation now, agrees he has got; to come back into the movement as a full fledged member of it, with every right and privilege that a good Trade Unionist is entitled to.

STRIKE AT ROSICLARE.

During the year there has been a particularly ugly and bitter struggle going on at Rosiclare in Hardin County, Illinois, where the Fluorspar miners who were working in the mines at that place re-

volted against the unbearable and inhuman conditions there, long hours, low wages, dangerous and unhealthful conditions of employment, and Czar-like dictatorship on the part of the employer, they struck for a recognition of their union, for an eight-hour work day, for \$2.25 a day minimum wage, for the right to have their grievances taken up by a committee representing them.

The strike was precipitated by the action of the mining companies in discharging sixty-eight men on the 17th day of May, whose only offense was that they had formed a union. The men worked on, patiently, trying to perfect their organization in the hope that the mining companies would meet a committee and adjust their grievances peacefully, but the companies continued to discharge man after man as soon as the knowledge came to them that they were in sympathy with, or had joined the union, and on the 1st of June, the men who were working there, who had not been discharged yet, but who belonged to the organization, declared a strike, primarily for the reinstatement of the men who had been unjustly discharged, at the same time, for the things that have been set forth. Some time after they had come out on strike they requested my assistance, and in answer to their appeal I have been doing what I could to assist them in every way possible.

This is a county in southern Illinois, where there is no railroad into it from the outside world, and the only way of getting in or out of the place is by steamboat up or down the river or by wagon road.

The men there are over ninety-five per cent American born—they all speak and understand the English language and are a high type of citizenship.

From the beginning up until now the companies have persistently refused to even recognize a committee to discuss the question of an adjustment of the matter or the terms of an agreement.

Previous to the strike, as there was no law governing Fluorspar mines in the State of Illinois—incompetent engineers, without certificates, handled first motion, high-power machinery, with men's lives in their hands every day, which caused, unnecessarily, some men to lose their lives and others to be seriously injured.

There was no requirement as to the amount of air that men should get in the working places and no provisions requiring safe conditions in the mine. The mining companies' will was the absolute law. The general wage was \$1.75 for ten hours, although there was some piece work that some extra skilled men made higher wages at, and some engineers and other skilled mechanics got a little more for a twelve-hour work day.

The only two courts in Rosiclare were the Police Magistrate and the County Judge—one of whom was on the payroll of the Rosiclare Mining Company and the other was on the payroll of the Fairview Mining Company.

The sheriff's office has been placed in the hands of the general manager of the mining companies. They have employed thugs as mine guards from the big cities and from the non-union mining communities of Kentucky and Tennessee, one of whom was a murderer who had shot a boy in the back and killed him and who has served five years in the penitentiary for the crime.

They have been given whisky and beer and kept in such a state of intoxication that they might be easily influenced to do their brutal work.

They have intimidated and beaten up and abused men, women and children on innumerable occasions, whose only offenses were they were union men or in sympathy with the cause of the strikers. They have driven them out of their own homes, under the penalty of death, if they returned. They have compelled the village mayor and two village trustees to resign at the point of a gun, and under threat of death—they drove them away from their own homes and their families out of Rosiclare—made the village policeman resign, give up his club and star at the point of a gun and under the threat of death if he refused to do so.

These drunken desperadoes, armed with Winchester rifles and shot-guns, big automatic 45's, who have been given commissions by the sheriff to act as deputies, have overrun and overridden the entire community and terrorized every human being, and even men who were not strikers there, who were not on the side of the companies, and who took no sides in the question, were afraid of their lives and sat up, at times, all night, for fear of physical violence to themselves and their families.

Notwithstanding all this, these striking miners have fought on, with a courage and fortitude that is inspiring, and they are still fighting on, determined that they will not go back to work until their organization is recognized, until they get improvements in their working conditions and wages that will enable them to feel that they are human beings and being treated as such.

The mining companies have posted notices of 25c per day increase in wages for all whom they can get to go back to work, and a half hour off the working day, which makes it \$2.00 for nine hours and a half.

They have improved conditions as to safety a good deal, under stress of the present struggle, and their treatment of the scabs that are working for them is much better than was accorded the men who were working there prior to the strike.

If only these conditions were to continue in the future after the strike was over, the struggle would have been well worth while, but there is no assurances that it will continue a day after the strike is over, unless the men have an organization that is strong enough to require that the company would continue those conditions.

At the same time, those wages, hours and conditions, considering the wet, dangerous, disagreeable and unhealthful conditions in the fluorspar mines are unthinkable on the part of an intelligent miner, and no man who understands mining and mining conditions could be induced to go to work on that basis.

These are only a few of the outrages committed. Ten times more actual occurrences of this nature that actually took place, could be cited, but these are sufficient to indicate what has actually taken place and what the conditions are that the miners and their families are suffering under there now, and I trust that this convention will endorse that strike and pledge their moral and financial assistance to those men, women and children who are making that magnificent battle, that you will authorize and instruct your officers to do anything else that they can that may assist those strikers in bringing about a settlement on a satisfactory basis.

LEGAL DEPARTMENT.

During the year, there have been so many injunctions issued against strikers which denied them every constitutional and legal right they had, and which worked out so strongly to the detriment of the strikers that it became obvious that we had to do something to meet that situation.

As a result of this condition, the officers of the Chicago Federation of Labor, along with the resident officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, took the matter under consideration and agreed that they would create a legal department to carry on a campaign against the misuse of injunction power on the part of the courts of this State, and to handle any other questions of a legal nature that either of the Federations decided should be dealt with by this department.

This decision was submitted to the Executive Board of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, who endorsed it unanimously, and four lawyers of the highest standing in the United States have agreed to serve as counsel for us. They are: Mr. W. B. Rubin of Milwaukee, Wis., chief counsel, and associated with him in the department are Angus W. Kerr of Springfield, Ill., who is the chief counsel for the United Mine Workers of Illinois; Frank P. Walsh of Kansas City, Mo., and Clarence S. Darrow of Chicago. Fred Schmidt, an attorney of Chicago, has been employed to do the office work and attend to detail matters and work under their direction.

These men have agreed because of our limited finances to handle any of the cases that we may desire them to handle for us, under the condition that we would pay them whatever necessary cost they were put to in handling the cases, with the further understanding that after the work was done, if we felt it was of value to us, that we would pay whatever we believed should be paid for it.

Mr. Schmidt, the attorney who is to do the office work, was to be continuously employed, the Chicago Federation and the Illinois State Federation of Labor to divide the cost. As a result of this department being created, it was immediately noticeable that the judges have not been issuing injunctions so freely, and the evil has thus already been minimized to a considerable extent.

In the case of the Molders' strike in Belleville, where a temporary injunction was issued, the matter was taken up by Mr. Kerr, representing the department, the judge declined to give a permanent injunction, and the possibilities are that a settlement will be made between the foundry companies and the Molders' union.

The corporations in our State have the most competent men that they can employ working continuously on the courts to get them to issue these injunctions and generally, too, in all the proceedings in connection with the injunctions, so that in order to be able to protect the small organizations properly there was absolutely no other way that it could be done, except for some large division of the labor movement that was financially able to do it, to employ competent attorneys to represent them.

I believe that this has been an important step in the right direction for the labor movement of the State, and that as time goes on, the value of having a high class legal department will become more and more apparent to the members of the labor movement and that

ultimately such a department will be employed to represent them in every phase of all the legal questions that arise between them and their employers.

When this is done, there is no question in my mind but what the abuses of the law that are now going on on the part of corporations and on the part of courts will be minimized to a large extent, and where the employers violate the law, we will get better redress; and, too, we will be able to find out from the most competent and thoroughly reliable sources just what the defects in the different laws are and thus be able to amend them in the way best calculated to properly safeguard the rights of the workers. I would, therefore, recommend that this convention endorse the action of the officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in creating this legal department.

UNION LABEL AND BROOM MAKERS' CASE.

During the year W. R. Boyer, Secretary of the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, called my attention to the fact that the Merkle, Wiley Broom Company of Paris, Illinois, were manufacturing non-union brooms, and that they would not permit their employees to belong to the union, and that when the employees attempted to form an organization, in the hopes of being able to improve their wages, hours, conditions and treatment by peaceful negotiations, that the company discharged six of them.

The only reason for their being discharged at all was their attempting to organize, and he asked me if I would not try to have a conference with the owners of that factory and see if I could not get them to agree to permit the men and women who worked for them to join the union, and to adjust their grievances through their chosen representatives.

I agreed to do this and went to Paris, Illinois, where the factory is located, and had a conference with Mr. Merkle and their superintendent and another member of the firm. We talked the matter over for something like two hours. They tried to make it appear that they had no objections to the men and women who worked for them organizing, but said that they (their employees) did not want to organize, and when at the end of our conversation, I said, provided you are mistaken and these men and women do join an organization will you agree that they will not be discriminated against or discharged for so doing? Then they told me they were not going to agree to have the present status between them and their employees changed and made it clear to me that they would discharge any of their employees who attempted to organize.

I reported the result of this conference to Secretary Boyer, and since that time efforts have been made to persuade the members of organized labor to refuse to buy brooms manufactured by that concern. One of the brooms that they manufacture is known as the "Blue-jay" broom.

If the members of organized labor in our State and the surrounding ones were to refuse to buy any brooms unless they bore the union label, it would be impossible for Merkle, Wiley to operate this plant successfully, and they would be compelled to recognize the right of their employees to organize and deal with them as a union, and where there are only a few members in one locality, working in an isolated industry, and the employers are determined to prevent their

organizing, unless those workers can get the assistance of the rest of the labor movement, it is going to be utterly impossible to organize those places, and the most effective influence that can be brought to bear in the organization of plants such as the Merkle, Wiley Broom factory of Paris, Illinois, is by trade unionists being honest with themselves and really on the square with the labor movement, being real trade unionists, and refusing to buy these articles, unless they bear the union label, and I trust that this convention will go on record as declaring the Merkle, Wiley Broom Manufacturing Company unfair to organized labor, and request that all union men and women refuse to purchase any of their articles until they do recognize the right of their employees to organize and treat with them as union men and women.

I hope, however, that you will not stop at merely taking this action towards this firm, but that the delegates when they go back home will take the matter up in their own respective organizations and take every means in their power that they have a right to, legally, to prevent the membership of their local unions from purchasing this, or any other articles that do not bear the union label, where they can get the union labeled goods.

I believe that the time is ripe when International organizations and the different other divisions and sub-divisions of the labor movement in our country, should take practical steps for the enforcement of a rule that would prohibit any member of theirs from buying non-union made goods where it was possible for them to secure the articles with the union label on them..

This, in my judgment, can be done at this time better through the imposition of a small fine than by any other method, and I believe the movement has now reached the stage where it is absolutely practical to adopt that method of dealing with this question.

I would, therefore, recommend that this convention declare in favor of this being done and request our local unions everywhere in our State, where their laws will permit them, to take that action, and that they keep up this agitation for the enactment of a penalty for the buying of non-union made articles, until there is a law in every national organization and every other branch of the labor movement which will penalize any of their members in the same manner and to the same extent, for buying non-union or scab articles where the labeled articles could be secured, that they would for doing any other kind of scabbing.

If this is done, I firmly believe that the condition of union men buying non-union or scab articles or hiring non-union workers to do any kind of work for them will disappear and that it will very materially add to the numerical strength of our movement—and my honest opinion is, that unless this is done, that progress on our part with this evil will be mighty uphill and hard work and that it will be exceedingly slow.

LABOR TEMPLE.

In conformity with the action of the Alton convention, the question of building a Labor Temple, to be used as the headquarters for the Illinois State Federation of Labor in the capitol city of Springfield, desire to advise that the plan of agreement covering the legal phase of ownership and operation of the proposed Labor Temple was drawn by Attorney Angus W. Kerr, after repeated conferences, as to

just how the temple should be owned and operated in perpetuity, by the labor movement, and the Executive Board, by unanimous vote, endorsed it.

This plan was published in full in the Weekly News Letter of June 17, 1916, along with a call for the vote on the question, yea and nay, on the part of all of the different local unions and central bodies that were affiliated with the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

The second notice of the referendum was issued in the form of a circular letter to all affiliated organizations on July 1, 1916, and a second copy of the News Letter containing a draft of proposed agreement was sent to all affiliated organizations.

Only 55 organizations, approximately 6 per cent of the total membership, responded, the result being as follows:

Central Bodies—Favorable, 7.

Local Union—Favorable, 36; membership, 14,956.

Local Union—Unfavorable, 9; membership, 1,942.

Local Union—Filed without action, 2; membership, 397.

Local Union—Favorable, if built in Chicago, 1; membership, 1,500.

Total organizations reporting, 55, with total membership of 18,795.

Because of the small number of our organizations acting on the matter, I felt that before any action should be taken towards building a temple that this action on the part of local unions and central bodies should be reported back to the State Convention itself, and then that that body should determine finally what should be done with the matter.

Personally, I feel that there should be a labor temple built and that it should be built in the city of Springfield, Illinois, where the capitol building of the State is located, where the Legislature meets in session, and where between sessions the officials of our State government are located.

This will enable easy and immediate access at practically no cost, at least for transportation on the part of the resident officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor at all times, with the authorities of our State government, and with the Legislature when they are in session.

Particularly, the last year's experiences, when we made a real effort to inform the membership as to the actual past records of the different candidates for legislative positions, so as to enable them in the State everywhere to vote intelligently in their own interest, when the names of these candidates came up, has proved beyond question whatever that, in order to do this work effectually. (and this is a very important phase of the work of the State Federation of Labor) that it is going to be necessary to have the records of all of these gentlemen filed away for reference so that we can go back for years and get the actual records of their action at any time that it is necessary when they are candidates either for these positions or any other, to which, if they were elected, their influence might affect the welfare of the workers of Illinois.

Information on the different subject matters and on the different questions and problems that the labor movement is interested in and acting upon from time to time, should at all times be kept readily accessible to the men who are acting for the labor movement, on these

questions, so that they may be able to present our side of the case to the best advantage and defend ourselves properly from the attacks of the other side, to the end that the greatest progress can be made at all times.

Committee rooms available at all times, where we can be sure that we will not only have every needed facility, but that we can be safe from the enemies and spies of the other side, is a necessity if our movement is to grow and expand as it should, until every worker in the State of Illinois is a member of it and all of the different aspects of their welfare is going to be safeguarded as it should. It is not only going to be necessary in order to get the best results that we should have a labor temple built so as to accommodate all of our needs and equipped properly, but it is going to be an actual economy as well.

I would, therefore, recommend that this convention instruct the incoming Executive Board to proceed at as early a date as possible with the work of acquiring a lot, suitably located, and erecting a temple that will meet our needs and that they be given authority to use whatever methods in obtaining the necessary funds to accomplish this purpose that they believe best, with the understanding, however, that the funds should be acquired solely from the working men and women of Illinois.

CEMENT STRIKE AT OGLESBY AND LASALLE.

On the 15th day of May the Cement Mill Workers at Oglesby, Illinois, to the number of something like 600, came out on strike. They had first asked the company to meet them in conference for the purpose of trying to adjust some grievances that they had, as to wages, hours and conditions of labor and their treatment by the bosses in charge.

The companies refused to meet them and discharged the men who took an active part, and the only thing that was left for them to do was to either submit, like slaves, or fight for the right to organize and have their differences between them and their employer adjusted by intelligent reasoning, on the basis of fairness, rather than by the will of an absolute dictator.

Those men were working for as low wages as 16 cents an hour. It was hard, laborious, unhealthful work and, in some instances, dangerous. Some of them were working as much as thirteen hours' shift for \$2.08 and had to work seven days a week to hold their jobs. One would think that such conditions had only existed in the barbarous past and that they could not obtain in a civilized, enlightened nation of so-called intelligent human beings, but this was the actual condition under which the cement mills operated in Oglesby and LaSalle, Illinois.

After being out for some time, the workers in the Cement Mills at LaSalle, notwithstanding that the owners had increased their wages and improved their condition and treated them better than they had before the Oglesby men went out on strike (in order to keep them from organizing), these workers also realized that unless they had a strong organization established that would enable them to require that the employers give them these things, that if the strikers in Oglesby were defeated, their employers could not only take all of these things back from them and put them on the basis that they had been before, but that they *would* do it; and that possibly they would even go far-

ther, and because of this, they demanded that their right to organize be recognized and that their wages, hours, conditions and treatment be adjusted in joint conference and written down in contract form.

This Cement Mills Company also refused to treat with their men, except as individuals, and then the only treatment the individual got was to be told by the boss what they had to do, and if they did not do it, "get out." Those men then also came out on strike.

These men have waged a magnificent battle. The Cement Mill owners have had almost a monopoly in that portion of the country for years, and, being able to crush labor down to the lowest possible level and at the same time charge high prices for their product, have amassed enormous wealth. They own banks in LaSalle and Peru, they own and control newspapers, they own and control coal mines, zinc plants, clock factories and other large institutions, all built up out of the wealth earned by these workers, that these rich exploiters withheld from their wages and took from them as their profits.

These, too, on the side of the employing corporations, have been augmented by the addition of the Illinois Employers' and Manufacturers' Associations, so that in order to win, these humble toilers must be able to compel this gigantic array of powerful corporations, who have neither conscience or scruple, who are without human feelings and who have representing their interests legally, the ablest, most cunning legal prostitutes that wealth can secure; they have also imported gunmen, thugs, murderers, professional strike-breakers and scabs—everything that money can buy—with the powers of government in nearly all respects locally, under cover, secretly on their side, although publicly they try to pose as being neutral; and, now as a last desperate resort, they have gotten a Republican Circuit Court Judge, Edgar Eldridge, to issue an injunction, denying these men the right of peaceful assemblage, the right of free press, to tell the truth about these wrong conditions, and about the terrible injustice that is being practiced upon them and the brutalities of the hirelings of these corporations, they are enjoined from speaking the truth to their fellows, or by peaceful persuasion, by statement of fact, trying to prevail on them not to array themselves on the side of the corporations, and to help them get better things for their wives and children; and they are specifically enjoined against watching (even looking).

No Czar or despot of any kind in the past ages has ever attempted to go as far in their despotic rule of the people in their denial of not only their legal and constitutional rights, but of their human and fundamental rights, even the elemental freedom that it has been taken for granted every human being is entitled to, by the rulers in the Dark Ages, as these prostituted courts of the State of Illinois have gone, and if we are to interpret what may happen if the workers attempt to exercise their constitutional, legal and inherent rights, as men and women, citizens of our country, in the light of what has been done by these same courts in the past, there will be no trial by jury, there will be no meeting of your witnesses face to face, there will be no cross-examination—that judge, whose issuance of an injunction in the interests of the corporations, which betrays the constitution of the United States, which shows on its face that he will do whatever the corporations want done, he himself, with all the power of a despot, under the guise of a Judge, will fix the penalty and they must suffer it.

This is the condition under which these Cement Mill workers are struggling. I am pointing it out so that not only may you render

them every assistance that it lies within your power to render, but also to again emphasize the awful danger that is pending in our country; for unless these tyrants have these arbitrary powers taken from them, I think that every intelligent human being who has any conception of what the common citizenship of our state and nation are, knows that they will not, no matter what price they must pay, submit to a dictator under any name that will make them servile serfs or slaves.

Since the strike was called, the Cement Mill Companies have posted notices increasing the wages of their employees from 16 cents an hour to 25 cents an hour, stating that they will work a nine-hour work-day.

I have been advised that they have established a twelve-hour work-day, with six days a week to constitute a week's work, in place of what formerly had been an eleven, twelve and thirteen hour shift, with seven shifts to constitute a week's work, and that they are paying \$3.30 for the twelve-hour shift, where formerly they had paid \$2.08 for the eleven, twelve and thirteen hour shift.

This struggle, too, has made clear to them that the workers will not permit themselves to be used as slaves, and it has, without question, raised the standard of treatment that will be accorded the workers there in the future, so that if nothing was gained more than what has already been won now, big substantial progress for the workers in that industry has resulted from this strike.

Without an organization of the workers strong enough to protect them even these things may be swept away by the Cement Mill corporations whenever they will to do so.

I would, therefore, recommend that this convention take such action as will give these workers every particle of support we can give to help them win this struggle, and at the same time also draw to the attention of every worker in our State the imperative need of the enactment of our Injunction Limitation Bill.

CONVICT LABOR.

During the year, there have come up three different complaints with reference to convicts performing labor. Three different organizations, the Painters, Structural Iron Workers and Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, claimed that they had jurisdiction over this work, and that their members should have performed it.

One of these instances was where the convicts were making roads. Another was where they were painting the penitentiary, and another was where they were doing structural iron work in connection with the building of a State institution.

In each of these instances I have taken the matter up with the State authorities and tried to arrange that the convicts would discontinue doing that work and that free organized labor would be employed to do it.

This, however, has developed rather strong differences of opinion and created conditions that are not just entirely satisfactory, and about which the attitude of the labor movement in general is not clearly defined, and I believe this convention should determine and set forth, in clear language, just what the position our movement in this State is going to be towards convict labor in the future.

A good many trade unionists are under the impression that the State should have the right to employ convicts in doing road work and in the creation of things that were to be used exclusively by the State itself, and it was because of that sentiment, I expect, that these things were being done.

The three organizations involved, however, took a positively contrary position, and it makes it exceedingly difficult for anyone acting in an official capacity to handle a matter of that kind satisfactorily, where there is division of sentiment on the question, and where there is no clear-cut definite position taken on it, by the labor movement officially.

I think it will be agreed that it would be a crime against humanity not to permit convicts to work at something to exercise their bodies and to occupy their minds. I think, too, that the most of people will take the position that it is wrong to burden the rest of society with the maintenance and up-keep of convicts who are able to perform enough labor without injuring themselves in any way, to maintain themselves.

I think, too, that every Trade Unionist and every friend of the labor movement will agree that no articles should be made by the State through the use of convicts, and sold in the open market at prices that would make it impossible for free labor to compete with, and that would result in the deterioration of the standard of wages, hours and conditions of free labor—and how to do justice to the convicts without injuring free organized labor, is the problem that should be decided.

My own personal convictions about the matter are, that the fact that a man has been convicted of committing a crime (the penalty for which is confinement in a jail) should not influence society into acting blindly and in an unreasoning way, not only to the injury of the unfortunate convicts, but to society itself, which is the effect of their present methods in dealing with those unfortunate beings.

My conception of society's duty to one of its defectives (and I believe that all the real criminals are defectives—that they are not normal) would be to protect itself from them as far as that is possible, and at the same time to use its influence in such a manner as to develop that criminal away from those vicious tendencies and into a good man or woman, and at the same time, assist them, insofar as possible, where it can be done without injuring the rest of humanity, and particularly, in cases where the convict has a family he should be permitted insofar as this can be done, without injuring others, to maintain and support them, and I believe that the only way that this can be done is to create a condition that will result in the convict (while performing labor as a convict) getting the scale of wages that the highest paid skilled workman outside gets for performing the same labor.

If this is done, then the State can not produce an article cheaper than it is being produced by outside free labor, and it could not demoralize the market or result in injury to the standards of free labor or the Trade Union movement, and I firmly believe that if that was done, it would eliminate entirely any unjust tendency in that respect; and it would only be fair and just to the criminal and it would have a tendency to make him feel more kindly towards society rather than embitter them and prejudice them against it as is being done now.

This, however, is only my own judgment in the matter, and I don't expect the movement in general will accept my views on that question. I anticipate that they are going to continue along their present methods and do the best they can along those lines until a better under-

standing has been reached on this vitally important question, by a greater number of our people, and, for the sake of the incoming officials of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and in order to avoid friction between our organizations, when cases of this character develop, from now on, I would recommend that a special committee be selected from the organizations most directly affected by the labor of convicts to deal with the matter and that they report back a clear, clean-cut statement of what, in their judgment, is the best policy to pursue, with reference to this question.

WET AND DRY PROPOSITION.

There is a question that I want to bring to the attention of this convention that is a rather delicate situation to consider and act upon—at the same time, I feel that it is so important to the welfare of our movement that we ought to, if possible, get a thorough understanding of it and to take a position that will conserve the best interest of our movement, and that has to do with the present "Wet and Dry" question within our State.

And, so that you might be able to act with reasonably sure knowledge of what this proposition means, I want to cite you some of the things that have occurred recently.

In the Forty-seventh district, one of the representatives there during the last session of the Legislature, whose name is Rentchler, was opposed to practically every labor measure that came up; notwithstanding this, those who appear to be in control of the liquor interests in that district endorsed him for re-nomination and re-election, and while they have denied that they did, there is no question but what they did endorse him, and there is no question too but what they voted for him and that they got the support of the employing interests who are opposed to labor to support him also, and that through that combination he was re-nominated by a plurality of eighty-four votes. This, in the face of the fact that the labor movement in that district was fighting him and had officially declared him unfriendly to labor.

In the Forty-fourth district, W. T. Morris, an avowed "Wet" man (although he will not endorse the wrong conditions that obtain in some respects in the liquor traffic) because he was fair to labor, was opposed by the liquor interests in his district two years ago.

In the recent primary election, Wm. P. Holladay of Danville, the 22d district, another "Wet" man of the same type as Morris, was opposed by the liquor interests in that district because he was fair to labor in the last session of the Legislature, and they almost defeated him for the nomination, in spite of the fact that the labor movement had endorsed his record and were actively trying to secure his re-nomination.

The "Wet" interests also defeated for re-nomination Senator Cleary of the 12th district (one of the finest, cleanest men that there was in the last session of the Legislature, and whose sympathies were with the working people and who was one of the best friends that organized labor had in that session).

On the other hand, the "Dry" interests endorsed George Wilson of Quincy for State's Attorney General, who was one of the worst enemies the labor movement had in that session of the Legislature. They renominated Mr. Buxton and Mr. Perkins, both of the 28th district,

whose records were exceedingly bad from labor's point of view in the last session of the Legislature.

They re-nominated Mr. Basel of Galesburg, the 43d district, another of the bitter enemies of common humanity and the labor movement, notwithstanding the fact that organized labor had proven that he was unfriendly to them and unfair to the common workers of our State in his attitude towards labor in the Legislature.

They tried to beat Senator Stephen D. Canady of District No. 38, one of the best friends labor had in the last session of the Illinois Legislature, with Wm. A. Hubbard, one of the worst enemies Labor had in the last session of the Illinois Legislature.

I might go on ad infinitum, citing you, where the "Wets" on one side and the "Drys" on the other, have deliberately opposed the friends of common humanity and the labor movement, and voted and worked to nominate and elect the enemies of the labor movement, but I believe I have pointed out sufficient for the purposes that I want to use them, and I desire to say that my own positive convictions in the matter are that the controlling interests in both the "Dry" movement and the liquor traffic are opposed to the legislation that is being sought by the workers of the State of Illinois through the Trade Union movement, and that they are opposed to the Labor movement itself.

I believe every worker should have these things drawn to his attention so that he will know the facts in the case, and, I believe, too, that once this thing is thoroughly understood by the workers in our State that they will follow the example of both the "Wet" interests and the "Dry" organization and that is that they will fight for the things that are nearest to them, regardless of "Wets" or "Drys."

I believe that almost every one will agree with me that it is much more important that a man or woman should have the right to a decent job, decent wages, conditions of employment and a decent home for them and their families than that they have or have not the opportunity to get a drink of intoxicants, and I believe, too, that we should be governed wholly in the course that we pursue towards the candidate that represent this sentiment on either side by how it will affect the welfare of the workers and their opportunities for themselves and their families, rather than anything else.

And I want to recommend to this convention that they go on record publicly as declaring that the attitude of the labor movement in the State of Illinois on this question is that where the "Wets" candidates are in opposition to the labor movement that the labor movement will fight them, and that where the "Drys" candidates are in opposition to the labor movement, that the labor movement will fight them, and that where there is a contest with one of them favorable to the labor movement and the other one unfavorable, that the labor movement will favor whatever side has candidates that are friendly to the labor movement, and the things that it stands for, and that they will fight against the candidates who are in opposition to them, and that where the candidates are all favorable, that then the labor movement will take a neutral position—and that where the "Wet" and "Dry" candidates are both opposed to labor that we will put other candidates, friendly to labor, in the field and fight for them and against both "Wets" and "Drys."

I believe that it is necessary that a step of this character be taken for the best interest of the Trade Union movement, within our State

and for the welfare of the men, women and children who are depending on their labor for a living.

SCHOOL TEACHERS' STRUGGLE FOR RIGHT TO ORGANIZE.

The school teachers of Chicago are still engaged in what has been probably the longest and most intricate, bitter, continuous struggle for the right to organize that any section of men and women have ever been compelled to wage in all the history of the labor movement.

Since the inception of their union as a local organization in Chicago, corporation interests who are exploiting the workers in every conceivable way and particularly the big tax-dodging concerns, have recognized the fact that if the men and women who train the minds of the children have the right to organize, and through their organization, get such protection in holding their positions that they could with safety fight for their own rights, and that they would have the right to openly and systematically advocate the kind of environment for those children that was most conducive to the development of free, independent men and women and to establish the kind of education and training that would inform them in such a manner that they would really understand their rights and be in the best possible position to protect them from exploitation.

That with that kind of an influence established permanently, exploitation of the people would shortly have to cease and the big corporations would have to pay their just taxes into the school funds, and realizing this, they have fought with every atom of resources that they could muster up, and are fighting now more desperately and cunningly, I believe, that any employing corporation interests have ever fought before; to prevent these teachers from establishing the right to associate themselves with each other for their mutual protection and for the advancement of their profession and establishment of right conditions in educational matters.

They have victimized and persecuted, discharged and blacklisted the active moving spirits in the Teachers' Union; when they could find no other reason for doing it they even closed down school rooms as a subterfuge to get rid of teachers who were active for their organization; they have left nothing undone that the human mind can conceive to intimidate, discourage and even bribe the teachers themselves to drop their organization and fight its establishment, but, notwithstanding this, those school teachers (most of them women) have not only fought with intelligence and persistently refused the inducements that were offered and suffered the hardships that were imposed, but they are more determined now than ever before since the beginning of the struggle to maintain their status as free men and women, and establish their right to belong to their union, and out of the struggle has come a clearer knowledge on their own part of their duty to themselves and common humanity, and, too, that their only hope lies in being part of, and getting the support of, the great mass of the working people in our country, and they have formed an International Union for the purpose of organizing all of the teachers in the United States and affiliated themselves with the A. F. of L., so that they can contribute as far as possible, to the general well-being; and at the same time, they can be in such close touch and on such terms with the rest of the organizations of workers that are organized in our country, that they, in turn, can give them the greatest assistance possible.

I would, therefore, recommend that this convention go on record as endorsing the position of the teachers in fighting for the right to organize, and as condemning the attitude of the appointees of the Tax-Dodging Corporation Interests, through Mayor William Hale Thompson of Chicago, in trying to discredit and destroy their organization and in the persecution of their members and officers, and that we pledge ourselves to do everything that lies in our power to assist the teachers in their struggle and to establish local unions of the school teachers in every community in our State, to the end that every one of them may be enrolled in the organization of their choice, and that the educational forces of our State and Nation may be free and independent to exercise all of their power and influence in the right direction for the good of the children and the well-being of common humanity in our great country.

ATTACK MADE BY SENATOR L. Y. SHERMAN OF ILLINOIS ON PRESIDENT GOMPERS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

On the 15th day of August, while the shipping bill was under discussion in the United States Senate, Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman made a most unwarranted, cowardly and malicious attack on President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor. The attack was intended to discredit all of the spokesmen of the labor movement of our country, for the effect that it would have in preventing our making progress in legislative matters and in a political way. He said:

"No more insufferable control or tyranny ever cursed a country than these parasitical men who exploit labor and live off the sweat of somebody else's brow. Mr. Gompers is a public nuisance."

Senator Sherman tries to leave the impression that it was a personal matter between him and President Gompers, but because Senator Sherman has, in all of his public career, never been anything else except a mouthpiece and servant of the big corporations, and, as President Gompers, acting as a spokesman for the labor movement, has fought for the legislation that the workers were seeking, and which the corporations were against, it was natural, as Senator Sherman has opposed this legislation, and President Gompers as well, and, too President Gompers has had to criticize Senator Sherman's acts in the past, that the personal element of feeling that entered into Sherman's attack was caused by President Gompers' exposition and opposition of Mr. Sherman's acts in favor of the corporation interests and against labor.

It was a cowardly attack, because Senator Sherman has the right, under the rules governing the United States Senate, to say anything he pleases about anybody, and he cannot be held liable, no matter how he might lie about them or slander them, and no man who is honest and who has moral courage, who has the right and opportunity to speak where he can meet the man face to face he is speaking about, would take an unfair, cowardly advantage of that kind.

Mr. Sherman also challenged Mr. Gompers to answer him in reply to his charges, which left the impression that he wanted to meet him face to face when he knew that President Gompers could not go into the Senate and speak at all. Mr. Sherman also, when President Gompers challenged him to meet him either in an open meeting in Washington or in Chicago, refused to do so.

He said that President Gompers misrepresented the labor movement of America. President Gompers has been in the position he

holds now for thirty-two years. His official acts on almost every question affecting the welfare of the workers during that time have been made public to them, and, without question, if the majority of those workers who are paying the bills, and who, by their votes, elect the men who elect President Gompers, had been in opposition to his acts, he would have been out of that position long before now.

He said that "President Gompers was living on the blood and sinews of the working people of America." His real purpose in making that statement was to discredit every man who is an official of the labor movement in our country.

He tried to make it appear that they had foisted themselves on the people were bleeding them by taking their money and doing nothing in return, when the truth is, and I think everyone who knows anything about what the circumstances are in this connection, will agree, that there are no men in the United States, who act in the capacity of the representatives of the people, who work longer hours, and work harder, or do more real good for the money they receive, than do the conscientious officials of the labor movement.

I think, too, that as compared with the profession which Mr. Sherman professes, that of a lawyer (and he is a third rate one, at that), that there is not a single individual on earth who has the facts in the case, will deny the truth of this statement, that the average labor official does much more good for the wages he gets, than even an average good lawyer does, let alone one like Mr. Sherman, and that, from the point of view of real honesty, that there is no man in the world that has got to be more honest in their dealings with men than have the officials of labor unions, and that, from that same point of view, there is no class of men on earth that are morally (not legally) more dishonest than a lawyer.

The ethics of the lawyer's profession make it perfectly proper for them to defend a criminal, to shield a liar, a thief, a burglar, a forger or a perjurer, criminals of every type, even a murderer.

If an official of the labor movement attempts to do that even before a man is convicted of any crime and when, according even to all courts, they are presumed to be innocent until proven guilty, he is immediately branded from the housetops by everybody in the country, but by particularly such cheap montebanks as Senator Sherman, as being worse than a convicted criminal.

If a lawyer not only defends them, but enables them to escape punishment, gets them free, he is not branded as a criminal. On the contrary, he gets a big salary for it and gets credit for being a smart lawyer, and it is only because the most of people outside of the labor movement don't understand the work of the average officer of it, that such lies as Mr. Sherman seeks to convey, have any influence at all, and it is because such men as Senator Sherman have legalized the crimes between man and man, that lawyers commit, making it legal for them to be accessories after the fact to all crimes, and almost impossible to catch them when they are accessories before the fact that makes it possible for at least ninety per cent of them to do the things they actually do every day and escape jail, even then, I believe that if he had his just dues, Senator Sherman would not escape.

It is a well-known fact that it is not the able, conscientious man that is generally considered the biggest lawyer of today. It is the lawyer who has the strongest political influence to wield on the courts

or in the selection of the juries, and who has got the best knowledge of the means of evading the law, and who actually does these things dishonestly that is considered the best lawyer, and who gets the most money for his work.

For instance, when a lawyer acts as a statesman, say a representative in the Legislature, when he takes the leading part in passing a franchise steal of turning over the streets of large cities to private corporations, for nothing, like the Yerkes, Humphries and Allen bills, with which Mr. Sherman was connected as a representative in the Legislature in Illinois did, everyone knows the real motives of those men, and it is an open secret that they get more dirty money for that sort of thing than men who, with the same kind of conscience, but less cunning, can make by almost any other kind of open outlawry, and, of course, this type of men fully understand the efficacy of the methods adopted by the thief in the early days, who, when suspicion pointed towards him, started calling "stop, thief," at others who were not thieves in order to divert suspicion from himself.

There is one thing certain, however, no one has ever accused President Gompers of having \$108,000 in securities in his safe at the end of any three months' session of a Legislature, when he has no visible means of income except a salary of \$2,000 per session before it convened, and was known to have no money before that time.

Mr. Sherman charges President Gompers with delivering the vote of the working people of the United States. I suppose if an honest man, with a thorough knowledge of what he is dealing with, were able to convince people affected, that a certain course was the best one to pursue for their own welfare that he might be accused of delivering their votes.

I think it generally agreed, however, that every citizen in this country has a right to express his opinion publicly on these matters, in fact, it is generally conceded that it is his duty to do so, and insofar as I have been informed, no one has ever attempted to charge President Gompers with attempting to bribe men with money or a promise of a job to get them to vote the way he wanted them to.

I have been told by hundreds of men that there was absolutely no question but that men's votes were bought with a bribe of cold cash in putting over the franchise steal and that they were satisfied that others were bribed with securities and stocks that represented cash, and some by promise of political support or appointments. In this case, my judgment is that it is another one of the "stop, thief" order when it was sought to convey the impression that Gompers had, for personal and selfish reasons, agreed to deliver votes.

This is always the method adopted by the dirty politicians, the representatives of the special privileged corporations, who are trying to, by expenditure of money and by every device and crooked method known to humanity, to control men and votes when they find an honest man that they cannot deceive, intimidate or bribe.

My judgment is that Senator Sherman is fully qualified to act in that capacity and to represent that kind of an interest, and that that was what he was really doing in this case. In the light of Senator Sherman's actions in the Senate and in the Illinois House of Representatives and publicly, it may be that he honestly believes that an honest man has not got the right to voice publicly his honest convictions on these questions, and that it is only a servant of the inter-

ests that has that right, and that no one should be allowed to speak except when he voices their point of view.

Mr. Sherman said Mr. Gompers was fortunate that he was not indicted the same as the McNamara Brothers, when the facts are that not a scintilla of evidence could be created by the ablest Federal Government experts, after every book, every account, and every letter had been ransacked and read, to connect President Gompers with that crime, when the shrewdest and most unscrupulous detective agencies on earth had failed to find anything with which in the faintest degree to connect him with it and when an open public declaration was made under oath by another man that these same detective agencies had tried to bribe him by promising immunity if he would give testimony implicating President Gompers in this case.

I believe that Senator Sherman got his inspiration from the same source that these detective agencies got theirs when they did this cowardly, dirty thing, and I believe that it is the same kind of an inspiration absolutely. I am satisfied from what the records show of his action in the past that he is not above taking it.

I really believe that if the same kind of scrutiny, the same kind of close, watchful, careful and thorough search had been made to find evidences of criminal acts in connection with the passage of the Yerkes, Humphries and Allen bills, and the same desire to put the criminals in the penitentiary who committed any crime, as in President Gompers's case, that there are a number of men that would have been sent there, and I am not sure but what Senator Sherman would be one of them.

Senator Sherman called President Gompers a "bluffer" and challenged him to take this matter up—tried to make it appear that he was willing to meet him face to face, and then, he refused to meet him (President Gompers) on the subterfuge that he was not an equal or in his class.

I have disagreed with President Gompers on a good many questions. I don't expect we will ever agree on a number of them, but I don't know of anybody who knows him that has ever charged him of being afraid to stand up and speak his views, regardless of consequence, even when in the smallest kind of a minority, and it seems to me that if one had to decide, from the records, which was the bluffer and which was the coward, there would be no room for hesitancy in deciding that Senator Sherman has fulfilled the requirements in both of these respects fully.

Senator Sherman made clear what his attitude was towards working people when he voted against the Hughes' amendment and voted against the Hamil amendment, under which the men and women of labor could not be prosecuted under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, because of activity in lawfully protecting and promoting their interests, or for the doing of an act which in itself would not be unlawful.

Senator Sherman by that act demonstrated that he is in favor of putting a working man or woman in jail when they commit any act, no matter how lawful it may be, provided it is not in accord with the wishes of the corporations, and about the only real crime that President Gompers has committed, for which they are trying to punish him, is telling the truth about such men as Senator Sherman in their action on the different legislative matters affecting the welfare of the people,

and telling it in such a way that the workers are all getting to know it, and understand it.

The real reason for such attacks by such men as Senator Sherman on President Gompers and all other honest officers of the Labor movement, is the fact that they are preventing them and the corporations they represent, the real parasites, the coupon clippers, interest, dividend and profit mongers, the absentee owners, the watered stock sellers, from exploiting the common people, to the extent that they would like to, by exposing them, telling the truth about them and what they are doing, and because they are beginning to feel that if such men as President Gompers are allowed to continue to do what he has been doing in the past, that it is only going to be a short time until all the thieves, even those who are doing it legally today, or by means, which, while not really honest, are accepted as being legitimate, are going to be prevented from stealing altogether, and it is for those reasons that those gentlemen and their representatives (and one of the worst of them that there is, in my judgment is Senator Sherman) are opposing President Gompers and the Labor movement.

I would therefore recommend that this convention brand Senator Sherman as a falsifier, as a coward, and as an enemy of organized labor, and common humanity, and that we pledge ourselves to do whatever there is that it lies in our power to do in the future, to see to it that the government of our country is not disgraced by him or any other of his type filling government positions again.

The following are some of the measures that Senator Sherman has opposed in the past, that the people wanted, and that the interests were against:

Sixty-third Congress.

1. On May 7, 1913, Senator Sherman is recorded as voting unfavorably on the following provisos contained in the Sundry Civil Appropriation bill, which were favored by Labor:

"Provided, however, That no part of this money shall be spent in the prosecution of any organization or individual for entering into any combination or agreement having in view the increasing of wages, shortening of hours or bettering the conditions of Labor, or for any act done in furtherance thereof, NOT IN ITSELF UNLAWFUL: Provided, further, That no part of this appropriation shall be expended for the prosecution of producers of farm products and associations of farmers who cooperate and organize in an effort to and for the purpose to obtain and maintain a fair and reasonable price for their products."

This bill had been vetoed by President Taft when it was placed in his hands for signature, in the previous (Sixty-second) Congress.

2. On May 27, 1913, a resolution authorizing a Senatorial investigation of the industrial conditions in the West Virginia coal fields, was passed by the Senate.

Senator Sherman is recorded as voting—"nay," on the Bacon amendment.

3. On October 23, 1913, the Seaman's bill, by LaFollette passed the Senate with only one dissenting vote. This bill was strongly favored by Labor.

Senator Sherman is recorded as—"not voting."

4. On July 8, 1914, Senator Sterling moved to strike out the following labor provisos from the Anti-trust section of the Sundry Civil bill:

"Provided, however, That no part of this money shall be expended in the prosecution of any organization or individual for entering into any combination or agreement having in view the increasing of wages, shortening of hours or bettering the conditions of Labor, or for any act done in furtherance thereof, NOT IN ITSELF UNLAWFUL: Provided, further, That no part of this appropriation shall be expended for the prosecution of producers of farm products and associations of farmers who cooperate and organize in an effort to and for the purpose to obtain and maintain a fair and reasonable price for their products."

Senator Martin of Virginia moved to lay the Sterling motion on the table.

Senator Sherman is recorded as voting—"aye," or against the interests of Labor.

5. On September 2, 1914, the Clayton Anti-trust bill passed the Senate. It contained several important protective features which were considered as Labor's Bill of Rights.

Senator Sherman is recorded as—"not voting."

6. On October 5, 1914, when the conference report on the Clayton Anti-trust bill was before the Senate a motion was made to recommit.

Senator Sherman is recorded as—"not voting."

7. On December 31, 1914, a vote was taken in the Senate on the Literary Test contained in the Immigration bill, Senator Martine of New Jersey, having moved to strike the Literary Test from the bill. The Senate rejected Senator Martine's motion by a vote of 47 to 12 and 37 "not voting."

Senator Sherman is recorded as—"not voting."

8. On January 2, 1915, the final vote upon the Immigration bill was taken up in the Senate, the Literary Test, of course, being part of the bill. The Senate passed the bill with the Literary Test intact by a vote of 50 "ayes," 7 "nays," 39 "not voting."

Senator Sherman is recorded as—"not voting."

9. On February 23, 1915, three roll-call votes were taken in the Senate on the proposition to forbid officers of the Army and Navy to maintain or install the "stop watch," speeding up "Taylor System" in government arsenals and navy yards.

Senator Sherman is recorded as voting against the interests of Labor on each roll call.

10. On February 27, 1915, the Seamen's bill, favored by Labor came before the Senate for final passage on the conferee's report. It passed the Senate by practically an unanimous viva voce vote without a record being taken, but later when a motion to reconsider that vote was made and a record test vote was taken upon the motion to reconsider, the Seamen's bill carried by a vote of 39 "ayes," 33 "nays" and 24 "not voting."

Senator Sherman is recorded as voting—"nay," or against the interests of Labor.

Sixty-fourth Congress.

1. On June 30, 1916, Senator Weeks of Massachusetts moved to strike out the Fortification bill the following Anti-Stop watch provision known as the Tavenner amendment against the Taylor System:

"Provided, That no part of the appropriations made in this act shall be available for the salary or pay of any officer, manager, superintendent, foreman, or other person having charge of the work of any employee of the United States Government while making or causing to be made with a stop watch or other time-measuring device a time study of any job of any such employee between the starting and completion thereof, or of the movements of any such employee while engaged upon such work; nor shall any part of the appropriations made in this act be available to pay any premium or bonus or cash reward to any employee in addition to his regular wages, except for suggestions resulting in improvements or economy in the operation of any Government plant."

Senator Bryan of Florida moved to lay the motion of Senator Weeks on the table.

The American Federation of Labor strongly urged the Tavenner Amendment.

Senator Sherman is recorded as voting—"nay," or against the interests of Labor.

2. On July 25, 1916, Senator Chamberlain, Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee moved that the following Tavenner Amendment should be stricken from the Appropriation bill:

Provided, That no part of the appropriations made in this act shall be available for the salary or pay of any officer, manager, superintendent, foreman, or other person having charge of the work of any employee of the United States Government while making or causing to be made with a stop-watch or other time-measuring device a time study of any job of any such employee between the starting and completion thereof, or of the movements of any such employee while engaged upon such work; nor shall any part of the appropriations made in this act be available to pay any premium or bonus or cash reward to any employee in addition to his regular wages, except for suggestions resulting in improvements or economy in the operation of any Government plant."

The American Federation of Labor strongly urged the above proviso to prohibit the Taylor System and use of the stop watch on workmen in Government plants.

Senator Sherman is recorded as—"not voting."

3. On July 26, 1916, Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire attempted to nullify the Tavenner Anti-Stop Watch proviso included in the Military Appropriation bill by striking out the premium bonus part of the amendment, as follows:

"Nor shall any part of the appropriations made in this act be available to pay any premium or bonus or cash reward to any employee in addition to his regular wages, except for suggestions resulting in improvements or economy in the operation of any Government plant."

The American Federation of Labor vigorously opposed the Gallinger motion which if carried would have made the Tavenner amendment worthless.

Senator Sherman is recorded as voting "aye" or against the interests of Labor and in favor of the Gallinger motion.

4. On August 8, 1916, the Federal Child Labor bill passed the Senate by a vote of 52 "ayes," 12 "nays" and 31 "not voting." In behalf of the children of our land, the American Federation of Labor, for many years, has urged the passage of this bill.

Senator Sherman is recorded as—"not voting."

5. On September 2, 1916, when the eight-hour bill for railroad men was before the Senate, Senator Underwood of Alabama offered an objectionable amendment extending authority to the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix hours and wages of railroad employees, either on its own initiative, petition of employees, managers of railroads or the public. This proposition was vigorously opposed by the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods. It was defeated by a vote of 14 "ayes" to 57 "nays" and 24 "not voting."

Senator Sherman is recorded as voting "nay," or in favor of the interests of labor.

6. On September 2, 1916, when the eight-hour bill for railroad men was before the Senate, Senator Newlands offered the following very objectionable amendment which could have been interpreted so as to always penalize strikers on railroads in the future:

"Sec. 5. Any person who shall knowingly and wilfully obstruct or retard the operation of trains mentioned in Section 1 of this act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and be punished by a fine of not exceeding \$100 or imprisonment not exceeding six months, or both."

This mischievous amendment was vigorously opposed by labor. It was defeated by a vote of 14 "ayes," 52 "nays," 29 "not voting."

Senator Sherman is recorded as voting "nay," or in favor of the interests of labor.

On the final passage of the eight-hour bill for railroad men, Senator Sherman is recorded as voting "nay," or against the interests of labor.

(September 30, 1916.)

You will note that out of 19 opportunities to vote upon labor measures he voted twice favorably, 10 times unfavorably, and 7 times he is recorded as "not voting."

LEGISLATIVE RECORD OF LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN ON LABOR MEASURES.

Fortieth General Assembly.

No. of bill.	Page. H. J.	Title.	Vote.
29	875	Act to prevent employment of minors under 16 years of age on wood-working machinery in shop, mill, factory or other place.....	No vote

SENATE BILLS IN HOUSE.

No. of bill.	Page. S. J.	Title.	Vote.
157	1184	To regulate employment of children in the State of Illinois.....	No vote
232	1216	Act to insure better education of practitioners of horseshoeing and regulating practice of same....	No vote
362	1202	Providing for licensing of plumbers.....	No vote

FORTY-FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

No. of bill.	Page. H. J.	Title.	Vote.
15	347	To protect lives and limbs of miners.....	No vote
22	347	Prohibiting the use of deception, misrepresentation, false advertising and false pretense in procuring employees to work in any department of labor in the State.....	No vote
335	763	Regulating the practice of barbering.....	No vote
375	463	Act to create a State Board of Arbitration for settlement of differences between employers and their employees	No vote
430	358	Revising laws in relation to coal mines and providing for health and safety of persons employed therein.	No vote
431	445	Act to create free employment offices in cities of certain designated populations and to provide for maintenance, management and control of same....	No vote
799	770	Act to protect associations, unions of workmen and persons in their labels, trade marks and forms of advertising	No vote

FORTY-SECOND GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

No. of bill.	Page. H. J.	Title.	Vote.
234	633	In relation to sale and assignment of wages and salary of municipal employees and officers in all cities of this State.....	No vote
793	805	Creating a State Board of Arbitration for settlement of differences between employers and their employees	No vote
808	718	Act to provide for setting apart, formation and disbursement of a police pension fund in cities, villages and incorporated towns.....	No vote
825	798	Act to provide for formation and disbursement of a public school teachers and public school employees' pension and retirement fund.....	No vote

SENATE BILLS IN HOUSE.

No. of bill.	Page. S. J.	Title.	Vote.
73	1050	Act to regulate employment of children.....	No vote

FORTY-THIRD GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

No. of bill.	Page. H. J.	Title.	Vote.
337	685	To regulate the manufacture of clothing and appointment of State inspectors.....	No
498	938	Act to revise the law in relation to coal mines and providing for health and safety of persons employed therein.....	Aye
510	894	Act relating to employment offices and agencies....	No

512	927	Act to create a State Board of Arbitration for settlement of differences between employers and their employees	No
634	818	To regulate the employment of children in the State.	No vote
746	923	Act to create a Bureau of Labor Statistics and to provide for a Board of Commissioners and Secretary..	No
750	928	To regulate profession of public accountants.....	No vote

SENATE BILLS IN HOUSE.

No. of bill.	Page. S. J.	Title.	Vote.
50	1141	Revising law in relation to coal mines.....	No vote

FORTY-THIRD GENERAL ASSEMBLY. SENATE BILLS IN HOUSE.

No. of bill.	Page. S. J.	Title.	Vote.
218	1219	Act to provide for setting apart, formation and disbursement of a police pension fund in cities, villages and incorporated towns.....	No vote

Mr. Sherman was Speaker of the House of Representatives during the 41st and 42d General Assemblies.

SENATOR SHERMAN'S RECORD ON LABOR MEASURES WHILE ACTING AS SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE, ILLINOIS LEGISLATURE.

Forty-first General Assembly—House Bill 22—Prohibit false advertising—No vote.

Forty-second General Assembly—Senate Bill 33—Regulate the employment of children—No vote.

It will be noted that in most instances Mr. Sherman, as representative in the Illinois Legislature, did not vote at all on the labor measures that came up for consideration.

Under the rules it requires an affirmative vote of the majority of all members of the House and Senate before any bill can be adopted or passed by the House, so that every vote which is not cast at all, no matter for what reason, in effect really means the same as if the vote had been cast against the measure and the method usually adopted by cowardly demagogues who are serving the interests, in defeating legislation that the people want, is to sit silent in their seats and not vote at all, as by this method they know that their vote is counted against the measure, and at the same time they can deceive the people who don't understand, by making it appear that they are neutral, because they did not vote for or against the measure.

ABSENT VOTE RULE SHOULD BE CHANGED.

There is one rule governing the Illinois Legislature, in its both branches which should be altered, if there is any possibility of its being done, and that is the rule that provides that there must be an affirmative vote of a majority of all members of the House and Senate before a bill can be passed. The effect of this rule means that every vote that is not cast, no matter for what reason, is counted against the measure. This not only allows cowardly demagogues, who are opposed to a measure, to

in effect vote against it, and with the ordinary person who don't understand these rules, avoid responsibility by sitting silent but in many cases where members of the House and Senate are unavoidably absent, because of sickness or business, and where they really favor the measure that is being considered and if they were able to be present, would have voted for it, their vote, because of their absence, is counted against that measure, and it seems to me that some rule should be adopted in cases of that character, that would enable a Senator or Representative who was unavoidably absent, to be recorded as neutral, and not have his vote counted either way.

And, in many cases, too, where Senators and Representatives do not understand the measure that is up, and they are neither for or against it, and when because of conscientious scruples, under those circumstances, they refuse to vote, their vote is counted against that measure, and, as an honest man usually don't like to vote for a measure that he does not understand, it generally means that wherever there is the least doubt, they don't vote at all, and their votes are counted against the bill. In cases of that character, the rules should permit the men casting a neutral vote, that would not be counted either for or against it.

Even when a member of the House or Senate dies, then his vote is counted against the measures that come up during that session, or at least until his name is stricken from the roll call.

This is the most outrageous procedure, and works to the detriment of labor in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, and it should be changed if there is a possibility of doing it.

I would recommend that the legislative representatives of the Illinois State Federation of Labor use every influence that they can in the coming session, to see that that rule is changed, so as to enable honesty and fairness in the absent vote.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN ILLINOIS.

The labor movement in our State is growing by leaps and bounds. Every intelligent working man and woman can see that it is the only institution that can really be depended upon at all times to protect and promote their interest.

Its activities are not confined or restricted in any way, except by the possibilities of doing good, and that means in every sphere of human life, the shortening of the hours of labor, is in practically every instance due to either direct action or the reflex influence of the Trade Union Movement, but by far and large, the greater number of workers, whose hours have been decreased, accomplished it through the direct influence of their economic organizations.

In some instances it has been brought about by legislative action, but this legislative action was only made possible because of the fact that the economic organizations had been established prior to that time, and even where employers have voluntarily shortened the hours of employees, it has been brought about by either the closer contact, better relationship and better understanding that comes through joint organization relations, between employers and workmen, or through the observation on the part of the employer of the beneficial results that follow, where these relations have been established by others, or because of the fear that if they did not grant them that, the workers would organize and compel them to give greater progress.

This is also true of increases in wages, except that there has been no increase of wages by legislation outside of where minimum wages have been established, and this, in every instance, has been accomplished by the influence of organized labor, and this is pretty generally true, too, wherever the cooperative movement has been established, either by the industrial workers to enable them to get purer foods and better articles of every kind, full weight and measure for the lowest possible prices, consistent with paying the wages to the workers employed by them, that they are entitled to, and giving them the hours and working conditions and treatment they should have, or by the agricultural or other workers to enable them to get the price that they should get for the products of their labor, or by consumer and producer to protect themselves from exploitation by retail merchants and middlemen.

In very few instances has this ever been established except where economic organizations had been established prior to that time, and these three developments affect the lives of every human being involved in them, potentially for good, or evil in the enlargement of the possibilities of their lives in every direction, or in their restriction in the same manner.

In other words, the longer hours a person must work and the lower wages they receive, the more unhealthful and exhausting conditions of labor under which they work, the nearer it brings them to the plane of an animal or beast of burden.

The less hours they have to work, the more time they have for self-development, and the increased wages give them the means and in turn as they develop themselves to a greater degree mentally, and become better informed, they provide improved methods of educating and developing their children.

This also has the effect of more intelligent political action and in that same degree too, the strength, power and influence of the labor movement increases again and this being the very source of these possibilities again, means the ever-increasing rapidity of progress in these same developments and the ever-increasing widening of the horizon of human possibilities.

This is becoming more and more apparent to every thinking man and woman in the world today, and naturally, logically, and because the average human being wants to do what is right and make things better for not only themselves, but everyone else; in larger and ever increasingly larger numbers are these workers becoming members of the different trade unions and taking an active part in every phase of the work of the labor movement.

This holds the highest promise of what there is in store on earth for the human race, and I am glad to note that, in our own state we are at least keeping abreast with the movement, in numerical strength, proportionate to our population, and in progress and I hope that every delegate here will realize that they owe a duty personally in this work, and that is to do their full share themselves on every phase of this struggle for human progress and to inform others so that they too may understand their duties and responsibilities as well, and thus influence them to take their place in the ranks of our great army of labor, that is the real practical working, fighting machine, the strongest influence on earth and the only one that can be depended upon at all times to promote and protect the interests of the working people, because it is of them and for them, and they are the highest and noblest expression of nature that there is on earth.

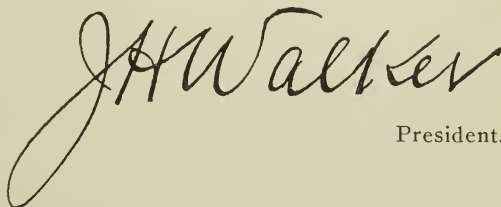
GROWTH IN MEMBERSHIP.

The Secretary's report shows that 144 local organizations have been added to the membership of the Federation during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1916, including the re-affiliation of thirteen locals of Brick Workers and five others. At the Alton convention the affiliation of 93 local organizations was reported for the previous year, and at the Peoria convention, the total for the year was 47—this making a grand total of additions to the enrollment of the Federation since I became president of 271 local unions and Central bodies, not counting the re-affiliation of the Brick Workers, whose withdrawal and return took place during my term of office.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, I desire to thank the officers and members of the Illinois State Federation of Labor for the many courtesies they have extended to me during the past three years. It has been a pleasure for me almost every minute of the time to do the best that I could for our movement. Because harmonious and friendly relations have existed in every way, we have been able to make progress that is almost unbelievable, and there is nothing in connection with my work in the labor movement during my lifetime, that I have regretted any more than to leave the position that I am occupying now, because it would be improper, and too, might look like as if I was using our convention to serve my own interest. It is impossible for me to go into details as to the reasons for my declining to be a candidate for re-election at this time; however, I want you to know insofar as my word may go with you and our membership everywhere, that it is only because I was convinced that it was duty to the organization of which I am a member, that I decided to pursue the course that I have in this matter, and through the years to come, there will be no more pleasant spot in my memory, than that of the time I have spent in working as your servant in my present capacity, and I want you to feel that there will be no time in the future when I can be of any assistance to the Illinois State Federation of Labor in any manner possible that I won't be glad to do the best I can to be helpful, and I trust that the future may see a continuation of the same pleasant relations between the officers and the membership; and even greater progress on the part of our movement, until every man and woman who works for a living in the State of Illinois are members of it, working together in the closest co-operation to bring about the realization of that hope and desire on the part of humanity of all the ages, the real emancipation of human-kind.

Respectfully Submitted,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "J. H. Walker". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, looping initial "J" and a long, sweeping underline.

President.

Report of the Secretary-Treasurer

Quincy, Illinois, October 16, 1916.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Greeting:

I have the honor to submit to you the following financial report of receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1916:

Receipts

Balance on hand, October 1, 1915.....	\$ 2,995.92
President's office, expense fund on hand October 1, 1915.....	100.00
Per capita tax.....	\$17,312.77
Weekly News Letter.....	606.50
Donations:	
Rosiclare Mine Workers' Strike.....	2,534.15
Co-operative Society Convention.....	150.00
Miscellaneous receipts	38.02
	<hr/>
	\$20,641.44
Total.....	\$23,737.36

Disbursements

Convention, including printing and attendance.....	\$ 3,479.99
Weekly News Letter, printing and mailing.....	1,547.96
Printing, miscellaneous	906.48
Office supplies	626.59
Office rent	300.00
Postage	533.94
Telegraph and express.....	253.22
Stenographers and clerical help.....	2,260.37
President, salary	2,400.00
President, traveling expense.....	1,715.19
Secretary-treasurer, salary, 13 months.....	2,425.00
Secretary-treasurer, traveling expense.....	340.13
Acting President, salary and expense.....	219.26
Tellers, count of election returns, traveling expense...	267.70
Co-operative Convention, report of proceedings.....	48.50
Executive Board meeting.....	251.09
Organizing	207.32
Donated to Rosiclare Mine Workers by Federation..	100.00
Donations received (see receipts) turned over to Rosiclare Mine Workers.....	2,534.15
A. F. of L. per capita tax.....	10.00
A. F. of L. delegate, San Francisco Convention.....	250.00
Surety bond, Secretary-treasurer.....	25.00
Refund, overpayment of News Letter sub.....	9.00
Miscellaneous expense	105.03
	<hr/>
	\$20,815.92
President's office, expense fund on hand September 30, 1916...	100.00
Balance in treasury, September 30, 1916.....	2,821.46
Total.....	23,737.36

Recapitulation

Balance in treasury, October 1, 1915.....	\$ 2,995.92
President's office, expense fund on hand, October 1, 1915.....	100.00
Receipts	20,641.44
Total.....	\$23,737.36
Disbursements	\$20,815.92
President's office, expense fund on hand, September 30, 1916...	100.00
Balance in treasury, September 30, 1916.....	2,821.46
Total.....	\$23,737.36

The itemized statement of receipts and expenditures, in detail, has been published in the Weekly News Letter, in accordance with the recommendation of the Alton Convention, for the information of affiliated organizations.

Rosiclare Mine Workers' Strike Donations

Receipts from local organizations and individuals, to September 30, 1915.....	\$2,534.15
Donated by the Federation, action of Executive Board	100.00
Forwarded to Rosiclare, Local No. 136, W. F. of M., to September 30, 1915.....	\$2,634.15
Total.....	\$2,634.15 \$2,634.15

Expense of Election of Officers by Referendum Vote.

In accord with instructions of the Alton Convention I submit for your information an account of the expenditures due to the election of officers of the Federation by referendum vote. These items are, of course, included in the general financial statement. The cost to the Federation of electing officers by referendum vote, during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1916, including nominations as well as the election, was as follows:

Printing, ballots, report sheets, circulars, etc.....	\$320.58
Tellers, railroad fare, hotel expense and salary.....	267.70
Expressage on ballots.....	49.17
Postage	69.63
Revenue stamps	1.61
Clerical help	30.00
Additional cost to Weekly News Letter for printing tabulated election report, approximate.....	55.00
Total.....	\$793.69

The list of nominations, the report of the tellers showing the total vote for each candidate, and the announcement of the candidates elected, which were all published in the News Letter with practically no additional cost over the expense of the space as used for ordinary purposes, would have required the expenditure of about \$50.00, and the cost of printing and mailing the tabulated returns would have been greater, if the News Letter had not been available as a medium through which to communicate these reports to the affiliated organizations.

Growth in Membership.

During the past year a total of 144 local organizations have been added to the membership of the Federation; 18 of these were re-affiliations of locals formerly enrolled, including 13 locals of Brick Workers, and 126 were new affiliations, as follows:

Anna	Painters & Decorators, No. 471.
Alton.....	Engineers, No. 41.
"	Stationary Firemen, No. 331.
Aurora.....	Barbers, No. 621.
"	Musicians, No. 181.
Beardstown.....	Barbers, No. 612.
"	Bartenders, No. 670.
Benton.....	Barbers, No. 677.
Bloomington.....	Cigar Makers, No. 259.
"	Meat Cutters & Butchers, No. 559.
"	Woman's Union Label League, No. 341.
"	Railway Carmen, No. 507.
Blue Island.....	Switchmen, No. 29.
Canton	Barbers, No. 57.
Centralia	Barbers, No. 220.
"	Painters & Decorators, No. 124.
Champaign ...	Electrical Workers, No. 601.
Champaign-Urbana ...	Janitors, No. 15245.
Chicago	Barbers, No. 548.
"	Bartenders, No. 456.**
"	Bartenders, No. 89.**
"	Brick & Clay Workers, District No. 1.*
	Cicero, No. 1.*
	Lansing, No. 2.*
	Blue Island, No. 3.*
	Riverdale, No. 4.*
	Chicago, No. 6.*
	Deerfield, No. 14.*
	Grant Park, No. 34.*
	Chicago, No. 49.*
	Glenview, No. 186.*
	Chicago Heights, No. 203.*
	Manteno, No. 214.*
	Chicago, No. 253.*
"	Coopers, No. 193.
"	Electrical Legislative League.
"	Leather Workers, No. 17.
"	Letter Carriers, No. 155.
"	Machinists, No. 524.
"	Miscellaneous Emp. Assn., No. 874.
"	Machinery Leather Belt Workers, No. 46.
"	Millwrights & Carpenters, No. 1693.
"	Painters & Decorators, No. 191.
"	Painters & Decorators, No. 194.
"	Painters & Decorators, No. 455.
"	Railroad Telegraphers, No. 23.
"	Sheet Metal Workers, No. 115.
"	Switchmen, No. 19.

**Merged into one local.

*Reaffiliated.

Chicago	Switchmen, No. 208.
"	Teachers, Fed. of Women, High School.
"	Teachers' Federation, No. 14610.
"	Waiters, No. 35.
"	Waitresses, No. 484.*
Chicago Heights	Barbers, No. 421.
Clinton	Barbers, No. 417.
Carlinville	Barbers, No. 282.
Collinsville	Barbers, No. 696.
Danville	Barbers, No. 121.
"	Railway Clerks, No. 329.
Decatur	Moulders, No. 423.
Dolton	Switchmen, No. 189.
DuQuoin	Bartenders, No. 60.
"	Barbers, No. 583.
"	Federal Labor Union No. 8203.
E. St. Louis	Federal Labor Union No. 15142.
"	Machinists, No. 121.
E. Moline	Nurses & Attendants, No. 14767.
Edwardsville	Barbers, No. 605.
Eldorado	Barbers, No. 561.
Freeport	Barbers, No. 378.
"	Switchmen, No. 149.
"	Trades & Labor Council.
Galesburg	Barbers, No. 289.
"	Stage Employees, No. 166.
Gillespie	Barbers, No. 723.
Granite City	Barbers, No. 483.
Greenville	Barbers, No. 606.
Harrisburg	Barbers, No. 397.
Herrin	Carpenters, No. 381.
"	Federal Labor Union No. 11617.
"	Stage Employees, No. 601.
Hillsboro	Trades and Labor Council.
"	Barbers, No. 707.
Jacksonville	Barbers, No. 497.
Joliet	Barbers, No. 46.
"	Woman's Union Label League.
Kankakee	Barbers, No. 686.
Kewanee	Barbers, No. 94.
La Salle	Cement Mill Workers, No. 15121.
Lincoln	Barbers, No. 328.
Litchfield	Barbers, No. 465.
Marion	Trades Council.
Moline	Barbers, No. 117.
Monmouth	Barbers, No. 428.
Mt. Vernon	Barbers, No. 237.
Murphysboro	Barbers, No. 208.
"	Federal Labor Union No. 12901.
"	Machinists, No. 141.
"	Sheet Metal Workers, No. 398.

Nokomis	Central Labor Union.
Normal	Soldiers' Orphan Home Emp., No. 15252.
Oglesby	Cement Mill Workers, No. 15114.
Ottawa	Barbers, No. 579.
Pana	Barbers, No. 524.
Pekin	Barbers, No. 399.
Peoria	Hod Carriers & Laborers, No. 165.
"	Iron Workers, No. 112.
"	Switchmen, No. 72.
"	Nurses & Attendants, No. 14755.
Peru	Barbers, No. 355.
Pontiac	Barbers, No. 119.
Quincy	Barbers, No. 193.
"	Carpenters, No. 1366.
"	Electrical Workers, No. 67.
"	Painters & Decorators, No. 66.
"	Plumbers & Fitters, No. 161.
"	Printing Pressmen, No. 171.
"	Press Feeders & Assistants, No. 69.
"	Sheet Metal Workers, No. 56.
"	Tailors, No. 180.
"	Teamsters, No. 80.
"	Typographical, No. 59.
Rockford	Barbers, No. 412.
Rock Island.....	Metal Polishers, No. 49.
"	Moving Picture Operators, No. 433.
"	Pressmen & Assistants, No. 98.
Savana	Barbers, No. 313.
South Chicago.....	Barbers, No. 576.
Springfield	Carpenters, No. 16.
"	Electrical Workers, No. 193.
"	Moving Picture Operators, No. 323.
Spring Valley.....	Barbers, No. 371.
Sterling	Barbers, No. 217.
Streator	Brick & Clay Workers, No. 7.
"	Brick & Clay Workers, No. 11.
"	Brick & Clay Workers, No. 52.
"	Federal Labor Union No. 15034.
"	Federal Labor Union No. 15107.
"	Sheet Metal Workers, No. 278.
Taylorville	Barbers, No. 32.
West City	Bartenders, No. 841.
W. Frankfort.....	Barbers, No. 673.
Woodstock	Metal Polishers & Buffers, No. 179.

The above list, excluding the re-affiliations mentioned, is practically a net gain in membership. One organization withdrew during the year, but has applied for reinstatement. It is not included in the list. One or two small locals have been reported to have disbanded, and to offset this there are several newly organized unions with a very substantial membership. The total enrollment in the Federation on September 30, 1916, was 900 local unions and central bodies. Indications are that this number will be materially increased during the next few months.

Weekly News Letter.

The official publication of the Federation, the Weekly News Letter, has become firmly established. When first issued it was a two-page paper, mailed in envelopes, but shortly after the Alton Convention it was enlarged to four pages, which made it possible to mail it without envelopes; economizing on the wrapper and expending more on the paper itself made it possible to issue a larger publication at a comparatively small increase in cost.

The receipts and expenditures for the Weekly News Letter during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1916, were as follows:

Receipts, subscriptions	\$ 606.50	
Expenditures, including refund (\$9.00).....		\$1,556.96
Excess of expenditures over receipts.....	950.46	
Total.....	\$1,556.96	\$1,556.96

The excess of expenditures over receipts in the News Letter account cannot fairly be called a deficit, however. The cost of printing and mailing 20,000 copies of the proceedings of the Anti-Injunction Conference is charged to that account, because the News Letter was used for that purpose. Although this increased the cost of the publication, it enabled the Federation to print and distribute a much larger number of the proceedings at less expense than would otherwise have been possible. The curtailment of the miscellaneous printing cost may also be credited to the News Letter, which in many instances conveys to affiliated organizations much information formerly sent by circular letters. In other words, while the maintenance of the News Letter increases expense in one direction, it decreases it in another.

All affiliated organizations have not, as yet, sent in their subscriptions, but it is now practically certain that all will do so when their attention is again called to the matter. A few, four or five, reported having decided not to subscribe, but even these will, I believe, soon comply with the constitution in this respect. There have been very few subscriptions received from individual members.

I have endeavored to the best of my ability, to edit the News Letter in such a manner as to have it reflect the views of the Federation and the general labor movement, avoiding the expression of mere personal opinions as much as possible. Whether or not this policy has been carried out in a satisfactory way, to the best interests of the movement, is a subject upon which I invite criticism, suggestions and judgment.

Legal Department.

The Legal Department was established in July, but no bills were rendered to the Federation until after the close of the fiscal year and they do not, therefore, appear in the general financial statement contained in this report. For the information of the delegates, however, I submit the following statement of the expenditures for the department during the first eleven weeks of its existence:

Salary of local attorney.....	\$334.08
Stenographer, four weeks.....	72.00
Traveling expense	48.75
Office desk and typewriter.....	149.25
Printing and stationery.....	46.25

Total.....\$650.33

The above amount will be paid in equal shares by this Federation and the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Candidates for Legislature Questioned.

In accord with instructions of the Alton Convention and the Anti-Injunction Conference, I obtained a list of all candidates in the recent state primaries, and sent a letter, approved by a special committee, to every candidate for the legislature (nearly 700), requesting each to state his attitude towards Labor's Injunction-Limitation Bill. In order to compile the report on replies of candidates, published in the News Letter, Sept. 9, it became necessary for me to read and analyze over 400 letters from as many candidates and to make a card index of the whole. This work had to be completed before primary day in order that the information might be of some practical value, and other duties, therefore, had to be laid aside while it was being done.

A report on the results in the primaries is now under preparation, but is being delayed by the pressure of other important work and the difficulty of obtaining official information as to the candidates nominated in the various districts.

Election of Officers—Referendum Vote of 1915.

The report of the tellers, showing the vote cast in the referendum election of officers, in 1915, was published in detail in the Weekly News Letter. A total of 516 affiliated organizations made returns included in the count; 7 central bodies cast more than the three votes allowed to such organizations and were not counted; 4 packages of ballots were received without return sheets or other means of identification; 1 local in arrears fourteen months was excluded, and the vote of 1 local union, against which there was a protest, was also excluded. The total number of organizations acting in the referendum was, therefore, 529.

The following excerpt from the Report of Tellers, showing the candidates elected for the year beginning April 1, 1916 (now in office), is submitted here so that it may be made part of the convention records:

President

John H. Walker.....64,019 votes

First Vice-President

Robert G. Fitchie.....19,709 votes

Second Vice-President

Ed. Carbine,33,068 votes

Third Vice-President

Michael J. Whalen.....27,985 votes

Secretary-Treasurer

Victor A. Olander.....51,325 votes

Members of Executive Board

Thomas Kelly	40,112	votes
Jos. W. Morton.....	33,317	"
Al. Towers	32,393	"
Jas. F. Daughton.....	31,086	"
Geo. B. Jenkins.....	29,727	"
Albert Vincent	26,331	"

Auditors

J. A. Kain.....	37,605	votes
Tilden Bozarth	32,094	"
William Jampel	29,336	"

Tellers ..

Agnes Johnson	23,521	votes
Rud Farnetti	19,766	"
Fernand Bernard	16,593	"

Nomination of Officers, 1916.

The list of candidates whose names will appear on the ballot for election as officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor for the term beginning April 1, 1917, was not completed at the time this report was written and for that reason could not be included herein. A supplementary report will therefore be submitted on this subject, in order that the delegates to this convention may know definitely the names which will be printed on the ballot.

Labor Temple.

A call for a referendum vote on the plan of agreement covering legal phases of ownership of proposed Labor Temple was issued by instructions of the executive board, and published in the Weekly News Letter, with a complete draft of proposed trust agreement. A second notice of the referendum was issued in the form of a circular letter to all affiliated organizations on July 1, 1916, with a second copy of the News Letter containing the draft of proposed agreement. Only 55 organizations, approximately six per cent of total membership, responded, the result being as follows:

		Mem- bership
Central Bodies: Favorable.....	7	
Local Unions: Favorable	36	14,956
Local Unions: Unfavorable	9	1,942
Local Unions: Filed, without action.....	2	397
Local Unions: Favorable if built in Chicago.....	1	1,500
Total.....	55	18,795

Conclusion.

The duties of the secretary-treasurer's office have been very materially increased during the past eighteen months and its facilities are now being taxed to the limit. The election of officers by referendum vote, and the editorial work in connection with the News Letter, added to the many other duties, and a steady and substantial growth in mem-

bership, have much more than doubled the work required of the secretary-treasurer in former years. Additional office help has been employed only on a few occasions, and every effort has been made to keep the expense of the office at a minimum, but the point has now been reached where there must be either more help or less work in this office. I do not, however, anticipate any objection on the part of the Federation to the employment of another stenographer or clerical worker in the secretary-treasurer's office if the funds are sufficient to meet the additional expense.

During the past year I have attended many meetings and conferences at the call of affiliated organizations, in strikes and other emergencies and to aid in organizing campaigns. I have endeavored to give the most active service of which I am capable.

In concluding this report, which must necessarily be limited to matters of a financial or statistical nature, I desire to express my deep appreciation for the willing and hearty co-operation accorded to me by the president and other officers of the Federation and by the officers of the Chicago Federation of Labor with whom I occupy office quarters and who have been very helpful on many occasions. I am grateful also to the officers of various city central bodies and local unions and to the host of active union men and women in all parts of the state who have co-operated with my office in many ways. The past year has been a very busy one, but was made very pleasant by the uniform courtesy I met with everywhere and the spirit of co-operation and good fellowship which prevailed in all parts of the movement.

Fraternally submitted,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "J. A. Olander". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed title "Secretary-Treasurer."

Secretary-Treasurer.

AUDITOR'S REPORT

WM. E. MASON JR. & COMPANY
PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS
CHICAGO NEW YORK

CHICAGO OFFICE
108 SOUTH LA SALLE ST.

October 10, 1916.

*Mr. V. A. Olander, Secretary-Treasurer, Illinois State Federation
of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.*

Dear Sir:

In accordance with your instructions, as authorized by your Executive Board, we have made an Audit and Examination of the Books and Vouchers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, for the Fiscal Year ended September 30, 1916.

We found the books to be mathematically correct and neatly kept.

The Cash Receipts agreed with the stub records of receipt books, and proper vouchers were found on file, of paid Statements, Bills, etc., covering all Cash Disbursements, and we have verified the cash on hand as called for by the books as at the close of business September 30, 1916.

We accordingly hereby certify that the accompanying Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the year ended September 30, 1916, is in accordance with the Books and is correct.

Very respectfully yours,

WM. E. MASON, JR., & COMPANY.

By Wm. E. Mason, Jr., C. P. A.

APPENDIX TO AUDITOR'S REPORT

ILLINOIS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR
Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements
Year Ended Sept. 30, 1916

Balance on hand Oct. 1, 1915, as per Auditor's Report:

Treasury	\$ 2,995.92	
President's office	100.00	\$ 3,095.92

Receipts:

Per Capita Tax.....	\$17,312.77	
Weekly News Letter subscriptions.....	606.50	
Donations, Rosiclare mine workers.....	2,534.15	
Donation, Co-operative convention.....	150.00	
Miscellaneous receipts	38.02	20,611.44
Total receipts		\$23,737.36

Disbursements:

Convention, including printing proceedings and reports, attendance expense, etc.....	\$ 3,479.99	
Weekly News Letter, printing, mailing, etc....	1,547.96	
Refund, News Letter subscription.....	9.00	
Printing, excl. of convention and News Letter..	906.48	
Office supplies, etc.,	626.59	
Rent	300.00	
Telegraphing and expressage.....	253.22	
Office stenographers and clerical work.....	2,260.37	
Postage	533.94	
President's salary	2,400.00	
President's traveling expenses.....	1,715.19	
Acting President's salary and expenses.....	219.26	
Secretary-Treasurer's salary, Sept. 1, 1915, to Sept. 30, 1916.....	2,425.00	
Secretary-Treasurer, traveling expenses.....	340.13	
Organizing expenses	207.32	
Executive Board meetings.....	251.09	
Tellers	267.70	
Donated to Rosiclare Mine Workers by Illinois S. F. of L.....	100.00	
Donations received (see receipts) turned over to Rosiclare Mine Workers.....	2,534.15	
American Federation of Labor, delegate.....	250.00	
American Federation of Labor, per capita tax..	10.00	
Secretary-Treasurer, surety bond.....	25.00	
Co-operative convention	48.50	
Miscellaneous disbursements	105.03	
Total disbursements		20,815.92
Balance on hand Sept. 30, 1916.....		\$ 2,921.44

Made up as follows:

Balance in Treasury.....	\$ 2,821.44	
Balance, President's office.....	100.00	\$ 2,921.44

Report of the Committee on Schools

of the Illinois State Federation of Labor

MR. MATHEW WOLL, Chairman
International Photo-Engravers' Union

MR. CLAYTON PENSE, Vice-Chairman
Pressman's Union

MR. E. N. NOCKELS,
Chicago Fed. of Labor.

MR. STEVE SUMNER,
Milk Wagon Drivers.

MR. CHAS. B. STILLMAN,
Men Teachers' Federation.

MISS FLORENCE S. HALL,
Women High School Teachers.

MR. D. WAHLGREN,
Painters' Union.

MR. ED CARBINE,
Machinists' Union.

MRS. IDA L. M. FURSMAN,
Teachers' Federation.

MISS HAZEL McDONALD,
Postoffice Clerks.

MRS. RAYMOND ROBINS,
Women's Trade Union League.

MR. BEN WILLIAMS,
Miners' Union.

MR. WILLIAM BURTON,
Miners' Union.

MISS MARY ANDERSON,
Boat and Shoe Workers.

MR. JOHN PLUMMER,
Typographical Union.

MR. JAMES McANDREWS,
Elev. Conductors.

MR. FRANK LIVLIVELT,
Brewery Workers.

MR. EDW. J. EVANS,
Electrical Workers.

MR. JOHN J. BRUCE,
Elevated Railway Employees.

MR. WILLIAM TABOR,
Street Railway Employees.

MISS AGNES NESTOR, Secretary,
Glove Workers' International Union.

Quincy, Illinois, October 16, 1916.

To the Officers and Delegates, Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor

GREETING:

Pursuant to the action of the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, held at Alton, Illinois, October 18 to 22, 1915, adopting the report of the Committee on Schools and Education recommending the appointment of a permanent committee on school "to safeguard the children of the workers, to secure for all students the right to mental freedom in education, and to secure the expression in the educational

system of the ideals of organized labor," your Committee on Schools was appointed and submits the following report for your consideration:

Your committee believes that the most important questions confronting the Trade Unionists of the State at this time are the attack made upon the rights of the teachers of Chicago to organize, the need in this state for free textbooks, the conditions in the rural schools and the possibility of another effort being made at the next session of the legislature to separate our vocational and general educational systems under what has been known as the "dual" system. We therefore confine this report to these phases of the school question. There are many defects in the school system to be remedied and your committee hopes to deal with them at another time.

The Right of Teachers to Organize.

On May 12, 1915, the Committee on Efficiency and Economy, of which Mr. Jacob M. Loeb was chairman, reported to the Board of Education recommending a cut of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in the salaries of the entire teaching force of the Public Schools of Chicago.

Testifying before the fake Baldwin Senate Commission on July 22nd, 1915, Mr. Jacob M. Loeb stated under oath that this $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent cut in salary was prevented by the Chicago Teachers' Federation.

From June 30, 1915, when the so-called Baldwin Senate Commission was fraudulently created at Springfield, Ill., for the avowed purpose of investigating the Chicago School Board, and

the real purpose of discrediting the Chicago Teachers' Federation, persecution of the Federation as a whole and of its members as individuals has been unceasing. All through July and August, 1915, with most of its officers and members out of the city for the summer vacation, the motives and activities of the Federation and its officers were misrepresented by almost the entire press of the city of Chicago, the notable exceptions to this rule being the Herald, Journal and the Day Book.

On the 23rd of August, 1915, when the public had been duly prepared for it, three members of the Rules Committee of the Board of Education met and recommended the Loeb rule forbidding teachers to organize and affiliate with labor unions. At its first meeting, September 18th, the Board of Education by a vote of 11 to 9 adopted this rule since known as Loeb Rule No. 1. On September 14th, the State's Attorney, on the relation of the President of the Federation, filed a petition in the Superior Court asking a temporary injunction restraining the Board of Education from enforcing Loeb Rule No. 1, which was granted by Judge John M. O'Connor on September 23rd. At its next meeting, September 29th, the Board of Education amended its rule and on October 16th appeared before Judge Dennis E. Sullivan in the Superior Court asking to have the temporary injunction dissolved. On November 29th Judge Sullivan rendered an opinion refusing to dissolve the temporary injunction. On December 3rd Judge Sullivan's formal order was entered. The Board of Education at once filed notice of appeal from this decision and took the matter to the Appellate Court.

In the Appellate Court the case came before Judge Baker, since deceased, McSurely and Holdom, and on May 1, 1916, a decision was rendered in favor of the teachers, Judge Holdom dissenting but presenting no dissenting opinion. This decision sustained Judge O'Connor's temporary injunction against the Board of Education and some excerpts from the opinion follow:

Excerpts From Appellate Court Opinion.

It may be conceded that the Board has power to pass rules regulating its teaching force . . . but the board has no power to pass an unreasonable rule in violation of the statute or constitution.

* * * * *

Is the rule in question discrimination between different classes of citizens, conferring special privileges upon a class or group less than all? A majority of this Court holds that it is.

The Court said further:

It is unquestionable that if the Legislature should enact a statute containing the same provisions as this contract in regard to any work to be done for Boards of Education the provision would be absolutely null and void as in conflict with the constitution of the State. If such a restriction were sought to be enforced by any laws of the State it would constitute an infringement upon the constitutional rights of citizens. There is no more reason or justification for such a contract as this than there would be for a provision that no one should be employed except members of some particular party or church The Board of Education may stipulate for the quality of material to be furnished and the degree of skill required in workmanship, but a provision that the work shall be done only by certain persons or classes of persons, members of certain societies necessarily creates a monopoly in their favor It follows logically that a rule which restricts employment to non-members of such societies as unions is also void. Is it valid as a disciplinary measure? If the Board has resolved that it was necessary as a matter of discipline that it should employ as teachers only members of the Chicago Teachers' Federation, would such a restrictive rule be valid? Or that its teachers should all be Presbyterians or Catholics as a necessity for efficiency of the teaching force, or that no members of such churches should be employed for the same reason? Or that no member of a particular political party should be employed because membership of the teacher in such party was "detrimental to the welfare of the public school system?" The answers to such queries must manifestly be against the validity of such a rule. . . . The law is that the Board may stipulate for the amount of training, the degree of proficiency and the physical fitness of its teaching employes, but it cannot provide that its teaching shall be done only by certain persons or classes of persons member or non-members of certain societies. . . .

Furthermore we have before us only the assertion by a scant majority of the Board that membership in the banned societies is inimical to proper discipline. The rule was adopted by a vote of 11 favorable to 9 opposed. No facts on this point are presented or tendered either by bill or answer.

It is sound principle that agents to whom is delegated power to expend moneys derived from the public generally should not be permitted arbitrarily to contract for the expenditure of those moneys exclusively with a particular class of the public.

A majority of this Court is of the opinion that the order denying the motion to dissolve the injunction was rightly decided and it is affirmed.

On May 10, 1916, Mr. Shannon, attorney for the Board of Education, took the case again to the Superior Court, asking for a hearing on the petition for a permanent injunction. Hearing was granted and on May 31st Judge Denis E. Sullivan refused to dissolve the temporary injunction and made it permanent. The next day the Chicago newspapers reported that the enforcement

of the Loeb rule was set back for at least a year. The newspapers were in error. Loeb Rule No. 1 was enforced by the adoption of another rule known as Loeb Rule No. 2.

Loeb Rule No. 2 was recommended by the Rules Committee of the Board of Education on June 5th and adopted by the Board of Education at its meeting on June 14th. Loeb Rule No. 2 eliminated the "Meritorious Service Clause" from the rules of the Board of Education, which had been in existence for about 25 years and which provided for three months' notice before dismissal of teachers.

Seeing in Loeb Rule No. 2 an attempt to do indirectly what the Courts had enjoined the Board from doing, namely, the dismissal of members of the Teachers' Federation, an injunction was sought against the enforcement of Loeb Rule No. 2. At two o'clock on June 27, 1916, Judge Denis E. Sullivan refused to grant an injunction against the enforcement of Loeb Rule No. 2. At three o'clock on June 27th the Board of Education refused to re-elect 68 teachers who had been recommended for re-election by the Superintendent of Schools. Thirty-eight of the 68 were members of the Chicago Teachers' Federation.

Among the 38 members of the Teachers' Federation summarily dropped without a moment's notice, without trial or charges of any kind and with efficiency marks of good, excellent and superior for their work in the school room were the following:

- a. Every teacher who was an officer of the Chicago Teachers' Federation.
- b. Three officers of the American Federation of Teachers recently organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.
- c. Seven delegates to the Chicago Federation of Labor.
- d. Three delegates to the Illinois State Federation of Labor.
- e. Four members of the Chicago Teachers' Pension Board, elected on the recommendation of the Chicago Teachers' Federation.
- f. Nine members of the Teachers' Pension Canvassing Board which counted ballots in the election of the above pension trustees.

Since the Board of Education was enjoined from dismissing teachers because they were members of the Teachers' Federation it was necessary to include in the list of dismissed teachers some who were not members of the Federation in order to protect the Board from contempt of court, hence the dropping of the non-members on June 27.

Members of the Chicago Teachers' Federation thus summarily dealt with have, up to date, refused to accept the situation; they insist that Loeb Rule No. 2 was adopted and enforced for the purpose of making effective Loeb Rule No. 1, and it is their purpose to test this matter out in the courts.

Efficient teachers can be secured in these positions only by legislative enactment and this committee urges the organized labor movement of the State of Illinois to assist in obtaining the following legislation:

1st. A law that will guarantee to public school teachers the right to organize and affiliate with organized labor.

2nd. A law that will guarantee permanency of position during efficiency and will make it impossible for the Board of Education to dismiss without notice and without hearing.

3rd. For Chicago an elected Board of Education whose members are paid.

Free Textbooks.

To have a real democracy in our educational system, free textbooks should be furnished to all the children attending our public schools.

The question is not a new one, for as early as 1884 Massachusetts enacted a mandatory law providing for free textbooks, and since that time similar legislation has been passed in 14 other states. The following states have mandatory laws providing for free textbooks: Arizona, California, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont and Wyoming.

Illinois is far behind other states in this matter. Children here still have to provide their own books except in cities where they have what is known as "fund books," but children using these books know they are provided as a matter of charity and naturally shrink from asking for them.

A system should be provided so that all children, rich and poor, are supplied on the same basis with free textbooks. We have a compulsory school attendance law, and with this the State should provide textbooks, so that the burden may be lessened for the parent and the children not deprived for any time from the use of necessary books.

The most important advantage reported as a result of the use of free textbooks is that where it is established there is a larger and more permanent attendance in the public schools, and it is a closer approach to the ideal of a free public school system.

A Massachusetts official education report gives the following as some of the advantages of the free textbook system as determined by many years of free texts in the State:

1. The removal of a serious burden of expense from parents.
2. The ending of the friction that so often arises when parents with old books in possession are often called upon to buy.
3. The banishing of obnoxious distinctions between those who can and those who cannot afford to buy their own books.
4. A more generous and varied supply of textbooks at school, with the uniformity whenever desirable.
5. Greater ease in keeping their supply fresh and modern.
6. Increased respect for books, as shown in the care of them.
7. Great saving in time and energy, because of having books on hand, in ample supply, when terms begin or new subjects are taken up.
8. A larger and more permanent attendance upon the public schools.
9. A closer approach to the ideal of a free public-school system.

A division of education of the Russell Sage Foundation in 1912 questioned 20 state superintendents, in States in which free textbooks are furnished to all or the larger portion of the children, with respect to the effect of the free textbooks on educational efficiency. The results of the inquiry are as follows:

In no single instance is there any movement looking toward the repeal of the free textbook law.

Each one of the 20 State superintendents testifies that free textbooks enhance the efficiency of the teaching in the public schools.

Seventeen of them testify that the free textbook system tends to prolong the school life of a child. The other three have no data on which to base answers.

Fourteen of the 20 testify that the free textbook system makes the adoption of new textbooks easier. In the other six cases new adoptions are regulated by law and so are not affected.

In a similar way 14 superintendents wrote that the free textbook has no apparent tendency to take away from the child the pride of personal ownership which might come through having privately bought books.

School books bought by the community cost the community about 20 per cent less than they do when they are bought by individuals.

Printing of Free Textbooks.

Free textbooks should be printed by the state or municipalities so that all royalties, commissions and profits can be eliminated and the State secure the best books at the least possible cost. California is one of the States where the books are furnished free and printed by the State.

An interesting report on the cost of textbooks in California is made in the report of Edward Hyatt, State Supt. of Public Instruction, showing the great reduction of prices in State textbooks in July, 1915, as against the prices when the books were bought from private publishers. He estimates that the State can save at least 25 per cent, everything considered, over what it would cost if given to private publishers in the regular way. Mr. Hyatt says that California would not recede from or give up its textbook system under any circumstances.

Rural Schools.

The State of Illinois has no reason to pride itself on the conditions that prevail in the rural schools, but there is cause for the rejoicing in the fact that at the last session of the Legislature the school law was so amended as to require the heating, venti-

lation, lighting, seating, water supply, toilets and safety against fire to be such as to conserve the health and safety of the children attending the public schools.

All over the State school boards have done more than ever before to get grounds and buildings in such condition as would make it possible to pass inspection of the various County Superintendents, whose duty it is to report conditions to the State Board of Health, the State Fire Marshal and the State Architects, and in the event of their declaring buildings unhealthful, unsafe or unsuitable to condemn them.

In this event the law provides that school districts which fail to comply with the minimum requirements outlined in the new law shall forfeit their right to their share of the State distributive fund until they have complied with the law.

It has been ascertained that in some districts efforts to comply with the requirements of sanitation have taken the form of discounting teachers' warrants to provide the needed funds.

This Committee recommends that Labor should demand the best educational equipment for the rural schools, but that none of it should be at the expense of the already underpaid teachers in those schools.

Vocational Educational Bill.

We are glad to report that all efforts of the Commercial interests of Chicago at the last session of the Legislature failed to have enacted a "dual" vocational educational bill. No legislation on this subject was passed. The Illinois State Federation of Labor, together with the Chicago Teachers' Federations and other organizations, was active in defeating the "dual" bill. It failed to receive sufficient support to be reported out of either the Senate or House Committee.

While the bill was defeated in the last two sessions of the Legislature, 1913 and 1915, we warn our members to watch for any attempt that might be made to separate our vocational and general educational system in any form of a bill.

We re-affirm the declaration made by the Illinois State Federation of Labor Committee on Vocational Education which was adopted at the Peoria convention in 1914:

We disapprove the setting up of any separate state or district board of administration to have charge of vocational education. We believe that the vocational school courses should at all times be under the guidance and control of the school authorities having direction of general education as the system best adapted to educate properly our children

for their future activities as citizens, as workers, and as men and women capable of participating in all the benefits and enjoyments of higher civilization.

As no legislation was passed at the last session of the Legislature on any of the recommendations contained in the last report we recommend the following to be included in our legislative program:

First—Compulsory school attendance of all children between the ages of seven and sixteen.

Second—(a) Authorizing the Boards of Education of all school districts in the State to provide instruction in vocational subjects.

(b) Any school district of this state establishing or having established and maintaining vocational instruction in the industrial arts and in agriculture and commerce shall receive increased financial assistance from the State.

(c) All courses in vocational education shall be administered in each school district by the same board of education or trustees that administers the general educational courses.

(d) In school districts maintaining vocational teaching, there shall be appointed, by the board of education, or trustees, an advisory committee or committees on vocational education; each committee to consist of an equal number of employers of labor and persons directly associated and connected with bona fide labor organizations.

(e) Vocational instruction shall include the teaching of the sciences underlying the various industries and industrial pursuits being taught and their historical, economic and social bearings.

(f) That whenever any employer engaged in any business whatsoever employs any person under 18 years of age, and whenever the services of such employe terminates for any reason

whatsoever, the employer shall report such employment or termination of employment at once to the school authorities of the school district, giving name and address, age of such employe, description of character of work to be performed or having been performed by such employe while in the service of such employer, particularly with reference to the skill and knowledge which may be acquired by the employe in such employment, rate of wages paid, hours of service per day, and such other information as may be required by the school authorities of the school district in which such employment becomes, or has been, operative. The school authorities should also be empowered to require any employer of persons under 18 years of age to furnish such additional information as to the employment of such person or persons any time during such period of employment.

(g) All boards of education shall prepare annually a report showing the number of persons under 18 years of age having been employed in the jurisdiction of their respective school districts, showing the ages of such persons employed, length of service, character of employment, wages earned, hours of work required and opportunities afforded and given for the acquirement of skill and knowledge of such persons while so employed. These reports shall be prepared for general public distribution by the boards of education and copies of same shall be sent to the state bureau of labor statistics.

Third—To protect the public against fraud and misrepresentation, all private schools conducted for profit and providing industrial, commercial, agricultural or domestic teaching shall be subject to inspection and investigation by the board of education in whose district such school or schools are located and whenever such board of education finds that fraud or misrepresentation has been or is being practiced, a report of such finding shall be referred at once for immediate prosecution to the public prosecutor in that political district wherein the fraud or misrepresentation has been practiced.

Fourth—We heartily commend the vocational courses as conducted by trade unions. We also note with approval the large sums of money spent annually by trade unions for education through the channels of their official journals and in a number of instances where its members are being trained for the teaching professions and preparation of textbooks. We believe these trade union activities and undertakings are entitled to the most enthusiastic admiration and to the most cordial and loyal support by both the general public and members of trade unions,

and we therefore urge all affiliated unions and members thereof to inculcate the spirit for and encourage the extension of these trade union features and activities.

Summary of Recommendations.

- 1.—A law that guarantees to public teachers the right to organize and affiliate with organized labor.
- 2.—A law that will guarantee permanency of position during efficiency, and will make it impossible for the Board of Education to dismiss without notice and without hearing.
- 3.—A paid Board of Education for Chicago, the members to be elected by the people.
- 4.—Free textbooks to be furnished to all the children and all textbooks to be printed by the State or Municipality.
- 5.—Compliance with the new State Law of Sanitation and an effort to bring all rural schools up to the qualification known as "superior," but that this be not done at the expense of the teachers.

Report of Committee on Unemployment

JOHN WERLIK, Chairman

JOHN FITZPATRICK

ROBERT G. FITCHIE

JOSEPH M. MORTON

MARY O'REILLY

CHAPTER I.

Unemployment.

It is impossible to understand the problem of unemployment without going to the foundations of modern industry. Every crime of greed, every lack of understanding, every failure in organization takes its toll in suffering from those who are crowded out. For this reason this report covers a wide range. There is no panacea.

Unemployment is world-wide. In every country workers who are willing and able to work are driven away from the natural resources of the earth and from the mills and factories which their own labor has created. They are denied the right to use their labor to produce the means of life for which they suffer. Want stalks gaunt and horrible through all the nations of the earth while nature's resources are wasted and human power thrown away. As long as

the few hold the power to drive the workers with the lash of necessity, as long as labor is driven to produce for profit and not for use, the workers will suffer.

The slaves of America have not been freed. They have been simply changed from workers who were fed through the winter to workers who are not. Unorganized workers are at the mercy of the men who control the great industries and organized workers must struggle for a share in the product of their labor sufficient to enable them to live.

In this battle the unemployed and the low-paid workers are used as constant force against the efforts of union members to better their condition. Their constant clamor at the gates of industry is the sound which puts fear into the hearts of the workers and the power of despots into the hands of the employers.

Employers want a "reserve labor power, an unemployed army." The system of big business cannot exist without it. If labor becomes scarce the great capitalists replenish the supply from the low-paid and helpless. Defying the laws and disregarding consequences, immigrants are imported to struggle with each other at the mill gates for a chance to work for their bread.

The Casual Worker Or "Hobo."

Every winter the workers from railroad construction camps and other outdoor occupations gather in Chicago and other cities. They are classed, by the trust press and the mouthpieces of the system, as "hoboes" and "bums" who do not want work. It is the fact that they do want work that makes them a menace. Their demands must be heard. They are a part of the industrial system and it is a heartless brutality which allows their labor to be used and then throws them away. The cost of their maintenance must be put upon the industries which profit by their toil.

Big Business Fails.

Big business interests do not fulfill their obligations to the workers who create their profits. They hire them when their labor is profitable and turn them away when it is not. The burden is thrown upon the community and the workers pay the price. They are the prey of the criminals and the corrupt police system. They pay bills which are higher because of the bills which the unemployed cannot pay. They contribute to charities and are victimized by frauds. In a thousand ways they accept the burden which the system places upon them. From the children dividing their crust in the bread line to the union members paying assessments to help fellow-members, labor bears the load.

Present Conditions Due to War.

Industrial conditions all over the world are abnormal at present because of the war in Europe. In America the manufacture of munitions and supplies, the withdrawal of foreigners to the armies of Europe, and the arrest of immigration has resulted in the employment of most of the men and women in industrial life. The wages paid to the great number at work, in many cases an increased wage, have been put into circulation. More food, clothes and comforts are bought, which makes a still greater demand upon industry. This has been met by an unprecedented increase in the cost of living which, even before the war, was exorbitant.

At the close of the war these conditions will suddenly end. Factories supplying the military demand will close or materially decrease their output, workers will be thrown out of their places, wages will cease, immigration will flood the country and all the problems of unemployment will be upon us in their most aggravated form. It is now, while employed, that the workers should study unemployment.

Need of Data.

During the last period of industrial depression, in 1913-14, the need of legislative remedies, industrial regulation and other measures for the betterment of conditions was keenly felt. The great difficulty at that time was the lack of reliable information and data as a basis for remedial legislation. In an effort to secure such information and data the Women's Trade Union League of Chicago, at its Third City Conference ordered that a questionnaire be sent out to the trade unions of Illinois concerning unemployment of women of the different trades. Your committee recommends that the Illinois State Federation of Labor supplement and extend this questionnaire so as to make it include the working men, as well as the women of Illinois.

We further recommend that the Illinois State Federation of Labor and each central body in the state appoint a committee to study industrial conditions, secure and file federal, state and municipal reports, trade union data, independent surveys and foreign reports.

Unions should be urged to set apart definite time for the study of unemployment insurance, wages, cost of living, co-operation, eight-hour day and other questions relating to their respective trades.

Sources of Information.

It is impossible in a report of this kind to give complete data and information upon which the committee has based its conclusions. At the end of the report are given figures selected from information secured before and during the war. Those who wish to study the question further are referred to the reports and sources quoted.

During the last few years there has been a vast improvement in the federal machinery for handling industrial problems. The creation of a must have work and the fruits of

separate Department of Labor, the work of the Commission on Industrial Relations, and the passage of legislation recognizing many of the fundamental rights of labor show that the work of organized labor has not been in vain. New legislation has been proposed by departments and commissions which should be carefully studied. The Federal Government should receive full and intelligent co-operation and criticism in order that the best interests of the workers may shape the development of industry.

Organization and Education.

When laws improving the condition of labor are passed, the task has only begun. The powerful interests defy the laws and corrupt officials. Through the trust press they carry on a system of false teaching, misrepresenting organized labor and setting workers against each other. Working men in the army and militia support the private gunmen and mercenaries of the trusts.

To overcome this the workers must be efficiently organized. They must be educated as to their rights and powers. They must agree upon a program and steadily follow it. They must use such papers and other means of publicity as they can control, to develop a public opinion which will demand proper legislation and enforcement of the laws. Organization is the most important work to be accomplished because it is the basis of all development.

The ideals of organized capital and organized labor are opposed to each other in every way. The big business system has failed to fit the needs of humanity. It can keep its power only by fraud, force and brutality. Organized labor must control by intelligence, co-operation and constructive force. There must be no unemployed, disheartened workers. All their work,

CHAPTER II.

Classification of Unemployment.

Unemployment may be arranged in two classes. The first is, that which is unnecessary under the present industrial system and which may be controlled or eliminated by a proper arrangement and balance of labor power. For example, child labor keeps adults from employment. Its abolition would provide work for those displaced.

The second class is, that which is necessary, that reserve labor which is demanded for the production and distribution of wealth in the present system of society. Firemen, police and soldiers are kept in reserve, ready for call, but they are not spoken of as unemployed because they are paid. If it is necessary for great industrial plants to have numbers of workers ready for call, sometimes working, sometimes idle, provision should be made for those workers. They should not be left to suffer nor should the burden of their support be thrown upon the working class.

To solve the problem of unemployment the first class of disemployed workers must be eliminated and the second class provided for. Labor unions should study the problem thoroughly, getting their data first hand, and then agree upon a program for persistent, concerted effort. This program should provide for their unemployed members; second, plans for legislation which will compel the industrial system to eliminate the causes of unemployment and provide for all who are willing to work.

Causes.

The fundamental cause of industrial evils lies in the control of labor power. The efforts of the organized labor movement must tend to take this control. Control of labor by big business interests or trusts means the production of wealth for profit, exploitation, unequal distribution and social misery.

Control by organized labor means production of wealth for use, equalized distribution, a well-balanced market, and a sane, constructive organization of society.

Most of the reports upon unemployment offered by commissions and charities deal with secondary causes, all of which may be traced back to the fundamental cause, as the following outline will show:

Causes of Unemployment.

I. FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE CONTROL OF LABOR BY BIG BUSINESS.

II. SECONDARY CAUSES.

I. Unbalanced distribution of labor:

- (a) Displacement by machinery.
- (b) Temporary nature of great works like the Panama Canal.
- (c) Seasonal occupations and trades. Examples: Farming, building and clothing trades.
- (d) Change of styles, methods and customs. Examples: Clothes, bicycles displaced by automobiles, steel construction displaced stone trades, electrification displaces railroad trades.

(e) Monopoly of land and natural resources.

(f) Monopoly of means of production, transportation and distribution.

(2) Forced competition of labor:

- (a) Abnormal emigration and immigration.
- (b) Exploitation of women workers.
- (c) Child labor.
- (d) Convict labor.

3. Unbalanced distribution of wealth:

- (a) High dividends and profits.
- (b) Low wages and consequent low purchasing power, resulting in unbalanced markets and conditions called "over-production."

Effects of this condition: 1. Panics. 2. Struggle for markets, domestic and foreign. 3. Commercial wars.

(c) Long hours and seven-day week.

(d) Forced labor power, rushing, speeding.

4. Inefficiency of workers due to:

(a) Old age.

(b) Accidents, mostly industrial and preventable.

(c) Illness for the greater part due to preventable diseases, poor housing and lack of sanitation, exhaustion or overwork, the effects of the traffic in adulterated foods, poisons, drugs, and commercialized vice.

(d) Lack of proper training, due:

1. To inability of many children to utilize educational opportunities.
2. Commercial ideas in education, resulting in large classes in school, lack of democracy and independence of thought and over-emphasis of business training.
3. Lack of guidance in choice of occupations. No information as to probable demand compels youths to make haphazard choice.

5. Use of great wealth and power to corrupt officials:

(a) To secure legislation against workers and prevent that in their favor.

(b) Corrupt court decisions and trials.

(c) Corrupt elections.

(d) Use of police, militia, army and private detectives and gunmen in labor troubles.

Outline of Remedies.

Economic and political.

A. Eliminate low-paid labor.

(a) Child labor should be prohibited.

1. Vocational education should be provided by the public schools. Cultural and vocational education should be given in the same schools, under the same management, and be open to all.

2. All trades should insist upon the right to appoint committees to oversee the training of their apprentices and control conditions.

3. Collective bargaining and union principles should be a part of vocational education.

(b) Women workers should be protected from exploitation:

1. By legislation providing for minimum wages, maximum hours and better conditions.

2. By organization and affiliation with the general labor movement. Unions should make special effort to organize, encourage and educate low-paid women workers.

3. Mothers' pension laws should be passed in the interest of the children, the citizens and workers of the future.

(c) Eliminate convict labor from competition with free labor:

1. All contract labor in jails, penitentiaries or bridewells should be prohibited by law.

2. Convicts should be given education and training. They should be taught trades and provided with tasks which will develop and reclaim them.

3. They should be allowed to work for their own comfort.

4. They should be given work under the supervision of the state upon public works.

5. They should be given work upon public farms, the products of which should never be sold in competition with the produce from free farms at less than the market rates.

6. Convicts should be paid for all labor over that done for their own comfort and welfare; wages to be paid to dependents or saved until end of terms.

(d) Restrict immigration.

1. Support the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to report labor conditions and difficulties in America to international labor organizations in foreign countries and

in every way to prevent the deception of workers. The false idea of American conditions given by steamship companies and employers wanting cheap labor should be corrected.

2. Laws excluding immigrants detrimental to the citizenship of the country should be enforced.

3. Laws should be passed restricting foreign immigration by all possible means until a balance can be secured in industry and the workers who are now in the country provided for. This is especially important now, as the close of the war in Europe will send to America the hopeless thousands who are left and place upon the American workingmen a burden greater than they can bear.

B. Place workers where needed.

(a) Secure legislation providing for a system of employment bureaus, national, state and municipal, perfectly organized and united and in communication with each other.

(b) Post bulletins in public places and distribute them by means of the postoffice.

(c) Information should be given concerning labor conditions, and no workers should be sent to industries having strikes or lockouts.

(d) Legislation should be secured compelling transportation companies to give safe and comfortable transportation at low rates to workers sent by the employment bureaus.

(e) All bureaus should be in charge of men approved by organized labor. They should have special knowledge of labor and industrial conditions. They should be able not only to send workers to work but to send them to suitable work. "To fit the man to the job."

(f) Instructions in labor conditions should be supplied to all those having charge of any part of the work of the system of employment bureaus. Lectures, data and publications should

be furnished by the government or the state or city in charge.

C. Provide public work.

(a) Secure legislation enabling the nation, states, counties and cities to institute public works under the direct control of the government.

(b) Start public works as far as the laws will permit; such works as building roads, draining swamps, irrigation or any useful public service.

(c) Secure legislation permitting the national government to loan money to states for such work.

(d) Demand that public work be, as far as possible, alternated with seasonal occupations, and so provide for workers thrown out of employment.

(e) Demand the right of organization and free expression for all public employes.

(f) Demand the union scale, hours and proper conditions for all public employes.

D. Oppose private monopoly of public necessities.

(a) Demand that existing laws be enforced, and resist by all practical means the attempts of powerful corporations to break the laws and to defy and corrupt the officials and representatives of the people.

(b) Secure legislation taxing the value of land.

(c) Secure legislation providing for national, state and municipal ownership of natural resources, transportation facilities and all public service industries.

(d) Secure the national ownership and control of patents and copyrights needed for public use by legislation which will protect inventors and the public from the power of rich monopolies.

E. Care for reserve labor when unemployed.

(a) Since great industries demand a reserve of labor, they should be compelled to support that reserve and not allowed to throw it upon the public for support. They should be compelled to provide for workers by alternating labor, avoiding seasonal work, as far as possible, and by supporting labor all the year around as soldiers, police and firemen are supported by the public.

(b) A system of national, state and municipal insurance against unemployment should be developed. This system should be closely connected with the systems of employment bureaus and public works.

(c) Proper provision for workers should replace all systems of charities and alms.

F. Support measures for general welfare.

(a) Since the power to labor and enjoy the fruits of labor depends upon the health and comfort of the workers, they should support all measures which promote the public health or protect the people from accident, fire or other dangers.

(b) Existing laws should be enforced, and further legislation should be secured insuring the safety of workers.

(c) Better housing and sanitation should be demanded.

(d) The public food supply should be guarded.

(e) Organized labor should be ready to give its support to any measure providing for the welfare, protection, education or wholesome recreation of the workers.

G. Organization should be promoted.

(a) Since the best interests of labor demand the most complete organization and harmony, all members of labor unions should devote themselves to the task of perfecting such organization:

1. By thoroughly organizing their own trade or industry.

2. By striving to develop a system of federations of associated trades.

3. By avoiding contracts or agreements which will prevent them from acting together during strikes or labor troubles.

4. By lending all possible assistance in the organization of those weaker brothers and sisters who find it specially hard to organize.

(b) Unions should choose committees to watch their interests in every way. Employment bureaus, public works, trade schools and all public institutions which deal with the working class should be in charge of officials approved by organized labor.

(c) Unions should keep careful reports of the time of members. Time unemployed, causes for such unemployment and all data helpful to an understanding of that important problem should be kept on file and reported to the Unemployment Committee of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

(d) Reports of relief work done for members, benefits, loans or special systems tried should be filed and reported.

(e) Unions having had experience in co-operative buying should report. Your committee recommends a careful study of this subject:

1. With reference to the commissary system in the emergency of caring for the unemployed members.

2. With reference to a general movement to secure the benefits of co-operation for union labor at all times.

John H. Walker, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, at the conference of the American Association for Labor Legislation, stated in part:

"I suppose there are hundreds of ways of solving this problem. I have in my own mind something I am going to give you for what it is worth. In the first place, I believe that we should have employment agencies established in the different municipalities to take care of the immediate local problems. I think we should have a bureau established under the direction and in charge of the different states, and I think we ought to have an organization of that kind under the charge of our federal government. I believe that there should be an insurance provision providing that men who could not find employment would be paid, not as a matter of charity, but as a matter of right, enough to keep them and their families and enable them to live decently. But to prevent these bureaus from being a curse instead of a help they should not be allowed to ship a man where there is any labor trouble, where there is a strike on, either for better conditions or against a reduction of wages, or because employers have refused to allow their working people to organize, or for any other good cause. I believe that in order to have this thing operate right the government itself should endeavor to employ in federal, state and municipal undertakings every man and woman who is unemployed. In the event that this cannot be done without reducing hours beyond the minimum necessary for practical operations, those who still cannot find work should be maintained by a tax levied on all industry. That will mean that in so far as the government can give it to them, the men and women of the country will have employment; and in so far as the government, with the undertakings it has in charge, and the private employers who own the other industries, are not able to furnish employment for these men and women, the private employers and the other citizens will be required to keep them until they are furnished employment. I feel that it is the private owners of all industry in our country, and not the workers, who are really responsible for the conditions existing which make it impossible for a man or

woman willing to work to get a job; and I think they should be required to keep the unemployed until they do find work. The workers themselves, also, having the right to vote and the right to make laws and to select men to enforce them, indirectly have a responsibility in this matter, and if they were made to pay their share of the penalty for a man's or a woman's being unable to get work I think it would help to bring the responsibility home to them."

CHAPTER III.

Remedies Which Have Been Tried.

In studying the remedies which have been tried in different countries we must keep this fact in mind: We must look back of the remedies to find the forces which have brought them about. We must study the industrial, political, co-operative and educational organization of workers and seek to learn how the work was done. There is a great difference between the ideas of organized labor and the ideas of organized capital on every problem to be studied.

Capital expresses its ideas through its politicians, press and platforms, its charities, commissions and philanthropies. It plays with the problem of unemployment, offering its "back to the land" schemes and education to stimulate labor competition.

Back of all efforts which workingmen make lies the fundamental fact, **LABOR MUST CONTROL LABOR**; for this we must organize to study and work.

Public Employment Bureaus.

As known in Germany, the public employment bureau means a bureau for finding work for men and women in any department of trade or occupation, usually without charge, or at a nominal fee. The bureau is maintained by some public organization or committee, and usually and increasingly maintained, or at least subsidized, by the municipality, the county or the

state. The bureaus are therefore not all municipal, though in most instances, even when not municipal, they are so largely subsidized and strictly controlled by the municipality that the difference becomes small.

In 1898 a voluntary association of such bureaus was established for the empire, the Verband Deutscher and Arbeitsnachweis. There are also subsidiary but even more important associations for northern, middle and southern Germany.

These associations maintain a monthly publication called The Labor Market. This organ serves to unite the different bureaus into one working system. It reports successful developments by one bureau which may be copied by others, and also the general condition of the labor market and the opportunities for employment to be found in different sections or portions of the empire, and, to an extent, of Europe.

The German Plan.

I. Employment bureaus maintained or subsidized by the state.

1. All closely united by telephone and other means of communication.

2. In almost all cases in charge of committees of employers and workers in equal numbers. In many cities these committees are chosen in part by the municipal governments, in part by organizations of employers, and in part by labor organizations.

II. Home shelters, Herbergen zur Heimat. A sort of hotel for workingmen, especially for those traveling in search of work. Lodging paid for by a small sum of money or a little work in the morning. These shelters are private institutions maintained in many cases by trade unions; in some cases by religious societies. In some parts of Germany small relief stations are placed within walking distance of each other. Railroads carry at one-half or one-third rates all those certified to be looking for work.

III. Labor colonies are farms or shelters for those out of work. Of those sheltered, from 66 per cent to 76 per cent have suffered imprisonment. Pastor Bodelschwingle, the founder of the colony movement, said: "Let me have the tramps. I will save some of them and they will cost you less." This the colonies are doing.

IV. Work is given to the unemployed in time of need by the municipalities.

In New Zealand.

The officers and police are part of the employment bureaus and give information to those seeking work. Free transportation is given upon the railroads. Those failing to find work are employed upon state mines, upon roads or clearings. Money is advanced to those able to take up land from the government and pay for it in installments.

Belgium and Switzerland have a system of unemployment insurance. Great Britain has developed out-of-work benefit among trade unions beyond any other country.

England has a chain of labor exchanges that connects the jobless man with the manless job. This is the necessary basis of any plan.

Secondly, it has distress committees, which have become more and more efficient as time has gone on, and which are devoting their efforts, not to running soup kitchens, but in trying to get employers to regularize employment, and trying to adopt public work in the different parts of England so that that will take up the slack when private industry is dull.

Finally, and most important, it has this system of unemployment insurance. Those embraced in this system can now look forward to unemployment free from that terrible dread and anxiety which the wage-earners must ordinarily feel—free from the fear that through it they will be reduced to outright destitution, that they will see their children actually

wanting for bread. For those under here this plan, unemployment, while still a menace, is a greatly lessened one.

The Ghent System.

The famous "Ghent system" is a system under which the trade unions were looked to to administer the unemployment insurance, but were subsidized by the municipality for this purpose. Part of the cost of providing out-of-work benefits was taken up by the municipal board. The trade union had still the opportunity of seeing that the system was administered economically and fairly, but the entire expense did not fall on the union—part of it fell upon the municipality. It is very much better, from the Ghent point of view, that the worker draw these benefits in a way that maintains his self-respect and efficiency than that he be forced to become a recipient of charity.

Insurance in Great Britain.

That was the progress that had been made in the direction of unemployment insurance when the British national insurance act was passed in 1911. That act undertook to introduce into Great Britain on one hand the Ghent system—that is, the system of government-subsidized unemployment insurance through labor organizations—and on the other hand a national government-administered system of unemployment insurance. Under the law, which was the same law that introduced the illness insurance system, seven great trades, including the building trade, shipbuilding, construction work, construction of vehicles, and other trades of related nature, were chosen as a sort of experiment ground. The law required employes in these seven great trades—some 2,500,000 men and women—to carry on unemployment insurance.

The machinery of the system was very similar to the machinery used in connection with all of these great national insurance plans. On the employe rested the obligation to pro-

cure an unemployment insurance book, which, on taking employment, must be deposited with the employer. On the employer rested the obligation of pasting in the book at the end of each week, or at the regular payday, the stamps representing the unemployment insurance premium. The premium for an adult was set at five pence a week, irrespective of wages. Of these five pence (10 cents in our money) one-half comes out of the employer's pocket, one-half comes out of the wages of the employee. To this sum is added the contribution of the government equal to one-third thereof, so that, as the system works out, the employer and employee together contribute three-fourths and the government one-fourth, the employer and the employee dividing their contribution. These small weekly payments are transmitted through the postoffice, which sells these stamps, into an unemployment insurance fund, the total amounting for these 2,500,000 odd workers to just about 2,500,000 pounds a year, a very large sum of money in the aggregate, although the individual payments are so small. If the insured worker becomes unemployed he receives back his book from his employer, and he must then deposit that book, with the stamps attached to it, in the nearest labor exchange or insurance office connected with the labor exchange; and, as I said, there is now a network of these exchanges and insurance offices that brings one of them within five miles of every considerable group of workers in the United Kingdom.

During the first week of unemployment the workers can claim no benefit. That is considered a waiting period, it being assumed that most workers can experience unemployment for one week without very great hardship, and that, moreover, that would save so much in connection with the administration of the plan and in other ways that the hardships must perhaps be borne for the first week, for the benefit of the larger needs. If the unemployment continues after the first week, the insured worker is entitled to the benefits un-

der the system. If he is insured only through the national insurance fund this benefit is seven shillings, or \$1.75, a week—a sum not very large from our point of view, but apparently sufficient in England to keep a family from outright destitution under ordinary conditions. If the worker is in an organized trade which has developed unemployment insurance by itself, he can receive, in addition to these seven shillings from the government fund, as much more as the trade union will provide from its own funds, the only limitation being that the trade union must provide at least one-quarter of the total amount received—that being necessary to give the trade union a strong incentive to administer the plan economically.

Reactionary Influence of War.

All of these efforts at self-betterment made by the workers of Europe are buried in the awful calamity of the war now going on. This emphasizes to American workers the great necessity of using their influence at all times to combat the false teaching of the "war parties" and commercial patriots. They should work for the establishment of international courts, the reduction of armament, and, above all, for strong international unity between the forces of labor.

What Has Been Done in America.

Until recently the United States was far behind other countries in social legislation. Each recurring period of depression found the federal, state and municipal governments unprepared, ignorant and helpless. Measures for the relief of unemployment were haphazard and unrelated.

The high-handed methods of private employment agencies called forth a determined protest which led to the formation of municipal and state employment agencies. The report of the Commission on Industrial Relations says that the State of Ohio created the first public employment offices in

1890. There are now such offices in twenty-three other states and about eighty cities. They represent an annual expense of about \$300,000 and, according to their reports, they fill about 500,000 positions a year.

The report further says that, while the principles underlying the offices are sound, they have not been properly carried out. The reasons for failure are:

First—Inefficiency and lack of training of officials and clerks.

Second—The offices have been generally considered as political spoils, with a consequent change of personnel after each election.

Third—Salaries have been too low to attract competent men.

Fourth—The offices have been objects of suspicion, union men fearing that the offices might be used as strike-breaking agencies and employers fearing that might be used to fill their shops with union men.

Recent changes in the Illinois law have placed the state offices of our state upon a much better basis. While the federal government has taken steps toward improving the national situation. The Department of Labor and the Division of Information of the Department of Immigration have done some important work. The use of the Postoffice Department, the circulation of information and educational bulletins, the co-operation with the National Farm Labor Exchange and the effort to unite the work of the different states are along the line suggested under "B" in the Outline of Remedies in this report. A special division for young men and boys and another for women and girls has recently been established.

A bill now pending in Congress, recommended by the United States Department of Labor, provides for the regulation of private employment agencies doing business in more than one state. The author of this bill is Senator John W. Kern.

Another bill by Senator Frank G. Newlands, which also is endorsed by the Department of Labor, amends the Interstate Commerce Law to provide for a reduction of the rates of transportation on the interstate railroads of the country for men and women moving to employment under the auspices of the Department of Labor.

Unions should secure copies of these bills and if, after study, they are approved, should do their utmost to help secure the legislation they call for.

AVERAGE MONEY RETAIL PRICES AND RELATIVE RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD ON JULY 15 OF EACH YEAR, 1912 TO 1916.

(The relative price shows the per cent that the average price on the 15th of July in each year was of the average price for the year 1915.)

Article and unit.	Average money price July 15.					Relative price July 15.				
	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
Sirloin steak, pound.....	\$0.242	\$0.263	\$0.268	\$0.265	\$0.283	95	103	105	104	111
Round steak, pound.....	.207	.230	.241	.237	.257	91	101	106	104	113
Rib roast, pound.....	.194	.202	.208	.204	.220	97	101	104	102	110
Chuck roast, pound.....	.....	.....	.172	.164	.177	.....	.....	107	102	110
Plate boiling beef, pound.....	.....	.....	.127	.123	.131	.....	.....	104	101	108
Pork chops, pound.....	.193	.218	.224	.211	.236	95	107	110	104	116
Smoked bacon, pound.....	.246	.284	.279	.276	.295	90	104	102	101	108
Smoked ham, pound.....	.243	.276	.274	.261	.294	94	107	106	101	114
Lard, pure, pound.....	.148	.160	.154	.146	.175	100	108	104	99	118
Hens, pound.....	.200	.219	.221	.206	.241	96	105	106	99	116
Canned salmon, pound.....	.....	.....	.....	.200	.202	.....	.....	.....	100	101
Eggs, strictly fresh, dozen.....	.278	.295	.298	.275	.315	83	88	89	82	94
Butter, creamery, pound.....	.339	.349	.346	.346	.360	94	97	96	96	100
Cheese, pound.....	.....	.....	.....	.231	.243	.....	.....	.....	100	105
Milk, fresh, quart.....	.087	.090	.090	.089	.090	97	100	100	99	100
Flour, wheat, ½-barrel bag.....	.873	.803	.783	.993	.923	87	80	78	99	92
Corn meal, pound.....	.030	.028	.030	.031	.031	96	91	95	100	100
Rice, pound.....	.....	.....	.....	.091	.091	.....	.....	.....	100	100
Potatoes, peck.....	.328	.284	.401	.218	.346	143	124	175	95	151
Onions, pound.....	.....	.....	.....	.035	.053	.....	.....	.....	101	154
Beans, navy, pound.....	.....	.....	.....	.076	.116	.....	.....	.....	98	150
Prunes, pound.....	.....	.....	.....	.133	.131	.....	.....	.....	100	99
Raisins, seeded, pound.....	.....	.....	.....	.126	.128	.....	.....	.....	100	102
Sugar, granulated, pound.....	.062	.055	.052	.070	.088	94	83	79	106	133
Coffee, pound.....	.....	.....	.....	.302	.302	.....	.....	.....	100	100
Tea, pound.....	.....	.....	.....	.551	.551	.....	.....	.....	100	100
All articles combined.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	94	98	101	99	109

Federal, State and Municipal Reports.

The figures given here show that unemployment is always a part of the industrial system. They are taken from different periods of the history of labor and from different states. They include reports made before the war, showing the general condition, and reports made during the war which show an abnormal condition.

A comparison of the recent Federal reports upon the recent increase in the cost of necessities will prove the need of co-operatives.

A comparison of prices from July 15, 1912, to July 15, 1916, shows an advance in the price of all articles combined of 16 per cent, each article for which prices were carried for the five-year period showing an advance.

Round steak advanced 24 per cent from July 15, 1912, to July 15, 1916, which was a greater advance than shown for any other meat, and sugar

advanced 41 per cent, a greater advance than made by any other article. From July 15, 1915, to the same date in 1916 there was an advance in all articles combined of 10 per cent. The only article which made any noticeable decline in price was flour, 7 per cent. Sugar advanced 25 per cent, and all meats advanced, from bacon 7 per cent, to hens, 17 per cent.

Recent Changes in Wage Rates.

Inquiry was made on the volume of employment schedule sent to reporting establishments as to changes in wage rates for the period July 15, 1916, to August 15, 1916. In many instances no definite reply was received, and in such cases it is probably safe to assume that there was no change in the wage rates. In the textile industries—cotton manufacturing, cotton finishing, hosiery and underwear, woolen, and silk—as well as in the boot and shoe industry and in cigar manufacturing, wage rates are reported as practically stationary, a total of only four increases being reported from the establishments rendering reports. In the car building and repairing industry, one establishment reports an increase of 20 per

cent to 9 per cent of the force and an increase of 3 per cent to 5 per cent of the force. In the men's ready-made clothing industry an increase of 5 per cent to a part of the force is reported by one establishment and an increase of 10 per cent to a part of the force by another establishment. The greatest number of increases in wage rates is reported for the iron and steel industry. Three establishments report increases ranging from 5 to 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent to all employees. Twelve establishments report increases ranging from 5 to 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent to a part of the force, the high rate being reported in several cases for puddlers. One establishment reports an increase in rate to furnace men of 15 cents a day to 12-hour men and 10 cents a day to 10-hour men.

IMMIGRATION DURING THE WAR.

Month.	1914.	1915.	1916.	Per cent of increase over preceding month.
January	44,708	15,481	17,293	8.5
February	46,873	13,873	24,740	43.1
March	92,621	19,263	27,586	11.5
April	119,885	24,532	30,560	10.8
May	107,796	26,069	31,021	15.1
June	71,728	22,598	30,764	*.8
July	60,377	21,504	25,035	*18.6
August	37,706	21,949	29,975	19.7

*Decrease.

Federal Employment Work of the Department of Labor.

During August, 1916, the Division of Information of the Bureau of Immigration of the Department of Labor placed 16,313 persons in employment

as compared with 16,309 during July, 1916. The operations of the different offices throughout the country, by months, since May, 1915, when fuller reports began to be made, are contained in the statement following:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON UNEMPLOYED

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OPERATIONS OF THE DIVISION OF INFORMATION, BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION, DURING THE MONTHS OF MAY, 1915, TO AUGUST, 1916.

Year and month.	Number of applications for help.	Number of persons applied for.	Number of applicants for places.	Number referred to employment.	Number actually employed.
1915.					
May	638	3,826	12,132	3,752	3,495
June	1,249	3,601	14,530	5,131	4,646
July	1,160	8,665	18,061	6,360	6,035
August	1,279	7,931	17,827	7,321	6,757
September	1,201	4,551	13,334	5,671	5,405
October	1,104	5,423	12,215	5,460	5,006
November	847	4,650	11,908	4,459	4,146
December	698	3,588	11,902	2,622	2,170
1916.					
January	933	5,063	15,015	4,300	3,419
February	1,423	6,413	14,257	5,036	4,185
March	3,443	10,209	19,484	8,113	7,030
April	3,805	12,104	13,498	8,843	7,653
May	4,918	21,326	17,614	12,938	11,453
June	4,826	17,402	18,824	13,839	11,960
July	5,488	23,657	24,058	17,608	16,309
August	6,420	26,791	23,720	18,062	16,313

RECENT ILLINOIS REPORTS.

State and City.	Persons asked for by employers.	Persons applying for work.	Persons referred to positions.	Positions filled.
		New registrations.		
Illinois (Municipal):				
Chicago—				
August, 1916.....	912	904	912	331
Illinois (State):				
Chicago—				
August, 1915.....	841	6,805	.....	692
August, 1916.....	9,814	12,482	.....	9,049
East St. Louis—				
August, 1915.....	642	1,043	.....	621
August, 1916.....	1,925	1,925	.....	1,425
Peoria—				
August, 1915.....	563	628	.....	521
August, 1916.....	1,043	912	.....	847
Springfield—				
August, 1915.....	267	430	.....	265
August, 1916.....	670	684	.....	602
Rock Island-Moline—				
August, 1915.....	410	510	.....	408
August, 1916.....	1,335	737	.....	627
Rockford—				
August, 1915.....	395	491	.....	389
August, 1916.....	1,502	1,294	.....	1,031
Total:				
August, 1915.....	.....	.....	.....	2,896
August, 1916.....	.....	.....	912	13,912

CO-OPERATIVES.

Co-operative Buying.

Workers are at the mercy of the capitalist system not only when they sell their labor but when they buy their food and other necessities. Organization is necessary, not only to control labor, but to deal with the markets. Co-operatives are highly developed in the countries of Europe. There are in Great Britain 2,800,000 individual members of co-operative societies. The largest wholesale society is the Co-operative Wholesale Society of Manchester; England, which handles business to the amount of \$140,000,000 per year. It has its buyers in New York, Montreal and other centers. It supplies all the comforts and necessities of life.

In America.

The co-operative movement in America has been or probably is more extensive than we are aware of. The early co-operative movements, of which may be mentioned the Patrons of Husbandry (later known as the Grange), the Sovereigns of Industry, the Knights of Labor and the Farmers' Alliance, flourished in their day. The Grangers at one time claimed a membership of over 700,000, and in the State of Illinois had co-operative stores in half the counties. They first began by concentrating their orders on a wholesale house or manufacturer, next they bought through state agencies, and finally they established the co-operative stores.

The Sovereigns of Industry was later organized, and was intended to do for the workers in the factory what the Grange movement had done for the farm. Invariably these movements met the unrelenting opposition of the retail merchants, who used their influence on the wholesale houses and manufacturers to keep them from selling to the co-operatives.

These great movements finally went out of existence, or practically so, as did also the Farmers' Alliance and

Knights of Labor. With all the stores established by these great movements there is probably none in existence today. We believe the failures were mostly due to the opposition of the retail merchants, and from the fact that they never had their own wholesale houses, only in exceptional cases.

However, with all the failures there are some successful movements in the country at the present time, namely, the Right Relationship League, operating mostly in the North and Northwest, and the Rochdale Wholesale Company, which is owned by a chain of co-operative stores operating on the Pacific coast; and besides these there is a sprinkling of local stores all over the country.

With these facts in mind, we advise the establishment of local stores by the members of organized labor, where the conditions are exceptionally favorable, and with a view to establishing wholesale houses later.

The report on co-operatives presented to the Illinois State Federation of Labor at the convention of 1916 gives complete data concerning co-operatives in Illinois, where they have been highly successful.

Unemployment Insurance.

Perhaps the most important question before the American labor movement for consideration at the present time is unemployment insurance. Indirectly all measures for sickness or accident insurance, old-age pensions, or any form of welfare insurance is related to unemployment. It is important, however, to secure laws similar to those of Switzerland, Germany and England which place the cost of unemployment upon the industry and not upon the workers. The effect of such laws is two-fold. They help the unemployed over the periods of idleness and they force to industry to regularize to avoid paying insurance. They would affect unemployment as accident insurance affects safety.

The effect of proper compensation laws and accident insurance is invar-

ably to force safety measures upon industries.

The most striking proof of this statement is revealed in the experience of the United States Steel Corporation. Approximately \$5,000,000 was expended during the last eight years by the subsidiary companies of the corporation for the installation of safety devices and the adoption of accident prevention measures. In three years the safety work resulted in the prevention of 6,308 accidents, which would have otherwise occurred if the accident ratio of preceding years had been maintained. In other words, the accident rate has been reduced approximately 40 per cent during the past five years. Likewise, the saving in casualty expense over expenditures for safety, during the past three years, has been over 35 per cent. When we consider, in connection with this exhibit, that the compensation to injured workmen during this period was materially increased, the emphatic conclusion is that safety pays.

In securing insurance legislation, labor faces a stiff fight with the powerful lobbies of the insurance trusts. An article in an insurance journal last year warns agents to be ever on the alert to forestall all legislation relating to welfare insurance and pensions.

CHAPTER IV.

Foreign Reports.

A study of foreign reports during the war shows that constructive legislation and administration have increased. The terrific waste of human life on the battlefield has forced the nations of Europe to count human beings in economic terms. The value of workers must be considered as well as that of soldiers. The German law on invalidity insurance has been strengthened and the age limit reduced. Welfare laws have been improved and there is an effort shown to offset the injurious effects of the hardships of war. Normal industries have been suspended and the making of munitions has taken their place, even in neutral countries. This caused some

unemployment. In some cases a temporary suspension of unemployment insurance is reported. This is shown in the reports from Switzerland. In Ireland unemployment benefits were suspended as a coercive measure, to compel enlistment.

Below are a few reports from different countries which illustrate the efforts being made to adjust industry and conserve humanity:

Government Committee on War Or-

ganization in the Distributing

Trades in Scotland.

This committee was appointed "to consider how far, and by what means, it will be practicable so to readjust the conditions of employment in the distributing trades, both wholesale and retail, in Scotland, as to release a larger number of men for enlistment or other national services, with the minimum of interference with the necessary operations of those trades." Returns received by the committee from 4,306 employers indicated 10,170 employes already released for military service, 11,440 men of military age still employed, 1,834 who could still be released, and 3,508 substitutes required, including 640 women and 2,818 men ineligible for military service.

The following report shows that the trade unions of Great Britain are holding their own through the storm:

Great Britain.

Registrar of friendly societies. Friendly societies, industrial and provident societies, trade unions, workmen's compensation schemes, loan societies, scientific and literary societies, postoffice, trustee and railway savings banks. Report of the chief registrar of friendly societies for the year ending December 31, 1915. Part C: Trade unions. London, 1916, xxv, 10 pp.

On December 31, 1914, there were upon the register 690 unions; 643 made returns, showing 3,261,050 mem-

bers and funds amounting to £7,013,-048 (\$34,128,783.58), the average contribution per week from each member being 6½d. (13.2 cents). About £890,000 (\$4,331,185) was expended in unemployment benefits, including £170,000 (\$827,305) for the unemployment insurance benefits; £670,000 (\$3,260,555) in dispute benefits; £680,000 (\$3,309,220) in sickness and accident benefits; £160,000 (\$778,640) in funeral benefits; and a further £540,000 (\$2,627,910) in benefits of a miscellaneous character. The average amount of unemployment benefit paid per member was 5s. 5d. (\$1.32).

Report of the Administrative Commission, Bern, Switzerland, for 1915.

War conditions have required the employment offices to supply an exceedingly large demand for labor in those industries actively engaged and to look after the workers thrown out of employment in stagnant industries.

In the unemployment fund the commission reports a membership of 780 on March 21, 1916, an increase of 29 over the preceding fiscal year. Of the total number of members 521 were skilled and 259 unskilled workers. Heavy demands made on the unemployment fund on account of the economic depression caused by the war induced the commission to suspend the payment of unemployment benefits indefinitely, beginning from April 1, 1915. Payments were, however, resumed on November 20 of the same year. The municipal subsidy granted annually to the fund had been increased to 20,000 francs (\$3,860). The contributions from the insured workmen amounted to 11,299 francs (\$2,180.71), which approximately equals the regular annual municipal subsidy. Up to the end of the fiscal year 446 members, as against 455 in 1914, had received unemployment benefits. Of this total number, 310 were skilled and 136 unskilled workmen. Skilled workmen received daily while unemployed 3 francs (58 cents) if married, and 2 francs (39 cents) if single, while unskilled workmen were given 2.50 francs (48 cents) and 1.50 francs (29

cents), respectively. Only 72 of the insured members received benefits for the maximum period of 60 days. The total amount disbursed for cash benefits was 38,645 francs (\$7,458.46).

This report is a good illustration of conditions in the neutral countries of Europe.

Women and Children.

The forcing of women into industry is one of the most important effects of the war from the standpoint of labor. The trade unions have used their influence to secure equal pay for women for equal work in order to protect the wage scales which they have won by long struggle.

Undoubtedly society will suffer if it places too great a burden upon mothers. All nations have recognized this by protective laws of one kind or another. In Germany at the beginning of the war special provision was made to give milk to prospective mothers and to mothers with babes. Advice upon foods was also given. The result was that infant mortality was less than in times of peace.

The first year of the war left England with an appalling increase in infant mortality, which brought about measures for the protection of mothers at work.

A bill providing that mothers working in mercantile or industrial establishments of France be granted one hour each day, or half an hour twice a day, in which to nurse their infants less than 1 year old, without reduction of wages, was passed on June 12, 1913, by the Chamber of Deputies. A report on this bill by the permanent committee of the Superior Labor Council advocates legislation still more liberal to mothers. A new bill drafted by the committee provides in addition that mothers may nurse their infants in the establishment, and that each employer must furnish a decent secluded place to employed mothers who nurse their infants.

Such laws as this bring vividly before us the terrible burden and suffering of the women of Europe. Their husbands and fathers conscripted for military service, they are left to bear the burdens of industry. The suffragists of England are basing their claims upon the plea that they have proven their ability to serve the country in war. Let us hope that women will use their industrial power and such political power as they may gain to put a stop to war. It is upon them that the sorrows fall while the glory passes them by.

EXTENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Trade Union Records, 1907-1908.

The following is a statement by President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor as to the degree of unemployment reported by the various bodies affiliated with the A. F. of L. for the period of the panic of 1907-1908:

At the beginning of December, 1908, I sent a circular letter to the executive officers of a number of international trade unions of America and got from them a report as to the state of employment and unemployment and from the reports which were made to me within fifteen or twenty days I culled the following information:

"The Blacksmiths report during the past year about 50 per cent unemployed; those employed averaging about four days a week.

"Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders, 30 per cent unemployed.

"Boot and Shoe Workers, 25 per cent.

"Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, 25 per cent.

"Carpenters and Joiners, 40 per cent.

"Wood Carvers, 30 per cent.

"Cement Workers, 30 per cent.

"Cigar Makers, 10 per cent.

"Commercial Telegraphers, 15 per cent.

"Coopers, 15 per cent unemployed; two-thirds of the employed working half time.

"Elevator Constructors, 40 per cent.

"Steam and Hot Water Fitters, employment in the west is fair; in the east fully 40 per cent unemployed and working about 180 days a year.

"Freight Handlers, about 30 per cent.

"Glass Bottle Blowers, about 20 per cent unemployed. On account of the conditions of the trade, no work is performed during July or August.

"Window Glass Blowers, 20 per cent.

"Granite Cutters, about 15 per cent.

"Hatters, men working about three-fourths time.

"Hod Carriers and Building Laborers, 60 per cent.

"Hotel and Restaurant Employes, 30 per cent.

"Machinists, 20 per cent.

"Railway Maintenance of Way, 25 per cent.

"Butcher Workmen, 40 per cent.

"Coal Miners, work about 200 days a year.

"Painters and Decorators, 70 per cent.

"Pattern Makers, 30 per cent.

"Pavers and Rammermen, 25 per cent.

"Printing Pressmen, 20 per cent.

"Shipwrights, Joiners and Calkers, 50 per cent.

"Tile Layers, state of employment very poor.

"Tin Plate Workers, 40 per cent.

"Tobacco Workers, working on two-thirds time.

"Iron Molders, 70 per cent."

Report on Unemployed Women.

Louis C. Odencrantz, in an article published in The Survey of May 1, 1909, gives the following:

Out of 1,103 positions held by working women in New York—

382, or 35 per cent, were held less than 3 months.

172, or 16 per cent, were held less than 3 to 6 months.

189, or 17 per cent, were held less than 6 to 12 months.

172, or 15 per cent, were held less than 1 to 2 years.

76, or 7 per cent, were held less than 2 to 3 years.

113, or 10 per cent, were held less than 3 years or more.

The above table shows that 68 per cent of these positions were held less than one year.

The same writer reports that returns from the New York trades unions in the year 1900, including chiefly skilled labor, showed that from 5 to 13 per cent of the members were out of work in the busiest part of the year, and that the time actually lost varied from 17 to 30 per cent of the year.

Number of Unemployed in Chicago.

The number of unemployed in Chicago during the winter of 1914 has been variously estimated between 100,000 and 150,000. This is a conservative estimate, based upon a study of various reports. Thousands of workers who are idle for days, weeks and months are never reported, and so are not included.

Local 194, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, having kept a careful record, reports the average time employed during the first six months of 1914 as follows:

First 3 months, 5 weeks 1 day, average earnings per week, \$11.40.

Second 3 months, 9 weeks 4 days, average earnings per week, \$23.04.

General average, \$17.22 for the first 6 months of the year.

Average number working full time, 38 per cent.

Average number working part time, 45 per cent.

Average number unemployed, 17 per cent.

Total loss to society by unemployment among the 10,000 painters in the district, on the average, reported by Local No. 194, during the first six months of the year 1914, amounts to 1,888 years in time, worth \$2,844,000 in wages.

These figures were the most accurate available. They are appalling.

The Municipal Lodging House reports 64,819 men sheltered during the month of November, and a total of 335,169 men for the first 11 months of 1914. During the month of November, 5,000 men were registered who had never asked for a free bed before.

Survey of Springfield, Ill.

By the Russell Sage Foundation.

Irregularity of employment was found in the manufacturing and mercantile industries. Out of 3,771 employes in 49 establishments about one-half had full-time employment in 1913. Wages varied from industry to industry, but the report notes that unskilled laborers received from \$1.75 to \$2 a day—a large proportion not over \$1.80—and that the majority of skilled workers received wages ranging from \$2 to \$3.75 a day. Wage rates in the building trades, construction work, and in street paving were found to be fairly high, but the men suffered from enforced idleness. Transportation showed much greater regularity of work, with wages ranging from \$12 to \$30 a week. In laundries and mercantile establishments employing women mostly work was quite regular, but wages were low.

As to the wages of skilled and semi-skilled workers in the manufacturing and mercantile industries, the building trades, and on railroads, the report expresses the opinion that one hope for male workers who at present are not members of the union is to be found in labor organization. As to wages for women workers, especially in laundries, 5 and 10 cent stores, and restaurants, it is stated that "minimum wage legislation seems to offer the most promising method for securing a wage adequate for self-support of girls who give the whole of their working time to their employment." General wage increases may be brought about by certain indirect methods, to which end the report urges the support of citizens along the following lines:

"The prohibition of child labor, with the consequent probable increase in the demand for, and in the wage of, adult labor; a corollary of this, the development of better industrial education for children now of school age, thus preparing the coming workers for better paid and higher types of work; the establishment of better wage rates for manual labor on public works; and the establishment of minimum wage standards."

The work and management of the Springfield state free employment office is revived, some apparent defects cited, and the need of some sort of central control of all state employment offices suggested.

The report shows that in 1914, in 72 manufacturing establishments, employing 3,981 organized and unorganized workers, 85 per cent were working nine or more hours a day, and that shorter hours, as a rule, prevailed in the union shops, where 54 per cent were working an eight hour day.

New York City.

(From the proceedings of the First National Conference on Unemployment, held in New York, February 27-28, 1914, under the auspices of the American Association for Labor Legislation, in affiliation with American Section, International Association on Unemployment.)

After investigation in New York City during the winter of 1913-1914, the superintendent of the employment bureau of an old and conservative organization—the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor—estimated in February, 1914, that "on any given day this winter there are at least 325,000 men unemployed in this city." At the same time relief

agencies in many other cities were swamped. Municipal lodging houses were turning away many genuine seekers after work—to sleep on bare boards at the docks, in warehouses, even in morgues.

Chicago's Great Burden.

Chicago is headquarters for the unemployed. This is natural because of its geographical situation and because it is the center of the American industrial system. The responsibility belongs to the whole country, and Chicago should make an appeal to the national government to help in a situation which is national.

A National Question.

The question of unemployment as related to organized labor is also a national question. Every effort should be made to bring about co-operation in the labor movement. We recommend that this report be sent to the secretary of the American Federation of Labor and the committee on unemployment of the American Federation of Labor.

How Shall They Be Fed?

The question which is being asked by the unemployed men and women is the important one: "How shall they be fed and sheltered?"

All labor unions should unite in an insistent demand that this be done.

There are rooms which are empty and warm, while homeless people walk the streets. There is food in plenty while people starve. After all analysis of the complex question, the last answer which includes all is this: **THE UNEMPLOYED MUST BE SHELTERED AND FED BY THE SOCIETY WHICH IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR CONDITION.**

FIRST DAY — Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Monday, October 16th, President Walker in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SCHOOLS.

Delegate Woll, Chairman of the Permanent Committee on Schools, appointed by the president in accord with instructions of the Alton Convention, which had conducted an investigation of school matters during the year, read the report of the committee. (The committee report appears in full on pages 95—106).

Chairman Woll: I move the adoption of the record as read. (Seconded.)

Delegate Conlon: I wish to speak in regard to the third recommendation. Why should not the rest of the boards in the state be paid as well as the Chicago school board? They have a board in Peoria that is as rotten as any in Chicago.

Chairman Woll: There is special legislation under which the Chicago school board is conducted. I believe there is no objection on the part of the committee to have the recommendation enlarged to make it read that every school board of the State of Illinois shall be elected by the people.

Delegate Nestor: The particular recommendation in regard to Chicago was put in because of the special provision for that city. We understand that in most of the smaller towns the boards are elected by the people. I think the State Federation stands for boards of education being elected by the vote of the people. As a member of the committee I desire to express the feeling of the committee. That is what we stand for.

Delegate McNamara, Switchmen: I believe this is a state question. I have three children going to school. I put them in the public school and

then sent them to the Catholic school to get religion. We should give our children religion. My oldest child went to the public school and then to the parochial school. I have a great stack of books and none of them are good for the second child. I believe the book system is nothing but a graft. When I went to school my books were good for my brothers and sisters down the line. The books we now get are now nothing more than a graft for somebody. The text books should be universal, not only for Chicago, but for the state. Iowa, Nebraska and other states have such books.

President Walker: The understanding of the committee in making the report is that they were dealing with a specific situation in Chicago, but it was intended to apply to the entire state.

Delegate McNamara: The report is good and I endorse it.

Delegate Conlon: So far as I know all the boards outside of Chicago are elected. I also know that nowhere in the state are the boards paid. If the Chicago board is to be paid the boards in other cities should be paid.

Delegate McNamara: We elect our board of education in Rock Island. We who have the ballot ought to vote on this question.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES.

Delegate Bruce, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Members of the Illinois State Federation of Labor Convention:

We, the undersigned, Committee on Rules, submit the following:

RULE 1.

The convention shall be called to order at 9:00 o'clock a. m. each day of the meeting, and adjourn at 12:00 noon. Afternoon session shall be called to order at 2:00 o'clock p. m. and adjourn at 5:00 p. m.

RULE 2.

Delegates shall present their attendance cards with names and addresses before each session. Delegates not presenting their cards before 9:30 a. m. and 2:30 p. m. shall be recorded as absent.

RULE 3.

The president shall appoint a committee of four to attend to Attendance Cards and act as Sergeants-at-Arms; also to distribute reports, etc.

RULE 4.

Delegates desiring the floor must announce their names and the organizations they represent.

RULE 5.

Delegates will be allowed not more than ten minutes to speak on any question except by vote of the convention.

RULE 6.

The selection of the Convention City of the Illinois State Federation Convention for the year of 1917 shall be made a Special Order of Business of this Convention at 3:00 p. m., Thursday, October 19, 1916.

JOHN J. BRUCE,
Chairman.

MADGE ARGO,
Secretary.

R. C. ATKINSON,
JAMES S. JAMISON,
AUGUST HOUDOCK,
J. M. PATTERSON,
GEO. GOLDEN,
THEODORE BISSEK,
E. B. PASSMORE,
MARGARET HASTIE,

Committee on Rules.

Delegate Conlon moved the adoption of the report of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Sumner, Milk Wagon Drivers, Chicago: I am informed that at the Alton convention last year there was no smoking during the sessions. I remember at one time we had a convention in Powers' Theatre and there was no smoking. There should be no smoking here. You go to church and you don't smoke there.

Delegate Woll: I rise to a point of order. There is nothing in the report of the committee that bears on smoking. There being no proposal before the convention dealing with that subject discussion on it is out of order.

President Walker: Ordinarily the point of order would be well taken, but the chair does not want to draw too closely and does not want to take too many chances, because he doesn't know what is in Steve's mind. He may be objecting to the whole report because that is not in there. The chair will have to rule that the point is not well taken. At the same time he would suggest to Brother Sumner that the matter would be properly before the convention as an amendment.

Delegate Sumner: I move as an amendment that a rule prohibiting smoking in the hall during the sessions be inserted. (Seconded.)

We are met here together as men and women to do the best we can to make laws governing the labor movement. I know when men sit down and smoke it soothes their feelings and they do not pay so much attention to the things that are being done. I have attended a great many conventions where I have never had a word to say. I am always ready to do anything I can for the movement and I hope you will listen this time. I believe when we have ladies with us and when we have men who do not smoke we should prohibit smoking. When a lot of men get to smoking at one time, it makes the others sick. I am one of your people, you are one of my people. We have met here today to do the best we can for each

other. Why, then, should you make me sick with your dirty smoke?

I never was more sincere in my life than I am right here and now. I know some of you like to smoke—you can smoke out in the street. The cigar makers will raise the objection that this action would cut down their profits. There was never one of you that smoked for the purpose of helping the cigar makers. I hope you will add that to the rules. If you do you will all be benefited by it.

Delegate Bruce, Street Railway employees: The committee went into this from all angles. I was chairman of the committee on rules in Alton and at the request of the management of the theatre where we held our meetings we put in a rule to prohibit smoking during the sessions. While the committee was opposed to the rule we thought it better to include it because the management requested it. It was carried out. This time the question came up again and a motion was made to insert the same rule. To our surprise the objection came from the women who were on our committee. They said, "Smoking doesn't hurt us; we rather enjoy it, and we know if we adopt that rule there will not be so many delegates in the hall—they will be outside enjoying their smoke and neglecting the business of this convention."

Brother Sumner and I agree sometimes and sometimes we do not, but when he says we ought to cut out smoking in this convention I cannot agree with him. When we are at our employment in the shops, the factories and on the cars the rule of the companies is "No smoking while on duty." Now we are on duty for labor. Is labor going to adopt the same tactics as the employer? I was satisfied when we discussed this in the committee to leave this to the women of the convention. Someone said that would be class legislation and that we could not afford to be divided. Finally we agreed with the two women on the committee that we would recommend no rule that would prohibit smoking in the convention.

Delegate Roderian: Did you consider this from the point of view of the danger of fire starting here? I have seen lighted matches thrown on the floor here several times.

Delegate Bruce: That was considered, and Delegate Bisser, president of the central body, who was on the committee, suggested that the delegates be careful about throwing lighted matches on the floor as it is covered with new canvas to protect it. The committee felt that if President Walker would make that suggestion from the platform it would be better.

Delegate Ford: It is said that actions speak louder than words. I admire our sisters who are here today for their pluck in not saying "No" to the smokers; but if they were traveling they would not enter the smoking car on a railroad train. I think for the few hours we are here we might deprive ourselves of cigars for their sake. Do they smoke? No. Then let us give them pure air while they are here.

Delegate Patterson, Mine Workers: I have always been taught it was not good manners to smoke in the presence of ladies. If the ladies are willing to sacrifice their comfort we ought to be manly enough not to require that of them.

Delegate Argo: Our brothers said we do not go into a smoker on a railroad train. No, because the tradition has been handed down that we have no business there. Do the men go outside of their homes to smoke?

Delegate Arnold, Painters: Smoking seems to be one of the most important questions in the labor movement, judging by the discussion here today. The men smoke in the American Federation of Labor convention. I do not smoke during the sessions, but if the ladies do not object I see no reason Brother Sumner should.

Delegate Golden: I move the previous question. (Seconded and carried.)

The amendment offered by Delegate Sumner was lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee on Rules was carried.

Secretary Olander: I like a cigar as well as anybody; nevertheless, I am inclined to be a little sympathetic whenever I hear Steve Sumner speak on this proposition, for this reason: I have always felt that when I pass the age of sixty years, as he has done, and I can stand up as straight and clear-eyed and as vigorous as he is I will be thankful. I know some of you think he is a young buck of twenty-two or thereabouts, but he is pretty well along in years.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONVICT LABOR.

Delegate Boyer, Chairman, read the following report: (Note: This committee was appointed by instructions of the Executive Board some months previous to the convention.)

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

Greeting:

The prison labor problem having been the subject of discussion of labor and reform organizations for the past fifty years or more, all students of the subject are rapidly coming to an agreement upon the following general principles covering the proposition:

1st. The prisoner must be employed.

2nd. He must be employed productively.

3rd. He must not be exploited for private profit or in unfair competition with free labor.

There are several interests involved in the question of convict labor:

1st. The interests of the state. appropriations made necessary to main-

2nd. The interests of the prisoner and his family.

3rd. The interests of free labor and of the employer.

It is the opinion of your committee that the system of employment of the inmates of penal and reformatory institutions which will serve all or most of these interests is some combination of employment for prisoners, as follows:

1st. Work on the public highways which would not otherwise be undertaken with free labor, such as road building, irrigation and tree planting.

2nd. A penal farm, the products thereof not to be sold on the open market, but to the penal, reformatory, and charitable institutions at a fair price.

3rd. Prison industries conducted within the prison walls, the products not to be sold on the open market, but to the various state institutions and departments at a fair market price, the profits from such sale, over and above the cost of maintenance, to be devoted to the support of the prisoner's family or to be funded for the prisoners themselves. It is certain that a judicious combination of these three systems can be made to work successfully in the State of Illinois or elsewhere, and will provide for each of the groups interested in the problem.

The state will thereby reduce the cost of its prison administration and the cost of supplies for the other state institutions and departments. The prisoner may be healthfully employed and provided with a small fund wherewith to face the world again, or his family be protected against destitution. The free worker will be protected against unfair prison competition; the employer of free labor protected against the demoralization of his market by cut prices, always necessary to market prison-made goods. The public protected against the spread of penal diseases and huge ap-

tain penal institutions under the old system of employing inmates.

That these ideas can be successfully carried out has been proven by the State of New York, where the state-use system has been in vogue for several years.

In the City of Chicago, where, at the urgent suggestion of the Chicago Federation of Labor, the contract system was abolished at the House of Correction and that institution, under the able management of Superintendent John L. Whitman, now working along the ideas above suggested, has increased the income of the institution more than double, working entirely under the system of doing work, only for the city and the various departments of the municipality. The highest yearly income under the old system being \$175,000.00, while the income during 1916 under the new system will be \$350,000.00.

Shortly after the Alton convention of the Federation the officers took up the matter of prison reform with the present administration and were successful in having the manufacture of brooms for sale on the open market abolished at the Joliet prison. Governor Edward F. Dunne has established a system of road building by convict labor, and the Joliet prison farm is fast working out that part of the proposed reform. Under the present law, 40 per cent of the prison population may be employed on state account in the manufacture of articles to be sold on the open market by the state.

This section of the present prison laws should be repealed, and in accordance with the action of the Peoria convention the officers of the Federation should be instructed to that effect.

During the past three sessions of congress a prison labor bill known as the Booher bill has been introduced but failed of passage. This bill is intended to limit the effect of the regulation of interstate commerce between the states in goods, wares and mer-

chandise wholly or in part manufactured by convict labor or in any prison or reformatory.

In view of the likelihood of the said bill being enacted into law by the next session of congress, it should be the duty of the officers of the Federation to have the prison labor laws include a section providing that all convict-made goods manufactured or sold in the State of Illinois shall be stamped plainly, "Prison Made," in order that such wares coming from other states shall come under control of the laws governing the subject in Illinois and this provision will have the effect of keeping out the competition of prison-made goods from other states.

Your committee would recommend that the officers of the Federation be instructed to take up the prison labor problem at an early date and have a bill drawn by competent attorneys, covering the employment of convicts and the sale of prison-made goods in the State of Illinois in accordance with the above report.

Respectfully submitted,

WILL R. BOYER,
Chairman.
MARY ANDERSON,
A. RASMUSSEN,
GEO. B. JENKINS,
HERBERT MADDUX,
Committee on Convict Labor.

The report of the Committee on Convict Labor was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Olander read the following communication:

Tobacco Workers' International Union.

To Officers and Delegates,
Mr. Victor A. Olander, Sec'y,
Illinois State Federation of Labor,
Quincy, Ill.

Greeting:

Being unable to attend your convention in person, on behalf of the Tobacco Workers' International Union

I extend to you their fraternal greetings for a harmonious and successful convention, and hope that your deliberations will be beneficial to the organization you represent. Also enclose a resolution of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, for which we kindly ask your favorable consideration and adoption.

Fraternally yours,

A. McANDREWS,
International President.

The resolution enclosed in the letter was referred to the Committee on Union Labels.

Bert Ryan, Quincy, a member of the Iron Molders' Union, was appointed to act as door keeper.

President Walker: We have with us today the General President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and the Bartenders' International League of America, Brother Edward Flore of Buffalo, New York. I take pleasure in introducing him at this time.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT FLORE.

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I will occupy your time just for a few minutes. I would be ungrateful if I did not take this opportunity of expressing to the delegates of this convention and to the men and women they represent in the State of Illinois the appreciation and gratitude of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and the Bartenders' International League of America that I have the honor to represent. I want to express in particular the appreciation of our International Union to the president of this State Federation. Your organization in this state and your president and executive board have done a great deal for us in this state in the past year, and this is particularly true of the City of Chicago. For that reason I have journeyed to Quincy to express to your president, to you and to those you represent, to express to you our appreciation and gratitude for your assistance.

There is much work we have to perform in this state, and we ask the delegates to make a note of the request I am about to make, that when they return to their homes they include in their reports that the International President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and the Bartenders' International League of America appeared before the convention and requested the delegates and those they represent to make every effort to organize the unorganized culinary workers of this state and to better organize the bartenders. We want to do what we can for the men and women of the organized labor movement. We realize that the better our crafts are organized the more assistance we can be to you men and women. We assure you we will put forth every effort to educate our men and women to the value of the union label and the union insignia of the various organizations. If the members of labor organizations would appreciate the value of these labels and buttons there would not be much question as to whether or not there would be any unorganized men and women. But, unfortunately, we have some in our ranks who do not appreciate the value of the label and the button. We are going to try to get these people into our organizations.

I assure you that I appreciate this honor very greatly and will do my share to show the Illinois State Federation of Labor that we appreciate all that has been done for us, and we sincerely trust we may continue in your good graces so that the future may bring forth as much as the past has, and we will do our little mite to that end.

A Quincy delegate stated that the envelopes in which the badges were given to the delegates did not bear the label.

Secretary Olander: The firm that furnished the badges this year furnished them for a number of years, and for the first time has neglected to put on all the labels that should be

there. The envelope this time does not bear the label. A member of the firm is a member of the Typographical Union and I am sure he did not leave it off intentionally. We did not get the badges until the last moment. If they had been received earlier I would have refused to take them in the envelopes without the label.

President Walker: A majority of the workers, even those who are unorganized, understand the purposes of the labor movement well enough now to be generally reluctant to do any scabbing knowingly. However, even some of the members of organized labor do not see the matter clearly enough so that they are not influenced to do it by proxy. For that reason the various organizations have men in the field doing the work of education in that respect. The Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union has one of its missionaries in our state at this time. I have met him on different occasions and he generally talks plainly on this subject of the union label. It is a pleasure to have him with us and I have been hoping that he might, without hurting your feelings too badly, bring this matter clearly before you, so that you in turn might bring it clearly before your members when you return to your homes. I therefore take very great pleasure in introducing Brother Francis J. Clarke of the Boot and Shoe Workers.

ADDRESS OF FRANCIS J. CLARKE.

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I was back in the hall, quite comfortable and thinking I would not be called upon to speak until tomorrow. However, I am glad of the opportunity to speak now. It is said that the early bird gets the worm. I hope we will get that worm that demands union goods in larger quantities, because that is what I am here for. The president told you that I speak plainly on that subject. I do. I am not going to adopt his suggestion not to hurt your feelings too much. I want to hurt your feelings, if you do not buy union

goods, so much that you will be ashamed of yourselves.

I listened to the report of the Committee on Schools and the Committee on Convict Labor with a great deal of interest. We are deeply interested in the question of convict labor. We are also deeply interested in the question of schools. The state from which I come was the first to adopt free text books. That was brought about by the organized workers in that state. We had to fight for it. Forty-five years ago I was a boy in the movement to establish free text books. I am surprised that Illinois, so progressive otherwise, has not waked up and established the system here. We know what free text books have done for the children of Massachusetts and the burden it has taken off the shoulders of the parents. We have better text books than we had before we adopted the present system of free text books.

Now the matter upon which I am here—looking after your soles—will be explained in a few words. It is said that men are very careful of their souls and women more so. Now I want your help in getting the women to look more closely after their soles, because we want to organize a large number of shoe factories. There is not a community, I care not how small it is, where there is an organized labor movement even of a dozen members but can contribute its mite to the demand for union goods. There is not a place that cannot help eliminate non-union goods. Illinois has a great number of shoe factories and only one or two of them are organized. We can contribute toward bringing them into the ranks of organized labor if we bring home to them the fact that if they want your union patronage they must have the union stamp on their shoes.

I have spoken before many of your organizations. I want you all to take home to your members the information that they will not have to pay more for a union made shoe than for a nonunion made shoe. That statement is often made, but it is a falsehood. The business men will tell you

that you must pay more for the shoes because they bear the union stamp. We furnish the stamp free of cost. We get better wages in the union factories than in the nonunion factories, but our goods, grade for grade, sell for identically the same price. There is no difference in the price of the shoes made in our factories and the shoes made where women are compelled to work for four, six and eight dollars a week. The girls in our factories make, in some instances, twice as much and do not work so many hours.

In the nonunion factories they have an efficiency system that is about as good as the Taylor system. I have seen people take out stop watches and time the workers to see how quickly they could do a shoe, catch the quickest and then insist that all the employees do the same amount of work all through the day. Ours is one of the great industries in this country that has not as yet secured the eight-hour day. I have heard of one nonunion manufacturer that reduced the hours without reducing the wages. I am glad he did not, because if he had reduced the wages of the women getting four dollars a week I don't know what they would do; I am glad he did not reduce the wages of the men getting \$1.25 a day because if he did their families might starve.

When we organize the 200,000 still unorganized in our trade in this country you will find that in many places ours will be the dominant industry. As it is now these unorganized boot and shoe workers are a drag on those that are trying to build up their organizations. That is one reason why those in the other trades should help organize the men and women not already in the movement. We should, by our purchasing power, give preference to the men and women who are members of organized labor. There are a great many Jake Loeb's in the shoe industry, as there are in the teaching industry of Chicago, and they are about as mean as that particular Jake Loeb we have heard so much about. They have the advantage of controlling our

wages and they divert a great deal of money into their pockets that we ought to have. We want your help to divert it from the channels that are antagonistic to us, contributing funds for the purpose of disrupting the organized labor movement of this country. Every time you buy nonunion goods you are contributing to the enemies of organized labor.

The women of the families of working men can make a great impression on the dealers. The women handle eighty per cent of our wages. Did you ever notice how many of the boys go home and tell their wives about bargain counter sales, but never tell them about the union label or about the opportunities they could give the children if they were developed physically? No, they are only thinking of dollars and cents—humanity is not considered. I sometimes think we lose a good many dollars because of the few cents we save by patronizing the bargain counters and buying nonunion goods. If we would eliminate the market for such goods the result would be that we would not have to go to the expense in time and money we do.

I am thankful for one thing, and that is that the men and women in the labor movement today are thinking more and giving more consideration to the question of organized labor than they did in my young days. If it was necessary forty-two years ago to organize and contribute to the maintenance of an organization it is a hundredfold more necessary today. A hundred years ago most of the men in my craft were what we would call mechanics. When I learned my trade I could make a shoe, I was a mechanic; I was a shoemaker, I made the shoe right through. On account of the time it took to make a pair of shoes—and the same is true of other industries—we were able to maintain conditions, but the minute machinery was introduced and speeded up the work it meant the reduction of wages to the workers if they were not organized. In the unorganized places today that condition prevails and is a detri-

ment to every man and woman in the movement.

We are not sufficiently interested in our children to teach them the ethics of the labor movement. I believe we should do that and encourage them to join the labor movement. Indeed, I have known some parents to discourage them from joining a labor movement. Of course men who will do that are not union men but card men. Those men stand on the street and tell you how to manage your organization, but they do not come to the meetings and give us the benefit of their suggestions.

We must go in like Tim Murphy in the Civil war. I tell the story once in a while. One fellow said to me last night, "You're German, aren't you?" I said, "Yes; I am a German. My father was born in the County Galway, Ireland, but we are friends and we have Germans in the family." I don't care what a man's race or creed is. The labor movement teaches us not to take into account race, creed or color. We want to fight shoulder to shoulder with each other against the common foe and take that big weapon we have, our purchasing power, to help our friends. As it is now eighty per cent of that purchasing power is diverted into the channels of our enemies.

To go back to the story of Tim Murphy. When Tim landed in New York—my native city, although I was brought up in Massachusetts and cannot say Ne' Yawk as they do in that city—the Civil war had been in progress for a short time. He knew nothing about it, but after he had had a good old Irish welcome from some cousins he strolled along Broadway. He saw a recruiting sergeant with a large crowd surrounding him, and naturally thought there was a fight on. You know the Irish love a fight. He turned to his cousin and asked what was going on. His cousin explained the object of the crowd. Tim said, "Dan, I'm an American citizen now and if Uncle Sam wants me I'm going to enlist." He went to the recruiting

sergeant, was accepted as a volunteer and sent to the front.

In those days there were no rookies and no awkward squads to be taught the manual of arms—they taught them when they were in the service. In five days' time Tim was in battle and before the enemy. The order was given, "Fix bayonets and charge!" Tim turned to the captain and said, "What is it today, man for man or helter-skelter?" The captain said, "It is man for man." Tim sailed in and got his man. He knocked him down and sat on him. The battle went on and as the surging ranks swayed back and forth past the place where Tim sat on the reb his captain spotted him and said, "Here, my man, what are you doing? Why are you not in the ranks fighting?" "Be jabbers," said Tim, "you said it was man for man, and here is me man." The captain said, "It was man for man then, but it's helter-skelter now." Tim got into the battle and it is said that because of his prowess victory perched on the banners of the Union troops

That is what we want to do—go into it helter-skelter in order to get in a position to make the Loeb's and their cohorts realize that we will protect our interests, that there will be no more child labor, no more long hours for women and each one will secure the fruits of his toil. I thank you.

President Walker: There are two fraternal delegates here, Secretary-Treasurer George W. Lawson of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor and E. L. Hiles of the Missouri State Federation. The interchange of views and experiences are probably some of the most helpful things in the labor movement. There is also the added curiosity of the human being to know how the other fellows are getting along. This has resulted for years and years in our organization having fraternal representatives in the conventions of the other state federations, and they, in turn, have sent representatives here. The fraternal delegate from the Missouri State Federation of Labor is not ready to address us, but

Secretary Lawson, of the Minnesota State Federation, would like to tell us of the situation in his state from a federation point of view. I therefore take great pleasure in presenting him at this time.

ADDRESS OF GEORGE W. LAWSON.

Secretary Minnesota S. F. of L.

Mr. President, Brother and Sister Delegates: I do not know that I am prepared, but I am forced by circumstances generally to talk any time I am asked to do so, and I am not going to make an oration or a speech—I am simply going to talk.

In the first place, I want to convey the fraternal greetings of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor to this splendid gathering. I spent last week attending the convention of the Ohio State Federation of Labor at Toledo for the purpose of studying the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Law. I am going to touch for a few minutes on three subjects we in Minnesota consider of prime importance this year. Our legislature meets next January, and there are some things we want and some things we are in danger of getting from it.

We want a compensation law that is worthy of the name. I believe that also applies to the organized labor movement of Illinois. As far as my observation and study have gone I have been unable to find anything that is really worthy of the name, from our point of view, except possibly the one in Ohio. The Minnesota Federation has had a law drafted on the Ohio plan of state insurance and we are going to fight for it next winter before our legislature. We are not deceived as to the amount of fighting it is going to require. We have in Minnesota 8,000 liability insurance agents. They have formed what they call an insurance federation and are now busy addressing open letters to the State Federation, the candidates for the legislature, the press and the public in general telling the taxpayers that if the Federation is successful in bring-

ing about insurance for workers it will be only a short time until they will put the state in competition with private employers. If we do have to put 8,000 liability insurance agents out of work it cannot be helped; we are not going to permit those men to gain a livelihood at the sacrifice of the men, women and children injured in the industries of that state if we can help it.

Not long ago I met in one of our cities a former vice-president of the State Federation. I asked what he was doing and he said he was working for one of the large insurance companies. He said, "A couple of men down here got hurt and I am looking up their cases." In other words, he was in that town to cheat them out of their compensation after they had it coming under the law.

Another thing we are interested in, the same as you are, is the anti-injunction law. We have had some experience in the last six months with injunctions. I will tell you the whole story of one of them. A building was being put up in the City of St. Paul by a contractor who was unfair to all the building trades unions. There has been no strike on the building, there could not be, because the building trades men could not work on it. We had several conferences with the contractor and he said we were not bothering him much.

One morning we woke up to find that the St. Paul Building Trades Council and its affiliated unions had been sued for \$30,000 damages and an injunction had been asked for to prohibit us from interfering with that building. We won the case in the lower court, the judge holding that we had a right to do collectively what we had a right to do individually. It was appealed to the state supreme court and will be argued next week. Mr. Walter Gordon Merritt is chief counsel for the American Anti-Boycott Society and the National Association of Manufacturers. He stated before the Citizens' Alliance meeting at the West Hotel in Minneapolis on the 12th of May that this case in Minnesota was going to make history in this country.

I want the Illinois State Federation and its officers to watch this case. We believe that Mr. Merritt was right, that the case in Minnesota will make history in this country. It is one of several attempts of these associations to attack the Clayton Act through the state courts. We are interested, the same as the Illinois movement is, in getting on the statute books of Minnesota a law that will prevent that kind of injunction, because of all the strike breakers I know anything about the injunction is the best they have discovered so far.

There is danger that our legislature will hand us something we do not want, a state constabulary. I told the Ohio State Federation I did not believe they were paying enough attention to that matter. We are paying some attention to it because our law has already been drafted by a state senator. It will be introduced at the opening of the legislature. Unfortunately we had had a bad strike in what is known as the Mesaba Range, Minnesota, the greatest iron range in the world, conducted, not by the legitimate labor movement, but every newspaper in the country is asking the legislature to enact a state

constabulary law and do away with the privately armed guards.

I have written the forty-eight central bodies in the State of Pennsylvania, to the State Federation of Pennsylvania, and we are now circularizing the State of Minnesota with the information we have gained from their experience there with the state constabulary. Be careful that a provision is not inserted in some way in some law that will establish a state constabulary. This is being tried in a large number of states.

I do not under estimate the honor of having the privilege of talking to the convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. I hope that some time the Illinois Federation will be represented in our convention. We meet annually in July and do not conflict with your convention. We hope that some time one of your officials will find it convenient to attend our convention. We will be more than glad to welcome any of your representatives who come there.

No further business coming before the convention the rules were suspended and at four o'clock p. m., an adjournment was taken to 9 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, October 17th.

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SECOND DAY — Morning Session

Quincy, Ill., October 17, 1916.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, October 17th, President J. H. Walker in the chair.

President Walker called for reports of committees. The chairman of the Committee on Organization announced that a partial report of that committee was ready.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Delegate Short, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 10.

By Delegate John C. Augustin, Metal Polishers, Local 111, Quincy:

WHEREAS, The Excelsior Stove & Mfg. Co. of Quincy, manufacturers of National Stoves and Ranges, has

for the past 15 years refused to employ members of the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers, Local No. 111, and the members of Stove Mounters' Local, No. 3, of Quincy, or grant the working conditions established by mutual agreement between the other stove manufacturers of this city and the above named organizations; and

WHEREAS, Repeated attempts to organize the Polishers and Mounters employed by this firm have met with failure, because as soon as any man employed by this firm is approached by members of organized labor he is discharged; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the thirty-fourth annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor that a committee of five delegates be appointed to investigate the unfairness of the Excelsior Stove & Mfg. Co. and call on Mr. J. J. Fisher in an effort to adjust the same; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event of failure to reach an agreement this firm and its products (the National Stoves and Ranges) be declared unfair to this Federation, and given as much publicity as possible.

Secretary Short: The committee concurs in this resolution and recommends that a special committee be appointed at once to wait on Mr. J. J. Fisher and report back to this convention before adjournment.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

President Walker: I suggest that the Organization Committee act as a special committee to wait on Mr. Fisher, Brother Augustin, acting for the Metal Polishers, to accompany them.

Secretary Short suggested that a sub-committee of five members of the Committee on Organization, accompanied by Delegate Augustin, would act in the matter.

The chairman introduced to the convention Mr. John E. Andrew, Superintendent of the Illinois Soldiers

and Sailors' Home, located near Quincy who spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Delegates: I have always been identified with labor. Years ago when I worked on the section I lived in Illinois and worked in this state. The organization of the section men was not much better in those days than it is now. I think this organization of labor is a grand thing. For many years before I was appointed to my present business I was in the undertaking business. Even in that business we had a good organization and we established conditions for our members. As I said before, I worked on the section. You know how the Irish are—years ago they worked on the section, but now I understand they have got so high toned they will not do that class of labor any more. When I was on the section we were all Irish, but now we won't take anything less than the position of a policeman.

Some of you may not be aware that we have a great institution a mile north of Quincy. I would be glad to have the convention visit and inspect the Soldiers and Sailors' Home of which I am superintendent. If you will set a time that is convenient for you to come I will be only too glad to show you through the Home. I want to extend an invitation to visit the Home—I am sure you will enjoy such a visit.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Chairman Jampel, for the committee, submitted the following supplemental report:

MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN.

CHICAGO—No. 320.

G. Metz.

BREWERY WORKERS.

PEORIA—167.

Louis Eichhorn.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

QUINCY—No. 67.

E. O. Smith in place of
Geo. C. Ernst.

CHICAGO—No. 134.

Edw. J. Evans.

ENGINEERS.

CHICAGO—No. 569.

Duncan F. Power.

MACHINERY MOVERS AND RIGGERS.

CHICAGO—No. 136.

Michael Artery.

TRADES AND LABOR ASSEMBLY.

CANTON—R. A. Lewis.

NOKOMIS.

Sam Willis in place of
John Chynoweth.**FEDERAL LABOR.**

STREATOR—15034.

John Ahlgren.

PAINTERS.

QUINCY—No. 66.

Wm. A. Schaller.

MINE WORKERS.

FARMINGTON—No. 1213.

Jas. Lord.

METAL POLISHERS.

CHICAGO—No. 6.

Edw. Leberman.

CANTON, R. A. Lewis.

WOMEN'S UNION LABEL LEAGUE.

PEORIA—No. 290.

Mrs. May Gadberry.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE.**INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS.**

Jos. Lyons.

BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.

Edw. Flore.

B. OF L. F. & E. No. 516, DANVILLE.

D. H. Linn.

Delegate Bruce, Chicago, moved the adoption of the report. (Seconded).

Delegate Golden, Teamsters Local 710, Chicago: The credential of Michael C. Artery is from a seceding organization in Chicago and he should not be seated in this convention. I did not know the credential would be presented or I would have made a written protest.

Delegate Clark, Iron Workers: The Machinery Movers and Riggers local has been affiliated with the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers since 1912. It is not a teamsters' organization.

President Walker announced that where protests are made the custom has been to take the matter up with the Credentials Committee and have all the interested parties present at a hearing. He stated that if there were no objections, the motion, if adopted, would include all the names read except that of M. C. Artery.

The suggestion of the president was concurred in and the credential of M. C. Artery and the protest of Delegate Golden were referred to the committee.

Delegate Peterson, Chicago: I understand resolutions and amendments to the constitution must be submitted to the secretary a week prior to the convention.

President Walker: That rule was suspended yesterday and you have until five o'clock tonight to present a resolution if you wish to do so.

Delegate Bisser, Quincy: We have union taxi drivers in this city and we would like to have you give them your support. These men all wear the button.

Delegate Weth, Bakery and Confectionery Workers: In the last convention of the Federation I spoke of union bread. There is some union bread in this town but not as much as there should be. I do not want to criticise anyone, but I want to make a request. I hope a committee of the

central labor body will visit some of the big bakeries with me. I will be able to stay for a few days after the convention to try to organize them. I think it will be an easy matter to organize the big bakeries in this town. I would like to request any delegate who goes to a restaurant for his meal to ask for union bread. I believe you can accomplish

something in this way and make it easy for us to organize the bakeries.

No committees being ready to report and no further business coming before the session, at 10 o'clock the rules were suspended and an adjournment taken to 2 o'clock p. m., of the same day.

SECOND DAY — Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Tuesday, October 17th, President J. H. Walker in the chair.

The Committee on Credentials made the following supplemental report:

MINE WORKERS.

SPRINGFIELD—No. 2403.

Geo. Carrico.

DECATUR—No. 2622.

Enoch Martin.

HERRIN—No. 986.

W. J. Sneed, Jr.

C. C. Humphreys.

HOD CARRIERS.

LA SALLE—No. 148.

Peter Donnelly.

RETAIL CLERKS.

JOLIET—No. 182.

Agnes Murphy.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

ILLINOIS STATE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.

Robert C. Moore, Carlinville.

ILLINOIS STATE LEGISLATIVE BOARD, B. OF L. F. & E.

D. McCarthy, Chicago.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

Chairman Jampel: In the case of the contest against the seating of

Michael C. Artery, of the Machinery Movers and Riggers, Local No. 136, of Chicago, by the Teamsters Organizations of Chicago, we recommended that he be seated as a delegate in view of the fact that the said contest has been withdrawn.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report and recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Golden, Local 710, Teamsters: After hearing the evidence and reading the documents presented to the committee we find that once more Brother Mike Artery is back in the labor movement and the protest is withdrawn.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

Delegate Gaude, Chairman of the Committee on Organization, read the following report:

Your sub-committee appointed by the Committee on Organization to visit the proprietors of the Excelsior Stove Company, beg leave to submit the following: We called on Mr. J. J. Fisher, manager of the firm. He claimed that his brother, Joseph Fisher, has that part of the business in charge; that he is out of the city at the present time and would return Friday or Saturday, possibly not until

Monday; that he would call up Mr. Fahy or Secretary Olander at the Newcomb Hotel and grant us a conference.

We recommend that if Mr. Fisher fails to call for a conference his firm be placed on the unfair list until such time as the metal polishers and stove mounters of Quincy settle their differences with the firm and receive the conditions they ask.

(Signed)

CHARLES GAUDE,
PETER DEFENBAUGH,
JOHN C. AUGUSTIN,
JOHN FAHY.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Chairman Gaude: The gentleman seemed friendly and allowed us to come into his office, something he did not do when the international officers of the stove mounters called upon him. He said "good-by" to us and called us "brothers," so I think he will grant the conference.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

President Walker: We have with us today Brother John P. Frey, Editor of the Moulders' Journal, who was invited by the officers of the Federation to be with us at some time during our session to speak to our delegates. We felt that he could, because of his study of the injunction matter, the Taylor system and other phases of our movement with which we are vitally concerned, be very helpful to the delegation in shaping their course to get a solution of these matters on the right basis at the earliest possible time.

I don't mind admitting to you—of course I would not say it to him—that we felt that an officer of the Molders' Union that every molder in the country knows and likes, although he may have a row with the members once in a while, might stir up an interest in the molders who are not now affiliated with the State Federation and add to our member-

ship. We felt, too, if John came here it would be a sort of hint to the other international officers that they would be welcome, that we would like to have them because they could do some good for their own organizations and for the movement generally.

I have been associated with Brother Frey in the American Federation of Labor Conventions for something like twelve years. Sometimes we have agreed and sometimes, when we have been feeling bad and wanted real satisfaction, we hunted each other up and we got it. I don't know of anybody in the movement that is a more wholesome, decent or better trade unionist than John P. Frey, and I take pleasure in introducing him to a convention of the Illinois State Federation of labor.

Address of John P. Frey, Editor, International Molder's Journal.

Mr. Chairman, Sisters and Brothers: I am very fortunate in having had such a kindly introduction, and I know of no man in the trade union movement whom I would rather have introduce me to a gathering of this kind than my good friend, John Walker.

I have been watching your sessions for the last two days with particular interest. First, the number of delegates present has greatly interested me, for I can recall my attendance of the early conventions of the American Federation of Labor when there were fewer delegates assembled than you have in this hall. I had, to, this interest: I expected that you would deal, before you adjourned, with a question that is of particular interest to the International Molders' Union and that is of personal interest to me.

You have during recent months established a legal department. I think you will have reason to be particularly proud of the step you have taken, and there is but one regret I have, that the American Federation of Labor has not led the way. Yesterday while

President Walker was facetiously addressing you he called attention to the fact that in dispensing with the reading of the president's report a step in advance had been taken by this State Federation that had later been followed by the American Federation of Labor. Three years ago I went before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with the chief counsel of your legal department, and my wish was to have the American Federation of Labor establish a legal department. The idea was seemingly accepted. At the next convention of the American Federation of Labor the project was endorsed. It has been endorsed each year since, but we haven't yet established the legal department. I hope that what President Walker referred to yesterday will hold good with the American Federation of Labor and that they will follow you and put a legal department in existence in the immediate future.

If there is one thing our trade union movement is weak in it is in our legal efforts. We have expended our strength, and we have directed our efforts into other channels besides the legal one, with the result that we have a hodge-podge method of protecting our interests; we are sometimes careless in framing the bills we introduce in the state legislature, and, what in my opinion is far more serious, we have almost been criminally negligent in our attitude toward labor questions coming before the courts. Every man who has had any responsible position in the labor movement knows that our whole attitude toward courts of this country has been a defensive one; we only go into court when we are haled there by the employers because of some industrial struggle in which we are involved, and it is therefore not surprising that some part of the public is of the opinion that we must be semi-outlaws because the only time we are before the courts is when we are haled there. We are always the defendants, the employer always the prosecutor.

We have got to change that, and one reason I am so enthusiastic about

a legal department is that we may turn the tables. As a matter of fact, this country has been filled with illegal conspiracies during the last twenty-five or fifty years. The National Association of Manufacturers, the National Metal Trades' Association, the National Founders' Association, and some other associations of employers that were organized for the purpose of dealing with us, and putting us out of business if they can, have been continually involved in what I am convinced are illegal conspiracies; but they have had the cleverness to use the cry of "Stop thief!" and they have cried, "Stop thief! Stop thief!" to call public attention from themselves to us. I want to see the tables turned; I want to see our movement become the aggressor; I want to see the real conspirators against law and order and the rights of the working people brought into court. And I know of no way as effective in accomplishing that as by having a legal department that is working 365 days in the year under our direction and that we can call on whenever we need it to uncover our enemies and protect our interests.

Pardon me for referring to one thing the molders have recently done as indicating this new attitude. Every one of you is familiar with the Hatters' case. A few months ago members of the Molders' Union in Bridgeport, Connecticut, desired a higher wage rate. This some of the foundrymen refused to grant, and a strike followed—a very commonplace strike. As a matter of fact, but few strikers were arrested as a result of picketing or of frameups by private detectives. That was a very ordinary condition of affairs. But the employers had to pay very heavily to the private detective agency to frame conditions properly, and finally they instituted a suit for \$200,000 damages against a few of our members. Before serving our members with the papers they attached their bank accounts and their little homes. For our officers on the ground, who had no money—they seldom have—they issued body warrants. Among them was Brother Duffy, an organizer

of the American Federation of Labor and a member of our organization. They placed his bond at \$50,000—a very dangerous lawbreaker he must have been in the court's mind when it set the bond at this prohibitive sum.

We took the general counsel of your legal department, who has been the general counsel of our organization for a good many years, down to Bridgeport and tried to discover the evidence of criminal conspiracy on the employers' part. Some of the employers had covered their trail so cleverly we could not find it, but finally we found the conclusive evidence, and immediately adopted the legal weapons of the other fellows. We filed a suit for \$200,000 damages for illegal conspiracies against our members, and then through court orders we attached all the money the foundry had in the bank, then we had all the private funds the president of the company had in the banks and all the private funds the superintendent had in the banks attached; then we attached all the real estate the company had and all the real estate the president and the superintendent had. Two men who had been hired to slug our members, not having any real estate or any money in the bank, we had arrested on body warrants. I think if we had adopted the method of hitting back in the same way and with the same weapons which have been used during the last generation, by many employers some of the famous labor cases would never have reached a point where they would have attracted much public attention.

Sometimes I find that our members—some of them old warriors in the movement—seem to think the legal and judicial problems that are accumulating upon us as our movement grows in numbers and the employers bring new methods of opposition to bear against us, are merely problems which we will muddle through some way or another, and so we go along, often without making that careful study of the problems we should and without realizing exactly what kind of weapon the employer is using against us, or how he has secured the power

to use it. We seem to think this movement which we call our American trade union movement had its beginning with a great deal of struggle, but that we have reached a position of considerable power and we will go on growing, like the green bay tree, larger and more powerful every year. I hope so. I am sure it will be so if we use our organizations' effectiveness intelligently.

I would like to call your attention to the fact that there have been trade union movements as large perhaps as our own, and much better organized, that have been put out of existence entirely through the power of the privileged classes and the governmental machinery they had in their control which they put to practical use in a union-smashing campaign.

A few years ago I was in one of the museums of Paris, and there I saw a small Roman votive altar made of stone, about three feet high and four feet wide, which I think contained a lesson for every trade unionist. Almost two thousand years ago there was a Roman colony where the city of Paris stands, and on the very site of that great cathedral, Notre Dame de Paris, in the center of that city, there was a Roman temple, not a rich man's temple, but a poor man's temple, and the Roman workmen used it as their place of worship. I can almost picture the meetings of the different unions when they passed upon the question of erecting an altar to the union in the temple.

This little altar has enough of the inscription left to indicate what it originally was. A free English translation of it would be: "The Boatmen's Union, of Paris, publicly establishes and dedicates this temple to the August Tiberius Caesar, the greatest and best, under Almighty Jove, protecting God of Rome."

The Roman workmen during the period of the Republic were better organized than we are. They had their central headquarters in the city of Rome; and their local unions wherever the Roman eagle went; they were the defenders of Roman liberty,

the liberty of the people; they were those who maintained the right of men to govern themselves; they were the one power of the patricians and nobility of Rome feared, and when the republic was overthrown and the empire began to rule an emperor issued his edict making all these organizations illegal. Cicero went before the Roman Senate and had a law passed, with the same cunning that was used by some when the Sherman Law was framed up, and the unions were put out of business. The courts lined up with the privileged classes and the military lined up with the authorities.

Not many centuries ago if a man worked at his trade, regardless of what it was, he was a member of his guild, and the guilds of Germany, France, England and Scotland had complete control of their trades. The non-union man could not work, nobody would work with him. That rather energetic monarch, King Henry VIII of England, saw the power of those guilds; he was envious of the money they had accumulated for their own protection, to take care of the sick and to better their conditions generally. He issued an edict and overnight, with the power of the courts and the militia back of him, he put those guilds out of existence, confiscated all their treasuries and made it impossible, with one or two exceptions, for them to meet as guilds any longer. It is said that history repeats itself—I hope this history never will. But unless we are awake to our interests there is danger that many of our essential liberties, and the power which we think we have acquired, and which we use from day to day, will be taken away from us.

In this country we have had two great forces, two great strike breaking agencies supported by the authorities, working against us. One the state militia and the other the courts. You have all heard the story of the foreigners who went into Egypt and made bricks. They were strangers, and were like the non-English-speaking brickmakers who went out on

strike in Chicago a few years ago. They increased in numbers and the Egyptian government put them to work in the brickyards. Their burdens were heavy, their wages were low. They finally formed an organization for their own protection, with two organizers, Moses and Aaron. They did not want to strike; they wanted to settle their grievances through conferences with their employer. They went to see Pharaoh and he refused to listen to them. Instead of hearing their grievances he ordered them back to their work and made their burdens heavier than before.

When conditions became intolerable these Israelites, who were making bricks in Egypt, went on strike. I don't know how it happened, but I presume the general manager of the Egyptian brickyards rushed to the capitol and said, "These brickmakers have gone on strike; they are injuring our business; we need the militia to preserve peace and order and break the strike." And the Scriptures tell us the militia was ordered out to break the strike. These poor Jews did not have any weapons and they tried to get out of the country as soon as they could. The strike-breaking militia started after them. History tells us that when they reached the Red Sea, Jehovah opened the sea and allowed them to pass over in safety, but when the militia sought to follow them the sea closed over them and they were all drowned. That is the only instance in the Scriptures where I found what happened to the militia when they were being used as strike-breakers and the Almighty took notice of what they were doing.

Bear with me for a little time, while as one of you, I discuss that very wonderful system of systems of law and courts which we have in this country. Of course we all know that we have a constitutional form of government; that under the Federal Constitution the states have their powers of state government regulated by constitutions, and that in turn the judges of the supreme courts of the

nation and of the states have acquired authority to pass upon the laws we make to govern ourselves. And if in the opinion of these wise judicial bodies a law does not suit their idea of what the constitution provides for, they declare our legislation unconstitutional, so that we have a government of judges as much as we have a government by law. The judge has the final say as to what the law shall be that governs us.

With all the efforts which some good and bad men have made to enact legislation and others to declare it unconstitutional, the employers in their desire to maintain their solid organizations, and the courts in their desire to maintain and increase their power, there has come another condition in addition to that of the courts having the final say as to what the law shall be that governs us. The courts go ahead and determine what the laws shall be, or rather they become a legislative body themselves and determine what laws shall govern us. And, strange to say, these judge-made laws, that regulate our most necessary interests and rights, invariably place a millstone around the neck of labor instead of being a step forward in the pathway of progress.

You have an injunction question to deal with here, and you will never know just exactly what an injunction can do until it takes you by the neck and shakes all your rights out of you and throws you into jail. I began my study of the injunction question some twenty years ago while I was resting in an old place that was built before the Revolutionary War, because I had had a difference of opinion with a judge as to what my rights were. While he was in the court room he had his own way. I am not going to suggest that there is an off-hand cure for this, but while I was boarding at the county's expense I was studying what should be done, and while I did not solve the injunction question I solved the question where that judge was concerned. We struck the judge's shop, for he was the owner of a foundry, and he settled

and gave us the wages and conditions the molders had requested.

If there is anything that is dry, it is a lengthy discussion of these legal decisions and injunctions, but as trade-unionists we must understand how the cats have been making laws for the mice in the court room; we must understand how in this country class distinctions have been created by the courts, how one group of men is being given rights and supported in the exercise of these rights, and other groups of men—the working men—are denied the right to do the same things which other men are supported in doing. There are two cases that illustrate the point I want to call to your attention.

Somewhere around 1905 or 1906 the retail dealers of South Dakota met a new problem, the catalogue house. South Dakota had small towns. The catalogue houses, with their offers of cheaper articles, began to take the trade away from the retail dealers of South Dakota and into Chicago. This condition caused the retail dealers to organize as we organize, and for the very same purpose. They elected, among other things, a secretary, and they instructed him to publish a journal for the information of the members of the Retail Dealers' Association. They said to him, "Write to all the manufacturers, wholesalers and jobbers who sell to the catalogue houses and tell them of the situation in which we find ourselves as retail dealers, and secure from them the information as to whether they prefer our trade or the trade of the catalogue houses." Then the secretary was instructed to publish a list of the names of those firms that preferred to sell to the catalogue houses, so that the members of the Retail Dealers' Association, with that unfair list in their hands, would know what manufacturers and jobbers to decline doing business with in the future.

Montgomery Ward and Company, of Chicago, went into the Federal court of South Dakota and demanded an injunction, claiming their business rights were being interfered with as

a result of an illegal conspiracy on the part of the retail dealers of South Dakota. Judge Carland held that the retailers had a right to buy and sell where they believed it to their best advantage. If they believed that a manufacturer or wholesaler was conducting his business in a manner that was injurious to them, they had a right to associate together for securing the necessary information, and most assuredly the right to publish the names of those firms the Retail Dealers' Association felt were unfair in their way of doing business.

Shortly after that decision in the case of the retail dealers of South Dakota a court in the District of Columbia held that when trade-unionists did the same thing in connection with their dispute with the Buck Stove and Range Company, they had committed the crime of crimes. You will recognize the fact that what the retail dealers in South Dakota did was what we have always done as trade-unionists, that in publishing the list of unfair firms they were doing what we have always done. In the Buck Stove and Range Company's case and the case of the retail dealers of South Dakota, not only were the principles involved identically the same, but the method of applying the principles was identically the same. The difference was that a Federal court in one instance upheld the right of the retail dealers to protect their own interests by taking certain well defined action, and on the other hand we were told we were criminals and engaged in an illegal conspiracy when we endeavored to do the very same thing. What is this but class distinction!

A few years ago the metalliferous miners in Nevada were being black-listed and there was a law in the state that made blacklisting illegal. The miners carried the case into court; the court examined the evidence and found that members of the Western Federation of Miners were discharged because they were members of their trade union. There was no doubt about the evidence, and so the court in its wisdom decided the law was un-

constitutional, claiming the employers must have the right to hire and discharge if they were to be in a position to properly conduct their business and protect their interests. Hardly had that decision been handed down when the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, in the case of the building trades in Lynn, held that the trade-unionists were engaged in an illegal conspiracy and striking for an illegal object when they struck to prevent the contractors from putting non-union men on the jobs for the purpose of establishing non-union shops. The employers in one state were upheld, given the sanction of the highest courts in discharging union men to destroy their unions, and in another state we were told we did not have the legal right to strike to maintain union conditions when we had succeeded in establishing them. I am calling your attention to these things so that you can see some of the problems that you and I must work out if we are going to hold our own and if we are going to maintain our liberties.

Now, what do the injunctions do? We could spend all the afternoon in considering the things they have done. Within recent months you have been denied the right as Americans to give financial support, to give even moral comfort to men who were out on strike in the city of Chicago in an effort to secure improved terms of employment. You were told that if you gave money or food to those men you would be thrown into jail. We have been told in the state of Illinois, we have been told in several other states by State and Federal courts that if we tried to organize certain men, even if we admitted them into our organization and they came of their own volition, we would be thrown into jail because we would be in contempt of court. And so we might go on down the line citing instance after instance and merely piling up the record of the invasions of our rights that have occurred through power which injunction granting courts have arrogated to themselves.

A short time ago we thought we had begun to see daylight. A bill was passed in Congress, the Clayton Bill, which in its labor sections provided that no injunction should be issued which would restrain workmen from doing anything collectively which they had a legal right to do as individuals. Since that time I am not aware of any injunctions that have been issued against us by a Federal court that invaded that right; but it seems that almost as soon as this bill had been enacted for the regulation of Federal courts in the matter of injunctions that there was an orgy of injunction-granting in state courts. They are trying to take away from us in bulk and in wholesale those rights which are most essential and necessary to us.

What is this right we call free speech? We could have no convention here today were it not for the right of free speech we possess. We could not meet here today if the right of free assemblage were taken away from us. How can we organize the unorganized unless we exercise the right of free speech and free assemblage? But the courts step in, and in the protection of what they call property rights take away the most essential rights we have. We suffer under this and we see no way to protect ourselves. Our members are intimidated; the more courageous go to jail, but we have no solution and can have no solution of this judge-made law until such time as, either by law or the power of public opinion or our power of self-assertion, we can make it impossible for any judge to sit on the bench who will take away, directly or indirectly, any constitutional right which we find necessary to exercise in our trade union activities.

You have a measure before this convention which you desire to have established as a law, that will make it impossible any longer in the state of Illinois for such outrageous, such treasonable action as has been taken by some of your courts. It is a measure that will say in Illinois that labor is not an article of commerce or a

commodity any longer. You are not free men in the state of Illinois until such a law is enacted.

Just a few years ago the workmen in Massachusetts thought they had won their freedom. A law was enacted which contained the principles your measure embodies. It was passed in 1914. This year a case arose. It was a quarrel between two unions. The Supreme Court of the state of Massachusetts held the law was unconstitutional; the court held specifically that labor was property and that a property right in that labor must be protected by the courts in the same way and through the same channels that a property right in real estate, stocks, bonds, or any other form of property must be protected. In other words, the court held that labor is property, although the law of the United States says that there is no property right in labor.

I don't want to go into a discussion of the question of a property right in labor except to say that there was once a property right in labor in this country, when a man could be put on a block and sold and passed from hand to hand for a consideration. But this country decided, not by an act of legislation, not by a judicial decision, but by a civil war that there should no longer be a property right in the black man's body, his mind and bone and muscle. That was the only time in this country when there was a legal property right in labor.

Before these industrial problems we are dealing with today were receiving the consideration of the courts that they do, patriotic Americans, lovers of liberty, men who believed in the same principles that the founders of our nation believed in, enacted legislation making it illegal for peonage to exist. The Federal courts, in the cases which came before them, reaffirmed that law, so that today there is no doubt, no question, no possibility of peonage existing in the United States. What is peonage? What was the condition that formerly existed? A man would become indebted to an-

other and would have to spend years in that man's employ working out the debt, and there was danger that men through their necessities would contract debts that would require years of personal service to one employer to pay off and that they would be in substance, if not in name, slaves. So peonage was banished from the United States.

I think you will agree with me that so long as any injunction is in force that makes you virtually the property of the employer or that withholds you from the exercise of your constitutional rights and privileges while an industrial dispute is on, for that period at least the injunction granted by the court has overthrown our conception of freedom and liberty and has made us peons and subject to the employer's will instead of our own.

The man who shuts off my breath strangles me; the man who can prevent me from eating starves me; the man who can take my liberty away from me enslaves me, and yet here are some of these men sitting in the honored position of judge, using their high office for the purpose, not only of enslaving you and me, but of assassinating liberty. The decision of a court that tells you that you are not free to tell the truth, that denies you the right of free speech, that prevents you from enjoying the opportunity of free assemblage—the court that issues that order has assassinated liberty for the time being.

I have a due and proper respect for the courts! I have a due regard for law; I can see no way of working out our problems unless we do it in a law-abiding manner. We would have anarchy if it were not for our belief in law, but the anarchists are not the trade unionists, they are the courts that grant injunctions when these interfere with our legal rights.

A few years ago it was my privilege, in the interests of my own organization, to visit some of the European countries, and I saw something there which made a more profound impression upon me than any of their

palaces or art galleries or wonderful cities. In the center of Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, there is a large square. Years ago the palaces of royalty and nobility surrounded this square, but as royalty and nobility and privileged classes became less popular in Denmark some of these were razed and other buildings erected in their places. On one side of this square the citizens erected their city hall. The Danes thought it was the most beautiful building in Denmark. Parliament as well as the city of Copenhagen took a hand in providing funds to build it.

There followed a public discussion as to what form or ornament would be placed in front of it. Some of the nobility thought a figure typifying the old fighting men of the Danes should be erected. The intellectuals thought a monument should be erected to the memory of some intellectual genius of the Danish people. The trade-unionists thought there were enough monuments of that character, and believed there should be a monument in honor of labor in front of the city hall. They finally had their way, and after parliament and the city council had agreed that a monument to labor should be erected, the question arose as to what they should have to typify labor. And they chose the most effective thing I know of.

There is a great bronze bowl in front of the city hall, ten feet across, eight feet high, deep in its body, and the only ornaments are two rows of medallions encircling it, and each medallion contains just one thing, the seal of a Danish National Union. What they chose to typify labor were the seals of the national unions.

Every time a member of the city council of Copenhagen enters the city hall he is reminded that labor in Denmark is organized, and he keeps that in mind. Every time a member of parliament goes through that square he is reminded that the workers are organized. Every time a judge passes by to enter the court room he is reminded that labor is organized, that labor is jealous of its rights, and let

me add that no injunctions are issued against the trade-unionists of Denmark.

If we had the one hundred per cent organizations of workers that Denmark has, if we had a monument of that kind in front of the capitol in Springfield and before our other state capitols and in front of the capitol in Washington, much of the legislation that has been enacted against our interests in the last twenty-five years would never have been enacted and we would have secured the legislation which should have protected our interests years ago. Furthermore we would not now be forced to consider the injunction question. As Mr. Dooley said, in referring to the courts, "There may be some question about the constitution following the flag, but there is devil a question about the courts following the election returns."

We must adopt more than one method in order to safeguard our rights. There is no right which we have today that is not liable to be taken away from us tomorrow through this power the American courts have usurped. The power to deny us these essential rights, these constitutional rights, these basic principles of freedom which are taken from us by the courts, are not found in the constitution of the United States or of the states; they are something the courts have gathered to themselves, powers they have arrogated little by little, little by little, believing it was necessary to hamper us and hamstring us in the interest of capital; and now we not only have a government by law in this country, not only a government by court decisions, but a government that is based on precedents—a government by precedent. They go back to what some dead judge said or decided a hundred or two hundred years ago; they endeavor to apply to living conditions of today, to the question of what our highways and railways shall be, by finding out what a decision said which was handed down in England two hundred years ago applying to stage roads.

We are not as aggressive as we ought to be and I feel you can take a step that is much farther forward than you have any idea of now. In establishing your legal department you have begun to grasp with one finger at least a weapon that the employers have grasped with both hands and applied to us for the past twenty-five years. We have as much right to have both hands on that weapon as they have, and I believe when your department works out its problem you will discover you can hale the real conspirators against law and order and the welfare of the community in the state of Illinois before the courts, that you will be able to prove to the public that it is not organized labor that is conspiring against the best interests of the people, but that it is organized capital that is doing this.

You and I for many years have thought of shortening of hours of labor and of securing an advance in wages too much from the standpoint of its meaning a few more dollars in the envelope and another hour or two when we would not be in the shop. To me wages are not what is in the envelope, wages have become something else to me, and so have the hours of labor. Wages determine life, the standard of living, the quality of body as well as of mind that the workers of this country are going to have. The wages you receive determine where you live, whether it is going to be one or two rooms in a crowded tenement or whether it is to be a little cottage with pure air and sunshine all around. The wages you get determine the kind of food you and your families are going to eat. The wages you get determine what kind of children you are going to have. Statistics are dry reading, but the few gathered in this country since the Children's Bureau was established are astonishing. You can determine the percentage of children that die under one year of age by finding out what the father's wages are. In the city of Johnstown, where the well-to-do live, the death rate is fifty per thousand. In the wards where the

poorest paid workers live 271 children in each thousand die every year. The Federal investigator discovered in Montclair, New Jersey, that where the worker receives twelve dollars per week the percentage of infant mortality was 101 in one thousand; where they receive eighteen dollars per week it was less than seventy-four, and when it got to twenty-four dollars a week it was less than fifty in a thousand.

What are wages? What are hours? I am not going to take up your time. In 1888 over 51 per cent of the union cigarmakers died of tuberculosis; in 1913 but 20 per cent died of tuberculosis. The average age of death of union cigarmakers in 1888 was 31 years, some months and some days; in 1912 the average age of death of union cigarmakers was fifty years and a fraction, so that between 1888 and 1913 the union cigarmakers had increased the average length of their lives nineteen years. The Typographical union has interesting figures. In 1900 the average age at death was 41 years; last year they discovered it was 50 years and some months and days. From 1900 to 1915 the union printers lengthened age of their members' lives nine years.

What are wages and hours of labor? They determine how long we shall live, what percentage of our children will live, and, more important than that, the vitality of the children which are born and who do live.

So this is what we are fighting for, not only what we call liberty, but life itself; it is what will determine the standard of citizenship and the standard of living of the great masses that live and labor in this country. Is it any wonder that we become indignant and use strong terms when we refer to the courts which shackle our hands behind our backs, which take our liberties away from us and decide that there is property right in labor? We do not want to take away from any people the rights which belong to them, but we must be determined to preserve our own rights and liberties. No one can work out our industrial salvation for us, we must do this for

ourselves, and this great undertaking for the rights, the welfare, and the standard of living of the toilers of Illinois rests in your hands. You are fully competent to accomplish the task.

Delegate Heywood, Mine Workers: I move that the speech of Brother Frey be printed in pamphlet form and sent out to the different locals, and also printed in the News Letter. (Seconded and carried.)

President Walker: I believe I can speak for the convention in saying we are glad you are with us, John. It has not only been a pleasure, but I believe you have fulfilled our expectations and given us a clear understanding of what this problem means and the need for a real fight on the part of every trade unionist in this state to get it settled right. I think I may go farther and say that if at any time during the conventions of the future you find it convenient to come, Brother Frey, you will be welcome.

Delegate Vanderpoel, Florists: I move you that we tender a rising vote of thanks to Mr. Frey for his presence in the convention and for his magnificent address. (Seconded and carried unanimously.)

President Walker: Mrs. Argo, of Joliet, would like to say a word in regard to the women's paper, "Life and Labor," and also for Miss Henry's book. If there are no objections she will have the floor at this time for that purpose.

Delegate Argo: I have a word to say in behalf of the magazine we have been long struggling to get the union men to subscribe for. Life and Labor is the only working women's magazine in the United States. It is printed in Illinois, and I feel that every man in the state ought to subscribe for it. Here we are, a body of men and women gathered in this hall representing organizations, and out of this vast number there has so far been but a few who have asked for subscriptions. They know what the magazine has done in the past for our

working women of the United States. You know we are not very well organized—about 1 per cent—and this is the medium through which we try to let the union men and women know what we are doing. For this reason we are asking you to dig down in your pockets and part with 50 cents for a year's subscription.

We have a few copies of the book written by our former editor, Miss Alice Henry, a trade union woman, and if any of the brothers wish the book a copy can be secured for \$1.50.

President Walker: As there seems to be no official business to act upon at this time I thought it would be acceptable to the delegates if I invited to the stage the two men now present who were delegates to the Illinois State Federation of Labor convention held in Quincy twenty-six years ago. One of them is a delegate to this convention. He was elected president of the State Federation on that occasion, Brother John C. Harding, of the Typographical Union, Chicago. The other brother is an iron molder, Herman H. Niekamp, of Quincy. He is working at his trade here in the city, but he felt enough of the old interest in our movement to lose a day's work just to come up and see our convention and compare it with the convention of twenty-six years ago. He says he cannot make a speech, he would like to, but I am going to ask Brother Harding to say a few words on this occasion in behalf of both of them.

Delegate Harding, Typographical Union, Chicago: Fellow Union Men and Women: After listening to the inspiring talk of Brother Frey it certainly is a privilege and a pleasure to me, as it must be to anyone, to have the opportunity of addressing a gathering like this and being a constituent part of the great labor movement. The other day when Brother Kearney spoke he said there were fifteen delegates in the convention held in Quincy twenty-six years ago, in 1890. My recollection is that there were in the neighborhood of twenty-four delegates, and I am borne out in that

statement by Mr. Niekamp, who represented the iron molders of Quincy on that occasion.

This convention certainly shows progress, not only in the Illinois State Federation of Labor, but in the labor movement generally, when it is compared with the convention held twenty-six years ago. We then had a loosely thrown together body of men. I believe that was the eighth convention of the Federation. The year prior to that the convention had been held in Bloomington, and the year before that in Peoria. The first convention of the Federation I attended was the one held in Peoria. At the meeting in Quincy I had the honor of being elected president of the Federation. My opponent was an old fellowworker in the Ironmolders' Union, John Campbell, who, I am sorry to say, went to his reward about a year ago. There may not be many people in this hall who knew John Campbell. He was one of the old war horses of the labor movement, and did his share, not only to make the Ironmolders' Union what it is today, but the general labor movement.

The most inspiring expressions I ever heard, the most vivifying thought that can come to any of us, was contained in the closing remarks of Brother Frey when he put in eloquent language, such as I never heard before, the thought that behind the labor movement, behind what some people think is a sordid movement for hours

and wages—behind that is really the essence of life itself; that it means not only life to the workers, but it means life to humanity at large. I am glad indeed to have had the opportunity of listening to Brother Frey and what he said regarding the labor movement.

I thank you, Brother President, and I thank all of you for the opportunity to give this little expression this afternoon of the pleasure I feel in the growth of the Federation since the convention held here twenty-six years ago. I want Brother Niekamp, who is so modest he would not even come

up to shake hands with President Walker until I dragged him up, to at least rise so that you can all see him.

Mr. Herman H. Niekamp, Quincy: Ladies and Gentlemen, Brothers and Sisters in the union cause: When I first met Brother Harding in Quincy, twenty-six years ago, there were about twenty-five men present as delegates and one lady delegate, Miss Connell. I attended the Alton convention the following year. Last evening when I saw by the newspaper that my old friend Harding was here I decided to take a day off to visit the convention and see him.

I have worked at my trade for a little more than thirty-three years, and I am still engaged at it. My hearty good wishes are always with the union cause, which I have been a straight member of all the time. I thank you for this opportunity.

President Walker: Thé Alton convention Brother Niekamp speaks of was held twenty-five years ago.

Secretary Olander: I stated that I would submit a supplemental report on the nomination of candidates because I did not have that matter arranged to include in my regular report. I have secured a proof sheet of the ballot and the list of candidates appears in the minutes. On the ballot the candidates are arranged in this order: Those who received nominations from the largest number of local organizations come first under the positions they are running for. Where two candidates received the same number of nominations for the same position they appear on the ballot in alphabetical order. I will post the ballot on the bulletin board for the information of the delegates. Do not mark it, but let it remain there for the information of all the delegates. If it is used for the purpose of marking up for any particular candidate I will take it down.

Delegate Nockels, Chicago: I rise to request the floor tomorrow in reference to the tax amendment that will be on the little ballot this fall. I no-

tice that the News Letter advises us to vote "No" on that tax amendment. The Labor Advocate of this city advises us to vote "Yes." Now we have to take action in reference to the tax amendment. I believe it is one of the most vital amendments that concern the working people of this state, and they should know something about it.

The Civic Federation of Chicago, composed of the officers of the large public utilities, the big business interests, the bankers and trust scab press of Chicago, the Tribune and Daily News, are all supporting the tax amendment. I am not going to bother you with discussion, but to serve notice that we are going to ask that this matter be brought up. We want everybody to be ready with arguments as to whether we should reaffirm the position we took on this proposition. It is a tax-dodgers' amendment; it means the taxing of the poor men in order that the big interests may reduce their taxes.

The Republicans and Democrats in their platforms have favored this tax amendment, and Mr. Stedman, the Socialist candidate for governor, says he is in favor of it. This tax amendment was the cause of defeating the I. and R. in the legislature, and we will never get it if this tax amendment carries in this election. Therefore I say we ought to take this matter up and settle once and for all time where organized labor stands in this situation.

Secretary Olander submitted the following list of candidates for office as they will appear on the official ballot:

President.

James F. Morris, Mine Workers, Local 999, Springfield.

First Vice-President.

Robert G. Fitchie, Teamsters, Local 753, Chicago.

John M. Irish, Bartenders, Local 286, Peoria.

Second Vice-President.

Ed Carbine, Machinists, Local 208, Chicago.

Theodore Bisser, Brewery Workers, Local 239, Quincy.

Third Vice-President.

Michael J. Whalen, Street Railway Employes, Division 125, East St. Louis.

Henry Bogaske, Cigarmakers, Local 38, Springfield.

Robert Murphy, Molders, Local 44, Quincy.

Fourth Vice-President.

Thomas Kelly, Barbers, Local 140, Streator.

John J. Kearney, Bartenders, Local 153, Quincy.

Fifth Vice-President.

Jos. W. Morton, Stationary Firemen, Local 7, Chicago.

Sixth Vice-President.

Al. Towers, Molders, Local 182, Belleville.

Wm. J. Croissant, Brewery Workers, Local 33, Peru.

Seventh Vice-President.

J. F. Daughton, Retail Clerks, Local 208, Springfield.

Emil Reinhold, Mine Workers, Local 781, Decatur.

Eighth Vice-President.

Geo. B. Jenkins, Carpenters, Local 44, Urbana.

Pat Conley, Mine Workers, Local 730, Gillespie.

Frank Whittington, Plumbers, Local 149, Champaign.

Ninth Vice-President.

Albert Vincent, Mine Workers, Local 2404, Virden.

Peter Kowalski, Mine Workers, Local 620, La Salle.

Waldo Cross, Painters, Local 288, Decatur.

Tim F. Pell, Painters, Local 33, Joliet.

H. C. Maddox, Typographical Union, Local 306, Alton.

Secretary-Treasurer.

Victor A. Olander, Seamen's Union, Chicago.

Auditors.

William Jampel, Barbers, Local 108, Belleville.

J. A. Kain, Cigarmakers, Local 14, Chicago.

Tilden Bozarth, Mine Workers, Local 755, Staunton.

Peter Donnelly, Mine Workers, Local 620, La Salle.

Wm. Livingstone, Mine Workers, Local 929, Oglesby.

Peter Jones, Mine Workers, Local 473, Oglesby.

Bert Gray, Mine Workers, Local 1802, Collinsville.

Greener Smith, Mine Workers, Local 1475, Panama.

Tellers.

Agnes Johnson, Boot and Shoe Workers, Local 94, Chicago.

Fernand Bernard, Mine Workers, Local 1103, Westville.

Rud. Farneti, Mine Workers, Local 929, Oglesby.

R. E. Woodmansee, Typographical Local 177, Springfield.

Peter Zink, Mine Workers, Local 859, Belleville.

Richard Whennen, Hod Carriers, Local 248, Oglesby.

C. A. Morris, Machinists, Local 833, Decatur.

T. T. Moorehead, Cigarmakers, Local 38, Springfield.

Joe McIntosh, Mine Workers, Local 1910, Harrisburg.

The president announced the appointment of George Goodman, Brick and Clay Workers, Schermerville, and Bert Ryan, Iron Molders, Quincy, as messengers to assist those already appointed for that purpose.

At 4 o'clock the rules were suspended and an adjournment taken to 9 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, October 18th.

THIRD DAY — Morning Session

Quincy, Ill., October 18, 1916.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, October 18th, President Walker in the chair.

President Walker: A number of fraternal delegates have presented their credentials today. The credentials committee will not be ready to report on them for some time, and I suggest that any committee that is ready to report will have an opportunity to do so while we are waiting.

The Secretary read the following telegram addressed to Vice-President Fitchie:

"Chicago, Ill., October 17, 1916.
"R. G. Fitchie, Convention Hall, Quincy, Ill.:

"After a four weeks' fight the Chauffers' Union of Chicago has signed a closed shop agreement with the Atlas Taxi-Cab Co., one of the largest companies in Chicago.

"T. F. Neary, Secretary."

Delegate Hefferly, Chairman, announced that the Committee on Officers' Reports was prepared to make a partial report.

Delegate Clark, Iron Workers, moved that the partial report be read in full and then the different subjects dealt with taken up seriatim. The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers, presided during the consideration of the report of the committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON OFFICERS' REPORTS.

Delegate Hefferly, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

Legislation.

Your committee, understanding that Wednesday has been set aside as Legislative Conference Day, asks that the portion of President Walker's report dealing with the Anti-Injunction Conference and the attitude of the different candidates and political parties on the measures presented to them by the officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor be taken up at this session.

Your committee concurs in the calling of the special Injunction Limitation Conference and recommends an endorsement of its action.

Senatorial Organization.

In order that we may be able to carry on more extensive legislation work in the various districts we recommend that the convention call a special session Wednesday night at 7:30 to organize the delegates from each senatorial district represented in this convention for the purpose of considering the legislative situation in their districts and the attitude of the candidates on the measures presented by the State Federation of Labor officials to the different candidates and political parties; also the records of the members of the last General Assembly, so that the most effective campaign can be carried on in each district, and report to this convention.

We endorse the senatorial district plan adopted at the Emergency Convention held in Springfield in 1915, which brought together all the trade unionists in each district to interview candidates and legislators and follow more closely the work of each legislator.

Wet and Dry Proposition.

Your committee strongly endorses the views of President Walker on the candidates for the legislature as representing the "wet" and "dry" interests. We recommend further that President Walker's report on this matter be given as much publicity as possible, both through the Weekly News Letter and the labor press.

School Teachers' Struggle for the Right to Organize.

The matter of the struggle waged by the teachers of Chicago through their Federation for the right to organize is fully covered in the president's report and in the report of the Committee on Schools which was

adopted by the convention on Monday. In this report adopted by the convention a plan for legislation is outlined that will guarantee to the teachers the right to organize and affiliate with organized labor, will prohibit the Board of Education from dismissing teachers without notice and hearing and guarantee permanency during efficiency; to give to Chicago the right to elect members of the Board of Education by popular vote the same as other cities in Illinois and to provide that members shall receive pay for this work. We believe the delegates can most effectively assist the teachers at this time by bringing these measures to the attention of the legislative candidates in their districts so that the teachers may find a state-wide interest in this legislation when the work begins in Springfield next winter.

We further concur in the recommendation of the President that all central bodies in Illinois make a special effort to organize the teachers into local unions to be affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers.

Absent Vote Rule.

Your committee concurs in the recommendation of the President with regard to changing the "absent vote rule" in the legislature, appreciates the need for this change and recommend that the legislative representatives of the Illinois State Federation of Labor do all in their power to bring about the change in this unfair rule.

Attack Made By Senator Sherman on President Gompers.

Your committee absolutely concurs in the expression and recommendations of the President on this matter, and we recommend that this convention, as representing the Trade Unionists of Illinois send Senator Sherman

message advising him of the action of this convention.

Frank Hefferly,
Chairman.
Martin McGraw
John P. McGrath
Albert Peterson
Will R. Boyer
Herman Jessen
Emil Seidel
Tim F. Pell
Dennis Lane
Agnes Nestor
Secretary.

Chairman Woll: Before the committee takes up the report seriatim, the president wishes me to announce that we have with us this morning a number of fraternal delegates. This day's sessions have been set aside for the discussion of legislative proposals considered by this convention. All the fraternal delegates are to be given the same privilege that is extended to any regularly seated delegate in the matter of discussing each and every legislative proposal that is before the convention today. I want to make that very clear so that all the fraternal delegates will feel perfectly free to participate in the discussion on these legislative matters.

Legislation.

Chairman Hefferly read the portion of the report of the committee under the above caption. A motion was made and seconded to adopt that portion of the committee's report.

President Walker: Before you act on that section of the report it might be well to have in our records an interpretation of what it means, so that not only will we understand it fully ourselves, but that those outside the labor movement who are friendly will understand it as well. The adoption of the committee's report on this subject means that everything else in the work of the State Federation of Labor of Illinois will be subordinated to the supreme effort to establish relief from the injunction evil by legislative enactment in the State of Illinois. It ought to be clearly understood, be-

cause every organization has some particular measure it desires provision made for that affects directly its own membership in everyday life, and many of the organizations may wish to make those things the paramount issue in the effort to secure legislation.

If this report is adopted I would like to have it thoroughly understood; I would like to have every delegate here know just what his action means when he votes for it, and that is that, no matter what pet measure you may have in mind you want enacted for the benefit of your organization, at all times and in all places that thing will be subordinated to the effort to secure the enactment of the injunction limitation bill. Brother Frey set forth clearly the experiences of the organizations of working men and working women of the past. He made clear that they have had organizations as strong and powerful as we have now, but by the edict of some one in power that had the full strength of the government behind him those organizations were wiped out over night, and common humanity was thrown back into the darkness to such an extent that it took hundreds of years to reach the place where they had a right to again give expression to their rights as human beings.

Possibly the attitude of the courts in Illinois is worse than the attitude of any other courts in the country, and if their position is backed up by our government and it is established in our practical, everyday working life, then every atom of strength our labor movement in the state possesses will be destroyed. Instead of being an asset to us the movement will be a liability; our organizations will be declared illegal conspiracies, and we will be declared criminals. That is what the judges say when they issue these injunctions, and if that kind of decision on the part of our courts is going to be backed up by the authorities of our country, then we are outlaws, we will be treated as such, and there will be no possibility of making further progress.

Every working man in this state should read these injunctions, try to analyze their meaning and get an understanding of what they really mean. I say to you frankly I have heard men I respect and admire, men I know are honest, declare that a judge has no alternative in the state courts, in view of the action of the supreme court, when an injunction is asked for, but to give it. I say there is no necessity to grant it, the courts are not required to give it, and any man, judge or other individual who attempts to force on the law the tenets of the restraining orders that have been issued in our courts in the past few years is a traitor to the republican form of government of the United States.

If a biased supreme court has made a decision that is supposed to be a precedent for the lower courts to follow, and if the judges in the lower courts are real American citizens, if they are the kind of men who are qualified to be real representatives of our people, having in mind what the men did who established this republic, they would consider it an honor to go to jail or be hung before they would issue such injunctions.

I hope, friends, when this action is taken every man and woman here will get copies of the injunctions that have been issued, read them, analyze them, and think of what they would mean to you if you went out on strike to improve your conditions, if you attempted to exercise your constitutional rights of free speech, free press and free assemblage. Then with all the power you have at your command strive to have enacted legislation that will prevent the issuance of such injunctions against us in the future. This not alone means a fight for life on the part of the labor movement in our state, it means the fight of common humanity against plutocracy and despotism; and if Illinois or any other state in our country allows that kind of precedent to be established it will be a millstone around the necks of good men and women throughout the United States to drag them down. No matter what the price is, a good man and a good woman cannot help pay it

with a smile on their faces rather than submit.

Delegate Ferris, Lathers: I think President Walker has sounded the keynote of liberty, such a note as rang in the halls of Philadelphia when the Constitution and Declaration of Independence of this country were before the people. The very foundation of our liberty was then laid in the three departments of our government, legislative, executive and judicial. Now the liberty that was handed down to us by those forefathers is being trampled under foot, as President Walker has said most ably, by one man having placed in his hands the power, not only to legislate for us but condemn us and act as our executioner.

These injunction proceedings have struck a blow at the very foundations of our country. They have begun with labor, and they have attacked the very corner stone when they had struck at organized labor in this manner. Now it is up to us to do everything in our power in our own localities to see before election day that there isn't a man running on any ticket that is not asked to express himself in the plainest language and give his attitude on this subject of injunctions.

Delegate Foley: We have in our possession copies of the injunctions that were served on us by the judge of La Salle County. We would like to know if this is not a good time to pass them around.

Chairman Woll: We will not have the convention disturbed at this time by the distribution of literature.

Delegate Kasten (Frank): The clay workers are very much interested in injunctions. Perhaps we have had more restraining orders issued against us by judges than any other organization in the state. We have had six put over on us since the first of the year. We are not a big organization, and we don't know why the judges should pick on the humble clay workers. The first one that was issued against us was by the judge of

the Kankakee Circuit Court last March. We went into Rockdale, a little suburb of Joliet, and started to organize the clay workers. Out of about 350 working there we lined up 85 in three days. There were no cases of violence, but this subsidiary of the Steel Company applied to the judge and asked that we be restrained from soliciting members, from visiting the homes of employes or people who might become employes of that clay plant. In fact, we were tied up so tight by this temporary restraining order that we did not have a right to do anything but hold meetings.

Another trick was played there. Every straw-boss and foreman in that brickyard was a deputy sheriff. I did not get into that fight until it was three days old, but I went there armed with what I thought was the law and by bluffing a little saw to it that there was no other arrest by one of those deputies.

We have had other injunctions, some of them issued by the federal courts. While Judge Anderson, of Indianapolis, was enjoying his vacation, Judge Wright, of Danville, granted the injunctions. The worst injunction issued against us was one that was secured by a resident of the State of Ohio, the superintendent of construction plant of the Clay Products Company of Brazil, Ind. The strike was not on the construction plant, but the part of the plant where they made building tile. We had nothing against the superintendent of construction. This man applied to Judge Wright for a restraining order to prevent us from doing him any personal or bodily injury. He also worked the Clay Products Company in, and we were prohibited from trying to force the company to recognize our union or trying to force the scabs or would-be scabs to become members of our union.

This was done without notice. We believed we had the goods on the man who was complainant in the case, and our attorneys appeared before Judge Anderson a week ago, Monday. We fought the injunction on the ground

that, so far as the Clay Products Company was concerned, it was merely a subterfuge, that the superintendent had no cause to be afraid of being hurt, but wanted to protect the company. The company had an opportunity to get an injunction in the state courts, but they wanted to compel us to spend money in the federal courts.

To show how nice the injunction works. One of our fellows ran across the complainant in the case and a little fight followed. A number of candidates for office in Clay County were witnesses. Mr. Larr was arrested on two charges. He in turn applied to Judge Anderson and our boy was brought before that judge. Although we thought we had the best witnesses in the world, Judge Anderson gave this poor boy ten days and costs. In doing so he took a slap at our organizer, who happened to be myself, and also took a slap at the coal miners. He said that for years he had had sympathy with union labor, but after he saw the exorbitant wages the coal miners were getting and how easy they earned them, he felt like quitting his job as judge and applying for a coal miner's job.

This decision of Judge Anderson established a precedent. At any rate the Associated Press sent it broadcast throughout the United States. I read an article in one of the Chicago papers that told us a precedent had been established by Judge Anderson, and that a scab could go from one state to another, get a job, and if he did not like the way people treated him he could apply to a federal judge for relief and get it.

So far as the 5,000 clay workers in the State of Illinois are concerned, we will go as far as it is in the power of human beings to go to get this legislation to prevent the issuing of injunctions in cases such as I have quoted.

Fraternal Delegate Doyle, Farmers: I think, brothers, there is no more important question that will come before you today or any other day in your meeting than this one if

you have explained it rightly to us farmers. It is a fact that just as soon as you have any trouble at all the paid press gets word of the strike and the riot at La Salle to the farmers, telling them the militia has been called out to preserve law and order. Inevitably the farmers get the idea that you are a mob of lawbreakers; they cannot help it. You see how the suppression of the press works, first of all, then the suppression of free speech and free assemblage.

I would like to have you get this idea clearly before the farming communities, because I believe it is a question, if rightly understood, that will bring the farmers and you people closer together. I think you see the position in which we stand and in which you stand on account of these reports we get. Think of that strike in Arizona in the metal mines and the action of that grand man, Governor Hunt. You ought to yell when I mention his name. He would not allow the militia, gunmen and strike-breakers to be called there, and the striking miners themselves guarded the plants. There was not an outbreak of any kind there because the men themselves guarded the plant instead of the militia or paid gunmen. So I realize that right here is the necessity of getting your position understood by the farmers so that we can work more effectively together.

Secretary Olander: I feel that as secretary I ought to apologize for getting into the debate. A secretary is supposed to sit down and attend to his work and not do much talking. However, this is a question of such vital importance that I cannot refrain from taxing your patience by asking you to listen to me, also, for a few minutes on this important subject.

The charge is often made that in our fight against the rulings of injunction judges we are opposing the law, and that we seek certain special privileges for ourselves. I want to call attention to the fact that it isn't law we are fighting against, it is law-breaking on the part of the courts, because they are not acting against us

under any warrant of either statute books or common law.

Further, I want to be one to remind you that it is our duty as organized workers to look out for the interests of all the workers. Our class can only find expression in the same way that other classes of society find it, through organization; they can only protect themselves in the same way, only that part of our people that is organized can protect the rest of the people. The thing we are seeking is not any special privilege, but equality before the courts with all other citizens, and we seek that not alone for the organized workers, but for the unorganized as well.

Let me remind you of how this injunction system has been working out in Illinois, by citing one or two instances. Not very long ago the workers of the American Can Company, at Rockdale, just outside of Joliet (a very large proportion of them young girls), decided to strike. It was not a strike of organized workers, not a strike of members of a "powerful" trade union, but a strike of unorganized young girls, 16 and 17 years of age. The conditions under which they worked were bad, to say the least.

They had no organization, but they got together somehow and went out. They exhibited pay envelopes showing wages as low as 10 cents a day. They worked on the piece work basis and were compelled to stay in the factory ten hours in order to get a chance to earn 10 cents. Even this was not so bad as other conditions. The worst feature of it all to me was that a sixteen-year-old girl had to work in the factory at all. Of course the 10 cents a day wage occurred in extreme cases. I saw envelopes that showed a wage as high as \$6—for two weeks. I saw little girls who presented their argument for better conditions by holding up their mutilated hands—a finger gone, or perhaps a thumb missing.

These children got together and rebelled against the conditions they had endured. They went out on strike. They had no organization, they had practically no leadership among them,

they simply became of one mind and walked out together. I don't suppose these children knew much about the free speech section of the Constitution of the State of Illinois, but they exercised what, after all, is a natural right, more important than any right given by law, the right of talking among themselves and to the rest of the community. They went around Rockdale and Joliet and told their story to the citizens. They felt that public sympathy surely would be with them against the Can Company. So they went from one to another and told their story.

Of course, people listened to them. Who wouldn't listen to a girl who told of having worked for a wage as low as 10 cents a day and then showed her hand from which a finger was missing? The factory of the American Can Company was tied up, they could not get anybody to scab against these girls. And our Constitution, the Constitution of the great State of Illinois, protected them in what they were doing. It has in its bill of rights one of the best free-speech provisions to be found in the Constitution of any state. But as they went on, and the officials of the Can Company began to complain against them, others told the girls about this great Constitution that protected them. They became encouraged and went further. Somebody began to whisper about the courts. They looked at the court house and over the door was written "Justice," and they were not afraid.

Then in the midst of them they heard thundering a voice: "In the name of equity and good conscience I command you to desist." They said, "Of course that fellow is talking to the Can Company." But he wasn't, he was talking to the little girls. It was not the law speaking, but a judge prostituting his powers in the interest of the Can Company, against the little girls and against the entire community, telling them that because of their efforts to get decent conditions for themselves, to better the conditions of themselves and that community, they must "desist in the name

of equity and good conscience." He was exercising his power as a judge to "protect" the Can Company against the girls.

"In the name of equity and good conscience!" Thus is the injunction process used. That "equity and good conscience" had never considered these girls in all the years the conditions I have described prevailed in that factory. It entered the case only on behalf of the company. It set out to break the strike of these girls because the Can Company wanted it broken. That is the court's "equity and good conscience" operating without authority of law, the injunction judges assuming powers over working people that they have not yet dared to exercise against other classes of citizens. The free-speech provision of the Constitution was arbitrarily set aside, unlawfully disregarded by the judge, in order that he might aid the Can Company.

Another case occurred in Chicago. For years the men working in the tanneries had been dragging along earning a mere existence, \$9 to \$12 a week, at work that required strong men. Most of them were married men who had children. A great number of them, I think almost all, were non-English speaking foreigners—Poles, Bohemians, and so on. As time went on they heard of other people fighting for better wages and conditions. They had come to this country with stories of the liberty that existed here ringing in their ears. Finally they went on strike.

After those men were on strike they formed a union. The tanneries were tied up. Later the bosses, after having used the police against the strikers, and after having used the local authorities to the limit against those men without being able to beat them, applied to the courts. What did the court do? It issued the usual injunction prohibiting those workers from doing anything that would do them any good in a strike.

Now let me tell you what happened in this case of the tannery workers.

They were prohibited from doing anything that would subject the company or its employes, or anyone who was contemplating going to work there, to hatred, scorn and anything of that kind. The injunction contained a great many names. Down in the middle of the list was the name of a newspaper publisher. He, too, was prohibited from circularizing or saying or writing anything that might in any way interfere with the business of the tannery owners.

A newspaper man called at the headquarters of the Federation and had this pointed out to him: "If you were enjoined, how far could you go in talking about this strike or writing about it?" He said, "That is the limit. I am going to see Judge Baldwin about it." I was informed later that Judge Baldwin had said he did not know that a newspaper man was mentioned, and that he would have the name stricken out. Do you get the point? Under the law, under the theory of the law, we are all equal, under the Constitution we are all equal. Judge Baldwin said that there is a difference between the poor tannery worker and a newspaper man saying the same things; he confessed that he makes class distinction in his court, and a newspaper man may do this but a tannery worker may not.

That is one of the most vicious and dangerous things in the whole injunction system. We are held to be something different from other classes of citizens. In no case is the injunction used against any other class as it is used against us. Injunctions against business men never interfere with personal rights and are used only to deal with property. I say never. There was one exception.

Col. Selig, the motion-picture magnate, had prepared a lot of Shakespearean plays for exhibition in moving-picture shows. Col. Fabian had prepared a book, or had someone prepare it for him, in which he undertook to prove that Shakespeare did not write the Shakespearean plays, but that Lord Bacon did. He was about to publish the book. Col. Selig went

before the court and said the publication of the book would injure his motion-picture business; that he wanted to enjoin that, and anyway it wasn't true. The case came before Judge Tuthill, who issued a temporary injunction prohibiting the publication of the book. Now what occurred?

The judge found himself in a pretty tight corner—he had to either enjoin perpetually against publication in Illinois or decide in favor of Lord Bacon. He got out of it by ruling that Lord Bacon did the job, and the whole world rose up and laughed at him. Then what happened? Injunction Judge Baldwin, who had been issuing injunctions of just that nature against working people, said in substance: "That is all wrong. The court is being made a fool of." And they called Judge Tuthill before the other judges and compelled him to vacate the order. Later the chief judge took charge of that case, and, when the laughter of the public against the court had died down, he threw it out of court for want of equity. In other words, he held the court must not deal with questions of that kind; that the equity court must not undertake to prohibit publication, or prevent expression of opinions.

Judge Baldwin has been issuing these injunctions against the tannery workers and other workers, making class distinction so clear that any citizen not blinded by prejudice ought to be able to see it. That is the thing we are fighting against. Fighting for liberty! I tell you we are fighting for life itself, as John Frey said yesterday.

Upon what do they base their right to issue injunctions against us? What was it that made the negro of the South a slave before the war? The law, the courts, said he was property. On what basis do they issue the injunction against us now? On the theory that labor is property. The equity system, under the procedure established by the courts themselves, under their own rules, can only deal with property questions; so to get us in their clutches they hold us to be property. That means slavery, call

it by what name you will, and that is the kind of thing we are fighting against. And in the fight for our rights any man who calls himself a free man, who will not stand up and fight, and take whatever punishment comes to him in that struggle, is not worthy of his birthright as a free man. That is what we are struggling for, not for the purpose of strengthening some of our organizations, but to safeguard the great mass of the people and to obtain for all an opportunity to move onward. The unorganized people cannot make that fight; it has got to be made by the organized men and women—by you and I and all the rest of us who have joined forces with each other in the trade union movement.

Delegate Maloney (Elizabeth): I feel I must say something about the injunction because my organization in the last three years has suffered more from injunctions than any other organization I know of. When the hotel and restaurant-keepers of Chicago applied for an injunction to prohibit us from picketing we also applied for an injunction to restrain them from interfering with us. That was such a big question, apparently, that they did not seem to think one judge could decide it by himself, so they had to get three judges to sit on that bench. After hearing the case for two months it took them two months longer to come to a decision; then said that neither one of us was guilty of conspiracy; but they prohibited our organization from picketing, not because we did not have the legal right to do so, but because we were interfering with the rights of the public. The employers carried that to the Appellate Court, and that court decided it was an awful thing to picket peacefully, so they prohibited us from picketing Henrici's. They said there was no such thing as peaceful picketing, and therefore picketing could not be done at all.

On the strength of that another chain of restaurants thought they would take a chance to put us out of business. They went before Judge Baldwin and asked for an exact copy of the Henrici injunction, and got it.

We continued to picket and were told by another judge we had a right to do the things we were doing. Then they asked for an injunction covering 110 restaurants, people we had no strike against and had never had any conference with. They got that blanket injunction which prohibited us from entering those 110 restaurants or speaking to their employees.

Now I will tell you why they got so brave. When Judge Baldwin, who is known in Chicago as the most notorious injunction judge, was up for re-election our organization and the Milk Wagon Drivers rigged up an automobile and told the public just what he had done for us. The union men of this state do not register their protest in the judicial elections. They never commenced to enter a protest at the judicial elections until their own organizations were hit. That is why the judges got so brave. All three of the notorious injunction judges of Chicago were elected by a majority of forty thousand. As long as you fail to protest in the right way and in the right place you will have these terrible injunctions to contend with.

Delegate Rendell, Machinists: This year there have been five of these notorious injunctions issued against the machinists. They were secured by employers running strictly open shops. They were issued where there were strikes of men we had organized, men who had been nonunion prior to the strikes. As far as the organized shops are concerned we haven't had any difficulty in the last five years. We had a strike against the Chicago Screw Company, and it was going on in every respect as well as a strike in the best-organized plants could go on. Then the company got an injunction. The minute those nonunion men knew the company had secured an injunction against our organization it took the spirit out of them and they immediately returned to work. That shows you plainly the effect an injunction has upon a body of unorganized men. I mention that one shop, but the same conditions prevail in all the other shops where the companies secured injunctions.

Those of us who are in the metal industries know what it means to contend with the National Metal Trades' sluggers; but in spite of their combined efforts to guard the plants and slug our pickets the effect is not as bad as the injunction. The injunctions restrain our pickets from doing anything, even walking the same routes the scabs take in going to and from their work, from visiting the scabs at their homes, from sending circulars through the mails or distributing them in any way to the scabs. The fact is they completely tie our hands and prevent us from using any peaceful and lawful methods to convert those men to the labor movement.

Our brother from the farmers' organization said we could not get our side of the case in the press. That is true. We should therefore put forth every effort to control the press to some extent so that these things will not be garbled and our men made to appear as ruffians and lawbreakers. As far as the machinists are concerned, we are heartily in favor of the plan suggested by Brother Walker, that we waive all other questions in regard to legislation in the labor movement and work for the anti-injunction laws. We are ready and willing to lend every assistance we possibly can to help secure the anti-injunction laws.

There is one other important phase of this question I want to bring to your attention, and that is that we as voters of this country have the privilege of electing men to office who will see that all parties get a square deal. As Brother Olander says, there are no organized men who want any special privileges; all we ask is that the law be enforced equally upon us and upon the employers. If we elect the right kind of men to office that is what we will get. If we fail to elect the right kind of men to office we have nobody to blame but ourselves.

Delegate Johnson, Glass Bottle Blowers: We used to have an organization in our place whose members made all the way from \$7 to \$8 a day.

Now it has got to the place where \$2.40 is a stipulated day's wage, yet one man running an automatic machine does more work than nine men did formerly. Men there work twelve hours a day for \$2.20, and it is getting to the place where the glass bottle blower cannot get a job.

Brother Olander spoke of women workers. I don't believe in women working at all in those places.

Chairman Woll: Kindly confine your discussion to the question of the injunction.

Delegate Johnson: There are women in this convention, and it is our fault that they are here. If I had my way they would not be in this convention at all, and they would not be in the industries.

Delegate Haley (Margaret): Yesterday there was argued in the Supreme Court of this state a very interesting injunction case. I will say for the benefit of the last speaker that the people who are interested in it are chiefly women. I will remind him that they have no vote for the men will decide their case. They will have no vote for anyone connected in any way, shape or form with it, for the officers that will have to do with the enforcing of it, whatever it may be, and yet they will have to abide by it. We are not in this convention because we are asking alone for your aid; we women are here to help you as well as to ask you to help us.

This injunction that was argued yesterday is a very different one from those that you have been talking about. We are going to decide by that injunction whether the decisions that have been rendered against organized labor can be applied the other way when we ask it. The organized teachers of Chicago have an injunction against the Board of Education to restrain the board from forcing out organized teachers because they are organized and belong to the labor movement. We have an injunction which we secured in the lower courts,

a temporary injunction, which was sustained by the Appellate Court, restraining the Board of Education from discriminating against us because we are organized and belong to the labor movement, and that injunction is based upon injunctions that Judge Jesse Holdom and Judge Jesse Baldwin have been giving. Their injunctions said in the past that the employers could not discriminate against nonunion workers. Then by the same token the teachers came in and said to these judges: "If the Board of Education in the cases cited cannot discriminate and employ only union men and women, then we ask you to say that they cannot employ only nonunion men and women." And we got it.

The Superior Court of Cook County granted us an injunction based on the very injunction you are condemning here. They said that because the Board of Education is stopped by the Supreme Court of this state from hiring only union men and women, then it is also stopped from hiring only nonunion teachers. But our case does not rest on these other injunctions. If there never had been an injunction against organized labor, our case would be just as strong.

I rose to explain this because a number of delegates in the Chicago Federation of Labor seemed very much troubled when we got our injunction and asked if we were not sustaining the whole injunction business by asking that remedy. We are not. While our injunction was sustained by two Superior Court judges and the Appellate Court, it rests in a way on the other injunctions that the Boards of Education and other public bodies have secured. It has nothing to do with private employers; it only rests on decisions connected with public employers or municipal employers. And if there had never been an injunction issued against a municipality or a public body we would never have had to take this case to court. We would have a case without these decisions against organized labor. We would have a much better case.

Our case does not depend upon these injunctions. We are just as strong against the injunction procedure as we were before we instituted our injunction. We are not sustaining the whole question of injunction simply because we had to resort to that kind of remedy ourselves. We are taking this position: If the courts of this state are willing to go on record—and Jesse Holdom did, he was the one dissenting judge in the Appellate Court—that the Board of Education cannot employ all union people, but can employ all nonunion people, you have a decision that is important. In the Appellate Court Judge Holdom did that. Judge McCurley and Judge Baker held that the Board of Education could not exclude the unionized teachers because they were unionized any more than it could exclude nonunionized teachers because they were nonunionized. Jesse Holdom, who had written injunctions and who had approved of many injunctions in which he said that employers, even public employers, could not discriminate and employ only union labor, refused to turn that around the other way and say that the board of education could not refuse to hire union teachers. He would not dare write an opinion on it; he simply dissented. We would like very much to see how he could turn that around.

Our injunction will help the entire labor movement. We are going to find out whether the supreme court of the state, when the question is turned around, will treat the union and non-union people the same way. We want to know if they will say to one public body, "You cannot employ all union people, you cannot refuse to employ the non-union," and say to the Board of Education of Chicago, "You can refuse, however, to employ organized teachers, you can confine yourselves to the non-union." If that is said you will have a decision that is important, and I hope you will watch that decision with that in mind.

Of course we are looking for a fair decision and we hope it will sustain the appellate court. If it does sustain

it, then you will have a stronger case still on the question of injunctions; if it does not, we are going to the legislature. I think we are going anyway, because the next court may come along and change its mind and do something else. We are going to ask the legislature to pass a bill that will give the teachers of this state the right to organize and affiliate with the labor movement, put it so clear in the law that there will be no question as to the right of the teachers of your children to be part of this labor movement. We have no apology as women for coming into the labor movement. It is too bad you haven't more of us here.

Delegate Winkler, Musicians: The labor movement of Illinois has awakened late to the dangers of the injunction. President Walker spoke truly when he said there is no more important question before us. It may interest you to know that the Chicago Federation of Musicians has been laboring for a period of ten years or more under an injunction which is perpetual. All of these injunctions have been the outgrowth of what is known as the famous case of Typographical Union No. 16. It may be interesting to go back and read the decisions of some of the judges at that time. I desire for one to urge upon all of you, although we have awakened late, to be like the fellow who awakens late in the morning and puts on extra speed to get down to business.

I have stood upon the floor of the Chicago Federation of Labor many times and pointed out how the musicians were hampered by the injunction, and no particular notice was taken of the matter. For a period of ten years they have had that hammered into them in Chicago, but, as I said, they were sleeping on the job. Now we have awakened to the fact that there is something more than wages and hours to be considered in our movement.

I have many times tried to bring myself to the point of view of the two ladies who spoke, but I could never

quite bring myself to it. We were in a peculiar position; in fact, we were in a better position to try out the plan they have adopted—that is, fight the other side with their own weapons—but we could never quite bring ourselves to it. For that reason the Chicago Federation of Musicians has never applied for an injunction against those who secured one against us. Our organization is a militant one. Five times during my terms of office I have been before the courts. Twice our organization was fined, myself as well, and twice let go. On the last occasion of the alleged violation of the injunction the judge in chambers said if I had been guilty I would have gone to jail, as fines seemed to have no effect upon my actions. On those occasions I learned a little more about how to avoid the things the courts had forbidden. If I had not, the Chicago Federation of Musicians would be out of business by this time. It is only by avoiding the orders of the court in a roundabout way that we were able to exist at all.

The injunction was obtained against us by a dual organization not affiliated with any other labor body, and organized only in the interests of the employers and prospective employers. We are prohibited from mentioning that they are scabs or approaching their employes or prospective employes. We must be continually on our guard in seeking employment to know whether or not they have been engaged. We could very well obtain an injunction that would be in exactly the same words, that would be identical in accomplishments if we desired to apply to the courts, but we have never been quite able to bring ourselves to the point of resorting to an injunction.

Fraternal Delegate Long, Farmers E. & C. A.: The work of obtaining the proper law is away beyond this convention. If we could enact the law we want here it would be worthless. The convention seems to be unanimous for the law; but in order to get the law we must think of the

future, we must think as individuals, and we must have the votes. The lady on my left struck the keynote when she said that when this law touches one of your organizations you are ready to go up against the judge or the party that is injuring you. The concern of each one of us should be the concern of the other, and the concern of the other should be my concern. In order to get the farmer vote on such a law as the one you are asking you must "show us," as Brother Doyle has said.

You have not heard of any injunctions issued against the farmers for producing too much, have you? You have never heard of the farmers being enjoined. No, but they practice a different method on the farmers. You must go a little beyond this convention to get this law. In California the farmers organized a Melon Growers' Association. They shipped over 6,000 cars of melons to the markets and were robbed of 400 in each car, making over \$2,000,000 that either the farmers or the consumers were robbed of. Now when we bring this case into court and try to get a trial—and all the evidence is produced to put those men in the penitentiary—we cannot get a trial. We are as much interested in that question as you are in the question of injunctions, and if you can show the farmer where you can help him by correcting that kind of law we can come across and help you.

You were robbed as much on those canteloupes as the farmers were. We produced the evidence and brought it to the attention of the attorney-general in Washington, Mr. Gregory. From 1912 to 1914 those cars were being shipped and we were being robbed. The evidence has been in the court all this time and we cannot get a trial. Why? Because we are met by Mr. Gregory, we are met by Mr. Cline in Chicago, and we are told flat-footed by one of the United States senators in this state that Mr. Cline was put in there for the very purpose of keeping this case from coming to trial.

What we ought to do is go to the polls and vote. You men here are

leaders in your organizations—you can go to the farmers and give them cards and spades and beat them in organizing. When Miss Haley tells us you have not gone to the polls to protect them, what can we expect? What we want you to go is to go to the polls and vote as you talk here in the convention. As the chairman and the secretary have said, we ought to be willing to go to the penitentiary with a smile on our faces—yes, and we ought to be willing to have our right arms severed from our bodies rather than vote for a man or a party that is against labor in any way.

This organization of the farmers went to the Interstate Commerce Commission with another case. We weighed the crates of melons according to the instructions of the railroad company and then put in our bill. The railroad company said, "We are willing to pay, but the Interstate Commerce Commission says we shall not pay." It isn't only the judge on the bench—it is the whole damn rig of them! If you want to correct this thing, go to the polls and vote for men and women that stand with you instead of voting for political demagogues and crooks.

If the governor of one state can tell members of the organized labor movement to guard mines and factories where there is a strike, why cannot the governor of Illinois do the same thing? Look down at Rosiclare, and look at the other places where men and women are being driven from their homes. My God, men! Do you tell me you are true to your colors while women are being driven from their homes? Never! You are not voting right. If you want the farmer to see the justice in your cause, if you want him to understand it, let us carry the message across to him; let us understand what he wants; let the farmer understand what you want, and the two of us in the game will win at the ballot box.

Chairman Woll: The chair is of the opinion that this convention is unanimously in favor of this proposed legislation. I leave it to the delegates

as to whether further discussion will prove helpful. I think we are all of the same mind and all remarks concur in the report of the committee.

Before putting the question to a vote the chair wants to make just this slight observation, that while we call this anti-injunction legislation for the purpose of enactment into law, I think it is a misnomer to call it by that term. Really it is a principle of liberty and constitutional need; it goes beyond wages and working conditions; it goes to the rights of all the people of our country, and in calling for a vote on this I am going to ask the delegates to express their opinion by rising and remaining standing silent for a minute, and during that minute let your conclusion be to go back to your homes and organizations determined to put every ounce of energy you possess into this fight for freedom and constitutional liberty.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously, all the delegates and visitors arising and remaining silent for one minute.

Senatorial District Organization.

Chairman Hefferly read that portion of the report under the caption "Senatorial Organization."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Nestor (Agnes): The first intention of the committee was to have the meeting tomorrow night, but it occurred to us that there are many fraternal delegates here who came for the special order and they may not be here tomorrow. I do not know how many delegates are here who attended that emergency convention in Springfield in 1915, but I know those who did attend will realize the importance of the meeting we will have tonight and will try to impress upon the other delegates the importance of it so they will all be here.

When the delegates got together by districts in the emergency convention

and interviewed their candidates some good work was done. Two evenings ago one of the districts here called a meeting. I think they have outlined a plan for the 49th district that is going to be so effective that we will not have much difficulty, if they carry it out, to get the members from that district who will be in the General Assembly next year to support our measures.

We have all decided the anti-injunction measure will be the first on our program. We have all united on that. The second measure we have agreed to, or that the Federation has agreed is of great importance, is the eight-hour law for women. The third is the enactment of a compulsory compensation law. We do not deal in our report with the section of the officers' reports with regard to the records of the members of the General Assembly, the replies that were received from the candidates on the question of anti-injunction legislation and the eight-hour day and the declarations that were made by the different parties in their platforms. Committees went before the different parties and interviewed the candidates. I want to mention this now so the delegates who will attend the meeting tonight will know how far we are going.

The Women's Trade Union League especially is backing the eight-hour law for women. We have started a national campaign. It began last spring in the New England states, where an interstate conference was called. The New England states have agreed that will be their campaign. Last week in Chicago we held a Middle West conference and took up plans for our campaign, not only in Illinois but in the surrounding states, so that all of them will be working at the same time for the eight-hour law. I believe in that way we will so crystallize public opinion that we will be enabled to get laws we have been working for so many years.

Illinois is far behind other states in regard to laws for women. I think we come about thirtieth in the list. The Western states are the only ones

that have an eight-hour law for women. Somehow we have to look to the West for our progressive legislation, but I believe this year we can get the eight-hour law for women passed if everybody in the various districts will get to work. We are encouraged by the replies we have received. We have tried before to get replies from candidates and failed. The sentiments expressed this year are so much more general that we are encouraged.

We want to work for a state eight-hour law in Illinois, but we are also going to work in Congress for a federal eight-hour law drawn along the same lines as the child labor law. While we are working in Illinois for the eight-hour law we will be working in Congress for the federal law. If we are not successful in all the states in securing the eight-hour law we will at least hope to get a law through Congress so that manufacturing establishments that are affected by the child labor law will be affected by it. You know the conditions that prevailed when Massachusetts passed the ten-hour law. During forty years industry has been so speeded up that the strain on the worker has increased from year to year, and the eight-hour bill of today is not as much of a remedial measure to the women workers as the ten-hour law was when it was passed in Massachusetts forty years ago, and still we are allowing women to work ten hours a day and seventy hours a week.

Our bill is a health bill. It is only as a health measure we can get it adopted. I think you will be interested to know that at the present time a law is pending before the United States Supreme Court, an Oregon law. It seems all the laws that have been tested on the question of women's hours of work have come from Oregon. There is now a ten-hour law for men, an Oregon law, pending before the United States Supreme Court, and a very wonderful brief was prepared by Mr. Brandeis and argued before the Supreme Court by him before he was made a member of that

court. Now he will not, of course, be allowed to help decide that case. If it is upheld it will mean that we can pass legislation limiting the hours of work for men as well as for women. Even though people want to work long hours, if they are going to do it at the risk of their own health and the health of the country, let us say we will not allow them selfishly to do so.

Secretary Olander: I want to call attention to the difficulty of trying to organize and get together in senatorial districts in this hall seated as we are. It ought to be understood that if we are to attempt this tonight we will use this hall and all the others down below. You will be so crowded if you all meet in this hall it will be impossible to work. I think we can get the halls downstairs.

We organized in that fashion in the special convention held in Springfield. It was the hope of a good many of us that we would continue to keep those senatorial district organizations together. I had hoped for that, but it was not done. There were a number of reasons for that. The reports of those senatorial district committees were not made to the office of the secretary of the Illinois State Federation of Labor; they were turned over to the Joint Legislative Board. They were not in my files to proceed with.

I found at that time and immediately afterwards some of our people in various parts of the state were using different methods of organization. Instead of proceeding as they did in that convention they adopted new names and formed organizations separate from their trade union movement. That led to confusion. I hope some way will be found to keep the senatorial district organizations together. I think separate names should not be adopted—nothing will keep us together so well as our organization names.

Just one other word. If we are to have daily proceedings delivered to us tomorrow morning our stenogra-

pher will not be able to take the meetings tonight. We cannot very well have a stenographic report made because we will meet in different places. If there is no objection it will be understood that the stenographer will not be present.

Chairman Woll: The recommendation is to call a special meeting to group the various delegations into district organizations.

Delegate Patterson, Mine Workers: Will all the delegates from each senatorial district compose the committees?

Chairman Woll: Yes. The president in his report outlines every senatorial district. All the members from each senatorial district will be grouped together. You can find out where you belong from the outline of the districts in the president's report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Wet and Dry Interests.

Chairman Hefferly read that portion of the report of the committee under the above caption.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

School Teachers' Struggle for the Right to Organize.

Chairman Hefferly read that portion of the report of the committee under the above caption.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Fursman (Ida L. M.): There are some things I would like to say, but I am very much afraid to say them. Where I live in Chicago people seem to think I have done a little for the labor movement because I have lost my job; but when I came to Quincy I met so many people who have not only lost their jobs but have been put in prison and suffered all sorts of other things I know I have done nothing at all for the labor cause that is worth mentioning.

I would like to show you what my view is of our case in Chicago. It appears to me that about a year ago the rules committee of the Board of Education and then the board itself looked over the teaching force and said to themselves: "We have here about 8,000 people whom we, serving the public of Chicago, employ in the schools. Almost all of these people are women. They are used to dealing with textbooks and with children. If we make a rule for them to obey, they are a very peaceable lot and they will obey it. If they belong to a really strong labor organization they might refuse to obey a rule we would make for them and we would have to go into the courts and get an injunction to compel them to do this. But these people, being all women and being used to dealing with children, will obey and we will not need an injunction; we will simply make a rule to restrain them from doing the things the courts are now restraining labor organizations from doing."

Then they made a rule that we now call the "Loeb rule," from the name of the man who devised it. It forbids us to organize and have any paid officers; it forbids us to affiliate with labor. Those are the two things it actually forbids. Not satisfied with just making the law without a penalty, they affixed a penalty. It says that "any teacher who breaks this rule will not be entitled to any automatic increase in her salary." If she is entitled to an increase this year she will not get it unless she signs a pledge saying she will never join such an organization, or if she is now a member she will resign her membership in that organization.

That brought everything to a standstill in our organization. The Board of Education proceeded at once to send out these pledges to our members. They had sent out several hundred of these pledges to the teachers before we were able to get into the courts and restrain them from doing so and from enforcing the rule which virtually amounted to an injunction. Our injunction was simply to keep them from enforcing the in-

junction they had devised for themselves without the aid of the courts. Under those circumstances you will see that we have more reason than any of you to hope this injunction manner of running our country will be stopped by legislation.

What they really want to do is to enjoin the teachers of Chicago from thinking their own thoughts, from expressing those thoughts after they have formulated them, from in any way coming before the public to tell the public the truth about the educational system and about the rules and regulations that are devised to govern the teachers and make them subservient to the interests. It appears to the teachers today that the great corporations controlling the great wealth of this country have got their hands on the educational system. They wish to control the teachers, they want the teachers to teach your children just exactly the things they wish to have them taught in order that the children may be even more the slaves of the interests than the fathers and mothers are today. That is the situation in Chicago.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Bozarth, for the committee on credentials, submitted a supplemental report:

Delegate Bozarth, for the committee, reported as follows:

MINE WORKERS—No. 999, Springfield.

Stephen Sullivan.

Frank Hughes.

MINE WORKERS—No. 765, Breese.
John Knies.

MINE WORKERS.

BREESE—No. 765; John Knies.

SPRINGFIELD—No. 999; Stephen Sullivan, Frank Hughes.

SPRINGFIELD—No. 2441; J. M. Zimmerman.

HOD CARRIERS.

JOLIET—No. 75; Toney Augustine.

PAINTERS.

CHICAGO—No. 455; Louis Wendelkowsky.

CHICAGO—No. 688; Wm. Mullally.

**FRATERNAL DELEGATES.
FARMERS.**

FARMERS' EDUCATIONAL AND CO-OPERATIVE UNION.

MT. VERNON—J. P. Doyle, State Division.

CHICAGO—J. Weller Long, State Division.

BROWNSTOWN—John Markley, Local No. 627.

LOUISVILLE—N. C. Bryan, Local No. 588.

OBLONG—G. L. King, Local No. 568.

BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS.

STATE LEGISLATIVE BOARD;

J. A. Culp, Chas. E. Long.

CHICAGO—No. 294; Chas. A. Shoop.

BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN AND ENGINEMEN.

CHICAGO—No. 196; Dennis McCarthy. No. 188; Robert V. Miller. No. 499; Geo. J. Weldon. No. 564; W. S. Garlinghouse. No. 47; W. E. Spuck.

CENTRALIA—No. 37; F. J. Purtle. BEARDSTOWN—No. 659; E. L. Shawgo.

BLOOMINGTON—No. 40; Chris Baum.

BLUE ISLAND—No. 511; Harry M. Schlemmer.

DOLTON—No. 621; Chas. F. Wueff.

EAST ST. LOUIS—No. 217; James E. Pirtle.

FREEPORT—No. 138; John F. Laferty.

GALESBURG—No. 477; W. A. Huntley.

JOLIET—No. 355; A. B. McCarney.

LADD—No. 758; Frank M. Smith.

PEORIA—No. 48; Herman Wiedeman.

ROCK ISLAND—No. 39; F. S. Smith.

BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD TRAINMEN.

CHICAGO—No. 456; Wm. A. Robinson.

ORDER OF RAILWAY CONDUCTORS.

CHICAGO—No. 293; M. J. White.

CHICAGO—No. 1; Wm. Kilpatrick.

PEORIA—No. 79; W. W. Carroll.

ST. LOUIS—No. 386; H. W. Bibb.

RAILWAY CAR MEN.

DUPO—No. 334; Chas. Bergmann.

MURPHYSBORO—No. 365; G. H. Brown.

STREET RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.

VENICE—No. 40; C. W. Smith.

BLACKSMITHS.

EAST ST. LOUIS—No. 159; Wm. J. Hartbeck.

BRICK WORKERS.

EAST PEORIA—No. 255; Jess Taylor.

CIGAR MAKERS.

CARTHAGE—No. 207; W. E. Troute.

IRON, STEEL & TIN WORKERS.

GRANITE CITY—No. 17; Chas. Gaumer.

MACHINISTS.

JOLIET—No. 124; Ernest Rodgers.

MOLDERS.

CHICAGO—No. 239; Jno. Martin.

P. O. CHAUFFEURS AND MECHANICS.

CHICAGO—No. 156; H. Smith.

PAINTERS.

CHICAGO—No. 184; James E. Duffey.

STONE CUTTERS.

QUINCY—Frank H. Wetermen.

BAKERY WORKERS.

INTERNATIONAL—Herman Ross.

HANNIBAL, MO., CENTRAL

BODY—Wm. F. Barger.

Local Union 660, Centralia, Ill.—

Frank G. Grear.

Herman Wiedeman.

Secretary Olander: Among the representatives of the Mexican workers who came to the United States some time ago was one named A. A. Rovalo, representing the mine workers of the State of Sonora. He called at the headquarters in Chicago and talked to Brother Fitzpatrick, Brother Nockels, myself and others. We had a very interesting talk with him. We helped him see people he wanted to meet. He has kept in touch with us since then more or less. This morning I received a telegram addressed to me as editor of the News Letter, which I will read:

Nogales, Ariz., Oct., 17,

via Chicago, Ill., Oct. 18, 1916.

Editor Weekly News Letter, Illinois
State Federation of Labor, Quincy,
Ill.

Adolfo De La Huerta, governor of State of Sonora, Mexico, in accordance with the principles of the Mexican social revolution and considering the government of the revolution as a genuine representation of the Mexican working classes, has issued, on the 12th instant, a decree creating the Labor Chamber of Sonora, which will be constituted by a representative elected by workers, one for every thousand or fraction more than five hundred. Credentials will be issued by labor organization boards, making it necessary that representatives have been laborers during the last five years before elections. Representative will serve one year and salary be equal to the members of state legislature, at the state government expense. Chamber will celebrate sessions twice a year, in January, February and July, August. During the recess a permanent commission of three members elected by the chamber will continue studying the unfinished matters and initiating new ones. Chamber's faculties are to study systems for the bettering of the working classes; to render expert judgment for injuries in labor accidents, and to suggest solutions in labor conflicts, and to watch the accomplishment of hygienic rules in all labor establishments; to send repre-

sentatives to the state legislature to render opinions on matters connected with labor legislation; to initiate before the state executive or congress those laws or dispositions that are directed to the benefit and the welfare of the workers. Manufacturers are allowed to send representatives to discuss the matters, but not to vote while chamber begins to perform its duties. This decree established in the whole state the eight-hour day work and minimum salary and a half national gold per day, and no persons under fourteen years are allowed to work. For any work exceeding six days proprietors are to sign contracts with the workers stating their rights and duties, and such contracts are to be free from charge for laborers. A whole day of rest will be granted to workers every week. Claims for labor accidents will be conducted by lawyers paid by the state. Denunciations for violators of this law will enjoy right of public action and violators will be severely punished in order to give full action to this decree. The constitution of the State of Sonora will be reformed in accordance with the spirit of this law. Please acknowledge receipt of this telegram, and your valued opinion is earnestly solicited on subjects which will be considered as a real help for the working classes of this country, as Governor De La Huerta's idea is to encourage and consolidate the labor organization in Sonora and calls for the co-operation of all those who have experience or knowledge in the matter. Address to A. A. Rovalo, Labor Organizer, Hotel Arcadia, Hermosillo, Sonora, Mexico. Mailing today original copy of decrees in Spanish and the English translation. Thanking you in advance, I remain sincerely and faithfully yours,

A. A. ROVALO.

President Walker: I move you that the telegram be referred to a committee of five for the purpose of giving proper expression to our feelings of the progress made by the Mexican trade unionists, and to make suitable reply for the Illinois State

Federation of Labor. (Seconded and carried.)

Chairman Woll appointed the following committee:

John Bennett, Painters, Chicago; Tony Weth, Bakery and Confection-

ery Workers; Herbert Halls, Mine Workers; James C. Kinsley, Rock Island, and Secretary Olander.

At 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

THIRD DAY — Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m. Wednesday, October 18, President Walker in the chair.

Secretary Olander announced the arrangements that had been made for holding meetings of the delegations from the different senatorial districts in the evening.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers, in the chair.

Report of Committee on Officers' Reports.

Chairman Hefferly: The next subject we are to report on is the attack made by Senator Sherman on President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor. I think in order to do full justice to the subject the entire report of President Walker on that question ought to be read.

Attack Made by Senator L. Y. Sherman, of Illinois, on Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor.

Chairman Hefferly read the report of President Walker under the above caption, and read the report of the committee under a similar caption, as presented during the morning session.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Nockels, Chicago: I am in hearty accord with the recommendation of the committee. On October 5 the Chicago Federation of Labor, in conjunction with the Illinois State Federation of Labor, sent an invitation to Senator Sherman to meet in public massmeeting with President Gompers, we to pay the expenses, he

to select a hall in Springfield or Chicago and we would pay the rent. We sent the invitation to him at his office in Springfield. We received no reply to that telegram, but he did give out a statement in St. Louis that he would no more meet President Gompers than he would a tramp on the street corner. I have more respect and sympathy for the tramp on the street corner than I have for a man who has sold the interests of the people of the country to the special interests.

I note there is a statement in last night's Quincy Journal that when this subject came up there were delegates from various parts of the state, and especially from the Chicago Federation of Labor, that would take some exceptions to the strong language used by President Walker. If there are any delegates from any part of the state, and especially from the Chicago Federation of Labor, that think the language used by President Walker in dealing with this subject is too strong, this is the time to get up and put the soft pedal on it. I trust that those delegates, if there are any—with all due respect for men's opinions and believing in free speech—will stand here today and give their objections to the language used by President Walker in dealing with this attack of Senator Sherman on the president of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Sumner, Milk Wagon Drivers, Chicago: The only objection I have is that the language used by President Walker isn't quite strong enough.

Chairman Hefferly: I suppose it is needless for me to say that I heartily concur in the recommendation of the committee, because I am one of the members of the committee on officers' reports and signed the report. Certain statements were circulated in the press before we came to this convention to the effect that Frank Hefferly, as vice-president of the Illinois Mine Workers, was coming into this convention to line up with the secretary-treasurer of the Illinois Mine Workers, Brother Duncan McDonald, to oppose President Walker's report in this connection; in other words, that we were going to come here for the purpose of defending Senator Sherman. I will read some press dispatches that were sent out by some malicious slanderer in regard to me. I will read a news item from the St. Louis Republic, dated October 13, headed: "Attack on Gompers by Sherman to Be Issue in Labor Body." Here is the article in full:

"When the annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor opens in Quincy Monday the arraignment of Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, by United States Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman will be the basis for a political fight which will be carried to the floor of the convention, and which will overshadow all other issues.

"An officer of the Federation who was in St. Louis yesterday says that John Walker, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, will flay Sherman in his annual address, and in so doing will praise President Wilson's accomplishments in behalf of labor.

"Duncan McDonald, secretary of the Illinois Miners' Union, in his annual report already has complimented Senator Sherman, and the two factions will be headed by the president and secretary of the body.

"Walker was formerly head of the miners in Illinois and he has a tremendous following. Frank Farrington, now head of the Illinois miners,

will take sides with Walker and will speak on the convention floor. Frank Hefferly, the vice-president of the Illinois miners, will ally himself with McDonald."

I want to repeat that the people who inspired this article told an absolute falsehood, and they knew it, insofar as it relates to me. I knew of the recommendation President Walker was going to make on this subject; he told me himself what it would be, and I complimented him for writing such a report because of the cowardly attack Senator Sherman had made on President Gompers.

The person who wrote that article did me an injustice. There is not an official of the Illinois Mine Workers that would dare go before the members of that organization and defend Senator Sherman, and I would like to see one of them try it. I think whoever inspired that article did it with malicious intent to injure both Secretary McDonald and myself in the election that is about to be held in the miners' organization. I am not making any defense of Secretary McDonald. I don't know the position he will take in this; I have not talked to him about it. But so far as it applies to me it is absolutely untrue.

I wrote the St. Louis Republic—I could not get in touch with all the papers that carried the statement, but I will read a retraction carried by the Republic and let it go into the records with the article. This is written on the 14th of this month:

"Hefferly Scores Sherman. Miners' Leader Denies He Will Support Sherman at Illinois Labor Convention.

"Frank Hefferly, vice-president of the Illinois Coal Miners, who it was reported would take part in the political fight that would be precipitated at a meeting of the State Federation of Labor which will open in Quincy, Ill., today, in a letter to The Republic declares that he was not at all in sympathy with Senator L. Y. Sherman's attack on Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, as was reported.

"In published reports it was stated that a fight would result when President John H. Walker flayed Sherman in his annual report. Secretary Duncan McDonald, reported to be antagonistic to Walker and friendly to Sherman, declares he is heartily in accord with President Walker and will support him at all times.

"Hefferly indignantly denies that he is in sympathy with Sherman's attack on President Gompers, and that he had disgraced the State of Illinois and shown he was a pliant tool of Wall street."

I meant every word this retraction contains. I say now, and I defy successful contradiction, that Senator Sherman is not a representative of the people of Illinois, not in the slightest degree, but he has proved himself to be the tool of Wall street and the corporate interests in the senate. For any paper to say that a representative of labor can support Senator Sherman after what he said about President Gompers—well, I would like to see the color of the man's hair who would defend Senator Sherman for what he did!

Some time or other in my career I have criticized President Gompers. I do not believe in all of his policies and some of his opinions, but when I make that statement I also want to make the emphatic declaration that there is not a man affiliated with the labor movement who has been more honest, more loyal and has secured more for the workers than Sam Gompers. He has at all times defended the interests of labor from every standpoint; it was through his activity and through the ability he possesses he was able to go into congress and approach the members of that body on the subject of labor legislation, and the credit of obtaining the legislation we have from this present administration is largely due to the activities of Gompers himself. Anybody who will charge that any labor representative will defend Senator Sherman for attacking Gompers is not

to be credited. I defy any such person to stand up and make the charge here.

I hope this delegation will stand up and vote for the recommendation of the committee unanimously. If you do that, Senator Sherman, pliant tool of Wall street that he is, will know where you stand.

President Walker: In reading my report on the subject and their recommendations the committee felt it would not be necessary to read the record of Senator Sherman appended to my report, but I will explain that that record gives the proceedings of the senate while he was a member. It is the official record and kept by the body of which he was a part. He gets tired, and if there is any mistake in them he would have it corrected. The record following that of his action in the senate is the official record taken in the Illinois general assembly while he was a member of the house, and also while he served as state senator in the Illinois state senate.

These records are black and white statements taken from the journals of the house and senate, kept by themselves; he was a part of the institution that kept those records, and if there was any inaccuracy in them he would have had them corrected. I don't think there is a human being who has any conception of what right is and what wrong is and what humanity means who can read those records, kept by the United States congress and senate and the Illinois house and senate, and come to any other conclusion but that Senator Sherman has been absolutely devoid of principle, has been devoid of any human feeling and has been, during all the time of his service in those bodies, a tool of a corporation, working only for the mercenary returns for the dirty work he performed in the interests of the corporations.

I don't expect to touch pitch and not get a mark on me. I don't expect to kick a skunk without having these records himself, without ques-

some evil smell attach to me, and since my attitude has been made known publicly there have been some things done to me that it hurts to think an honest man or woman might be influenced by. I am rather proud, though, of having caused the enemies of what is right so much concern, of having caused them to go to such extremes in their attacks on me. A man can really be almost as proud of his enemies, if he is honest, as he can of his friends, and I am proud of the enemies I make in telling the truth about such men as Senator Sherman.

Since I wrote a statement that appeared in the press Mr. Sherman has known what my attitude is and what I expect to do. Being a politician and having a large payroll, upon which they have everybody they can employ with money or the promise of a political job—some of them in our own ranks, without question—he has had information of what I might do in this convention; and the same kind of tactics have been pursued—I don't know whether under pay from him or not, and if they were not under pay from him they were scabbing, I think, because they could not serve him and the corporate interests if they had been getting the highest scale rate for the kind of work they have done.

Telegrams have been sent out all over this nation, with my name signed to them—they were sent from Chicago while I was in Springfield—making the statement that I was getting money from the coal operators to get a job for myself in our own organization. They were sent to my friends, and some of them have given me the original telegrams. I have been able to run down the office they were sent from, the office of the LaSalle Hotel, Chicago, that is on the unfair list of organized labor. A man who has any regard for his name as a union man would not go near that hotel, and the fact that a man went there to do those things brands him, no matter what he might try to appear to be, as an enemy of the labor movement, and the things he has done brand him as being without conscience, a liar, a character assassin, and leaves room

for no other conclusion than if he could commit murder and get away with it he would do it.

I have been able to get the telegrams identified by the girl that sent them out. He did not write them in his own handwriting. I found the girl that wrote them on the typewriter. Then I was able to get her to identify a photograph of the contemptible beast that had the telegrams typewritten. I expect to get that gentleman's penitentiary record before I am through, and in addition to convict him of this crime. I intend to help the public protect itself from such beasts as he is by giving his additional jail record.

(A number of the delegates asked for the name of the man President Walker referred to.)

President Walker: That will come in good time. They have also sent letters from Girard, Kansas, where the Appeal to Reason is published, to men who were known to be of the Catholic faith, who are supposed to be anti-Socialists, and addressed them as "Dear Comrade," going on to say, "Knowing that you are a Socialist and in favor of the Socialists getting control of the United States, we desire to advise you that John H. Walker has agreed, if he is elected president of the Miners' Union, to turn the organization over to the Socialist party." They go on further and say, "We have looked over our subscription list and we see that your subscription to 'The Menace' has expired. We would like to have you renew it for a year, and then we would like to have you do everything you can to elect John Walker." Signed, "Your Dear Comrade, J. J. Enkerstein."

The man who would stoop to do things of that character, the man who would be a party, with guilty knowledge of another beast doing it, is so low and vile and contemptible that a person cannot think of him without degrading himself. I don't believe there is a human being in the world that knows me personally but knows that I am possibly an extremist in

liberality in dealing with men and women in so far as their religion and their nationality are concerned. I think everyone who knows that if it were the case of a poor Chinaman from the lowest strata of the submerged and he had a good quality in him I would go as far as any human being to give the poor devil credit for it. The only thing that has ever counted with me, or that does count, is: What is the man or woman? Color, race, religion or anything else has never been considered at any time in my life.

I don't expect in this fight to get any special consideration. I know that every good man and woman who has ever taken part in a fight for the betterment of humanity has had every vile thing the enemies of humanity could think of said about them and done to them. I don't expect to be exempt, and, to tell you the truth, I would not like that sort of exemption. I want to get my share like the rest, and will feel I am more entitled to be on our side by getting that sort of thing.

I am bringing these things out to show that Mr. Sherman has done this to labor while a representative, he has done it to labor while a state senator, he has done it while a member of the congress of the United States and he has done it as a member of the United States senate. He has had a bunch of vermin surrounding him at all times, financed by the corporate interests of this nation, that would do his bidding in any sphere of life—and I think perhaps he has been able to find one or two in the labor movement. I hope he hasn't—I am almost sure he has.

If we are going to make progress we have got to expect that sort of thing. I am not grumbling or complaining about it; I expect with that kind of animal to do with it the same as I would with any other, a mad dog, for instance—I have no hatred for the dog, but I am going to protect myself as much as possible and help others to do the same. This experi-

ence has made me feel a little more sympathetic to the Darwin theory than I have ever felt in my life. You know Darwin said that in this world there is a type of human being that typified every other element of life. You know a vulture or a buzzard hates anything that is clean and fresh, that is right. The dirtier it is, the rottener it is, the better the buzzard likes it. If by any chance it gets a piece of fresh, clean meat in its stomach it can't stand it and throws it up.

I am satisfied there are some who represent the lice or the other vermin just as well as they do the vulture and the buzzard. Mr. Sherman's associations politically and his actions through life satisfy me that he does typify the buzzard; the action of these others satisfy me that they do typify the vermin. We have got to fight them; we cannot afford to beat around the bush about it. I say to you that my honest conviction is that Steve Sumner is right when he says that instead of this report being too strong it is too mild; but I must make the admission that if that is an objection, the only reason it isn't stronger is that I could not find any stronger language to use.

I hope this convention will not only act in this matter in such a manner as to leave no doubt as to where we stand, but that in the future you will do everything that lies in your power to protect humanity from men like Sherman or the vermin that are doing his dirty work, that are his associates in this kind of rotten conspiracy.

I want to thank you for having given me the time I have occupied and listening with such patience to my statement. I feel better now.

Delegate Clark, Iron Workers: I don't expect to get the ovation President Walker has received for his denunciation of Senator Sherman, who, in his reference to President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, seemed to want to characterize him as in the same class as the McNamara brothers. I wonder if Senator Sher-

man would be made a martyr in the cause he is such a strong advocate of as the McNamara brothers were. It is true they confessed. I wonder if Senator Sherman will come out and be as open and frank in admitting his guilt in regard to some of the things he has perpetrated on the public. I don't believe Senator Sherman is going to revolutionize things as the iron workers have done. I believe the activities of the McNamara brothers and the Structural Iron Workers brought about one of the greatest revolutions in the progress of affairs in the United States that was ever brought about.

I make the statement I do without fear of contradiction, that the activities of the Structural Iron Workers showed there was unrest in the labor movement in this great country, and I believe they brought about the investigations such as Chairman Frank P. Walsh of the industrial relations committee conducted. I wonder if such activity as Senator Sherman has been displaying will bring about an exposure of the tactics of the people behind him. I don't think so. I am from Chicago and my organization, I believe, in adopting a resolution some three or four years ago, was much more denunciatory than President Walker is in his remarks or in his report. I am one of the Chicago delegates that is against Senator Sherman.

Delegate McDonald (D.), Mine Workers: I happen to be one of those who were especially favored by the press report in the St. Louis papers, the Globe-Democrat and the Republic. According to the statement just read by my friend Hefferly, he and I were supposed to come in here to defend Senator Sherman and attack Jack Walker and his report. I don't know exactly who was the author of that statement, but I have an idea, and I have a splendid idea why he put it in there. When I came to Quincy I met delegates from the vicinity of St. Louis and they wanted to know if it was true I was coming here to fight Walker. I said: "Not that I know of. I have been associated with Walker for years as

an official of the miners' organization and up to this time I have not opposed his policies. I certainly am not going to do it now."

I wrote a correction of the articles in both the St. Louis papers and they gave it very brief mention. I am not going to try to spoil the effect of Walker's splendid address, because we have got to give it to him when it comes to handling that sort of thing, but I want to make this statement in passing: That while I as well as he have disagreed with President Gompers, particularly on the political situation, the time will never come when I will say that Senator Sherman will be in the senate of the United States with the aid of my vote. And there are a number of others in the same position. I think Senator Sherman deserves a little bit of consideration because he had the courage to come out in the open and make his statements instead of doing it under cover, as the other politicians are doing.

As soon as I saw those statements in the St. Louis Republic and the Globe-Democrat, two Republican politicians came to my office and asked if I was going to defend Senator Sherman. I said I would be in a rather peculiar situation, with a Socialist dues card, paid up, in my pocket, supporting a Republican. I said further that I was going to support Walker here, and when he became international president of the United Mine Workers I was going to support him.

Chairman Woll: Judging from the views expressed and from the applause of the speakers I think you are ready to vote on this question. I think there comes a time in every man's life when he must, as we say in the street, show his colors. I think this is a time when the delegates ought to show their colors by adopting this report of the committee by a rising vote.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous rising vote. The delegates remained standing for some time and vigorously applauded President Walk-

er. There was also vigorous applause during his address, and particularly when he scored Senator Sherman.

Chairman Woll: I am advised that this completes the partial report of the committee on officers' reports. This part dealt with matters of legislation. Conforming to the former action of the convention, the committee will now give way to the committee on resolutions to report on such legislative matters as they have before them.

President Walker in the chair.

Report of Committee on Resolutions

Delegate Woll, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 1.

By Delegate J. M. Patterson, B. R. C. of A., Local No. 507:

WHEREAS, In order to keep the rolling stock of the railroads in a safe and serviceable condition, it is necessary to work carmen every day of the week; and

WHEREAS, There being now no sheds or shelter provided for them to work under in inclement weather, they are forced to work out in all kinds of storms; and

WHEREAS, Our winters are of about five or six months' duration and the health of the carmen is placed in jeopardy by being forced to scrape themselves a place in the snow and slush to work, which condition could be eliminated by a proper shed bill; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor go on record as favoring a shed bill for all men engaged in the repair of cars and building new cars; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor favor the establishment of an inspector whose duties shall be to see that the provisions of said bill are enforced; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor use all their efforts to secure the passage of a bill known as "The Car Men's Shed Bill."

Chairman Woll: The committee concurs in the resolution and recommends reference to the legislative committee for action thereon as indicated in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

President Walker: Brother John P. Doyle is here representing the farmers. They have some matters they would like to present to the convention. He has only been able to get away for a day and he would like to have their matters considered while he is here. I take pleasure in introducing the one man, I think, representing the farmers who for a number of years has identified himself with the work of the rest of the labor movement. I believe that as time goes on he will be given credit for taking the initiative and bringing about a better understanding between the agricultural workers and the workers in the large industries. I think he will be given credit for being one of the really helpful influences in the early days—and these will be considered the early days—in bringing them together and bringing about better things for all the people of the state. He has set an example the agricultural workers can follow throughout the rest of the country.

It gives me very great pleasure to introduce to this convention Brother John P. Doyle, secretary of the Farmers' Co-operative and Educational Association.

Address of John P. Doyle.

Mr. Chairman and Friends: I only wish God may give me the power to be able to fulfill the beautiful things that Jack Walker has said about me this afternoon. Two years ago yesterday a couple of the delegates met with a county convention of ours over in Freeburg. It was my first meet-

ing with the labor men. They stated that they wished us to co-operate with them and invited me to come over to O'Fallon. I did so and on the 18th of December met for the first time in my life with a body of labor men. I there met your honorable president. After the meeting was over, Brother Walker said something to one of the members and he said, "No, Jack, I don't believe we can do that." I thought, "Jack! That's friendly, that's comrade-like; that man must be good." Immediately I felt an affection for your president, Jack Walker.

Later your president wrote and asked me to come to your convention at Alton. He said I could come there and pound that bunch for an hour without any danger. You will remember that I did so, and in about a month I got your printed report. As I went over it page by page and saw the things you were doing I said: "Oh, John Walker, why did you let me come and inflict myself on that crowd for an hour?" And I kind of went back on John a little. So I am not here this afternoon to make an oration or anything of that kind, but I want to say one thing, and that is that I am heart and soul with unionism. There are some things you do we cannot go along with you in, but I am satisfied that in the main trend unionism is for good.

The intellectuals, the highbrows, as we call them oftentimes, speak of the good, the beautiful and the true. Well, that is too high for me; that is abstract. I cannot get quite to it. But here I can come to something of that kind—the good. A year ago in Alton your president asked you to stand with bowed heads for one minute as a reverent tribute to the memory of the martyred Lovejoy. I never experienced anything finer than that moment was to me. That is my illustration of the good. Now the beautiful.

On the first of May I went down to Royalton to make a little talk to the boys, and Mr. Royal, after whom the town is named, took me about in his car. When we reached the high

ground I looked down on the little town. All the buildings were little one-story bungalows except three. One of those three was a beautiful pressed brick building, the Labor Temple. I thought, "What a beautiful thing those men down in the mines all day long have done in building that temple."

Now the truth. That is the part we are going ahead and working for, you and I here today striving after. I go into some great, beautiful temple filled with paintings and marble, but it is absolutely dark at night. That is my ignorance. I strike a match and I get some of the beauty, I light a lamp and I get more, I turn the light on in the chandelier and it gives me more of its grandeur, filling the temple with light, and I see all of its beauty and grandeur. My intellect is opening and I see more of the things we need.

We held a little caucus at noon. Not many of us are here. We wanted to bring together a few things, but we found it difficult to do that. The farmers' convention will not meet until December and our ideas are not crystallized, but the others delegated me to mention a couple of things at least we would like to take up.

I wonder if it is necessary for me to read Circular No. 29 that I have sent out all over the state to our members and that has been published in your Weekly News Letter. It is in regard to the road laws. We would like to be able to take that matter up and perfect it. I feel a delicacy in taking up your time because I realize the immense things you are doing here.

I published what was thought to be something of a political letter urging the men to do just what you have urged this morning. I heard the record of a certain senator read all along the line, and I said to myself: "What have you fellows been doing? Why is he there at all?" Do you get that? And so, friends, I published a letter. I have been sending it out right along to our members trying to educate

them. I urged that we select men who are in sympathy with our needs. I sat in a great labor convention and heard a delegate pleading for his cause mention that he had ridden in box cars, and the president said, "You have nothing on your president there." I saw the motive of it. Jack Walker, as they call him, had gone all along the line of these things and was fitted by sympathy to lead. Only by having a man in sympathy with you in congress can anything be done for you.

Of course I was criticized for sending out this letter; it was said I was running the farmers' union into politics. Here is how I started out in that letter:

"Some timid souls may feel that in Circular No. 28 we have gone into forbidden ground; that we should struggle only for ECONOMIC FREEDOM and leave GOVERNMENTAL FREEDOM for others. That we should let the civic orchard severely alone, and allow its fruits to be devoured by every parasite and fungi. Fortunately, though, the brave majority say, 'No, no! We propose to take a hand.' And from now until early November next is the time to trim, to spray, to cultivate and prune. Where better can we begin than with our road law conditions?"

I want to run over this to show you why the farmers seem to be opposed to good roads. I go on and say:

"Out of the haphazard, no-system chaos of the past the Tice road law enacted a systematic chain of official machinery, beginning with the state highway commissioners, creating county road superintendents to work in harmony with him, and generally improving road officialdom in a marked degree.

"The thought of one at least, who suggested changes was that this new county superintendent of roads would be a most valuable link in the chain; that he would know every road, bridge, culvert, mudhole in the country; that he would map all this for official reference; that he would plan a system for the improvement of the

EARTH ROADS of the county, beginning at the points of greatest travel and doing FINISHED WORK as far as funds would allow, quitting this abominable everlasting patching; that he would gather the township road officials together in schools of road construction, as is the Iowa law; that he would have power to compel the dragging of the roads whenever necessary; that he—but pshaw! Why add? In a word, that he would be an EXECUTIVE with INITIATIVE.

"What are the facts? These officers seem to think they were created simply to plan bridges and look after hard roads. For years our state highway engineer has told us repeatedly in Farmers' Institutes that his office was always ready to assist the county highway commissioners and prevent the outrageous graft of the bridge companies. Moreover, to plan a bridge requires the highest technical knowledge of a graduate civil engineer; our average man is merely able to draw blueprint copies. Thus when a county supervisor said, 'Our man has already EARNED his wages,' he meant SAVED his wages; and he was wrong even there; the state highway office still furnishing the brains.

"In the meantime, careful inquiry over the state reveals these results: One hundred and two new officials created, receiving from one to three thousand dollars per year, between TWO and THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS saddled upon us, with nothing of gain.

"Our highway commissioner reports, 'A three thousand salary and a great big booby.' A state representative says, 'No earthly use to us so far.' And another, 'Is a concrete block maker, and is charging \$105 for his make of culverts, where we are putting in a better arch at \$45.' 'Ours undertook engineering work far away in the state and we called him down.' But the climax exists in your secretary's own county. Here the official is drawing his regular salary from the county, and is actually at the same time under \$600 yearly contract as engineer. Serving two masters?

"An attorney said: 'I think he has a right to take other employment if he has time.' This man failed to see the difference between the merely routine clerical office such as county clerk, and the EXECUTIVE office requiring INITIATIVE as described above, branching out, ever striving to have the best record obtainable. The county school superintendent, the city principal, could do the routine work in half the time. Why not each contract to teach a school at leisure?"

We are three or four miles from the little schoolhouse in which we meet and it is impossible to get them in there after their long, hard day's work. This is one reason why we do not succeed. I go on in the circular and say:

"In the meantime what are the conditions? Your secretary lives on a main traveled road three miles out from a 12,000 city; not a spoonful of earth has been moved on this road for four years. From three to six weeks each winter our roads are impassable, dangerous to horse life. For five months they are generally impassable for a load—we are circling mudholes this 23rd day of July. Don't believe me? Here is testimony from 'The Book': 'Man Killed Wednesday.' (From Mt. Vernon Daily Register, July 5, 1916): 'Lee Martin, aged 25, was instantly killed yesterday afternoon as a bridge over Coal Creek, in the northeast part of the county, on the Field and Farrington township lines, gave way under the strain of a load of wood he was hauling over it.'

"You brothers of the factory who are so kindly giving me space in your Journals to reach you, can you understand now why the farmer seems against ROAD IMPROVEMENT, so called? Fifteen thousand dollars per mile for show purposes, for PLEASURE TRAILS, while he and his children waded the mud to school house by day or lodge by lantern light?

"The improvement of the common dirt roads on which the real business is done is the necessity. If you waded

knee-deep to the factory while the owner road down on pavement to the door, would you complain?

"Why does the farmer stand this? Because the condition of travel to the school house itself is the main obstacle to his organizing; it is the 'INJUNCTION' preventing his having a 'COLLECTIVE VOICE.' Brothers, this seeks not to tear down but to better the Tice Law. Let us insist that THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE COMMON DIRT ROADS BE PUT IN THE FIRST PLACE, AND NOT IN THE LAST. PLEDGE YOUR CANDIDATES."

We are not a unit. We have not crystallized our efforts, but we would like in our convention to get together on something, and we want your help along that line if we can get it. There is such a thing as public opinion, public spirit, a great, brooding spirit that seems to rest over people. It is formed by the opinion of every one of us, and never in my life did I see a more emphatic illustration of the birth of public opinion than when you stood up here this morning for a minute, everything forgotten but forming that great public opinion. And we stood up along with you and pledged ourselves to help you in that limitation of injunction bill, and we plead for a little of your help on our side.

There is another point we would like to take up. At the present time the farmers are receiving great injustice through a section of the school law in regard to the selection of the sites for township high schools. The people in the towns get together more easily than we can and start something of that kind. They get the petition, and as they overrule by a large majority the farming element, the high school is invariably placed in the town. Just as sure as the sun rises and sets, if you let a farm boy or girl go into town for three or four years they have left the farm forever—the best blood, the best intelligence we have is gone from us. We need them. Educators concede that we need a rural school. Our life is different from the life of

the people of the town. We need a rural high school in the country, supported by our selves, which will become a social center, a community center for all the good and uplifting things we hope are coming to us in the future. I have finally come to a law in Kansas that meets our requirements fully.

I will turn now to this political circular as I call it, in which I say: "At a congressional hearing on the 'Literacy Clause' of the Immigration Bill, Congressman Sabath, of Illinois, interrupted with this remark, 'I cannot understand why it requires a great deal of knowledge, *such as being able to read and write*, to till the soil and work a farm.'" (Hearings before Com. on Immigration, 1-21-'16, p. 6.) Get this, brothers, get it clearly! Let it soak in, then awaken to the folly, the absolute brutality to yourself and yours from this neglect."

Do you get the idea of the man with the sympathy with you when you sent him up there? Oh, the mistake we make! I sent this letter to the highest educator in the state of Illinois and wrote on the side of it, "I would suggest that we have a kindergarten school up in Congress." And here is his answer, "My Dear Brother: I am interested in your circulars No. 28 and No. 32, and I am not sure but your suggestion of a kindergarten in Congress would have some good effect."

I find the Kansas law provides that a town of more than 300 population can get such a school if there is a petition signed by two-fifths of the voters of the town and two-fifths of the voters of the township outside. The vote shall be counted separately and a majority of the township outside must decide.

I think this is what we need in Illinois. I have gone over the various state laws and this is the best I can offer. We would like to get these things before our convention next month and probably crystallize them, and we hope you will see fit to give us some help. I hope that I may be

able to show the farming community the things I have said here today.

Chairman Woll: I move that it is the expression of this convention that the Illinois State Federation of Labor co-operate with the farmers' organizations in every way possible to secure such legislation as is deemed helpful to the farmers of the state of Illinois, and that we instruct the officers to co-operate with the farmers' organizations in such measures as they may propose in their convention. (Seconded and carried unanimously.)

Fraternal Delegate Doyle: I thank you, and I tender you the thanks of the farmers of Illinois.

Delegate Woll: I move you that we tender a rising vote of thanks to Brother Doyle for his presence with us and his splendid address this afternoon.

Seconded and carried by unanimous rising vote, and with generous applause for the fraternal delegate of the farmers' organization.

Fraternal Delegate Long: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I want to tender an invitation to every local of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to attend the convention of the American Federation of Organized Producers and Consumers, made up of the various farm organizations. The convention will be held in Chicago, December 18, 19 and 20.

I understand the constitution of the Illinois State Federation does not permit its various branches to take part in such gatherings as part of the Federation. If I am wrong I want to be corrected. I understand the law of the American Federation does not allow the local, the state body or the subordinate branches to take part in any outside organization unless the American Federation first takes part. If that be true, in order to obviate any difficulty you can come as delegates of consumers. You surely are consumers. You can be accredited delegates if you come in that way if you are not allowed to come the other way.

Delegate Harding, Typographical Union: I know of no law such as the brother speaks of. I know of no law in the American Federation of the Illinois State Federation that would prevent sending such delegates.

President Walker: I think the law Brother Long formed this opinion on is that which does not permit the state federation or any state or central body to accept in affiliation locals of any body not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. There is no law to prevent our locals sending delegates to that conference.

Fraternal Delegate Long: Do you say now that a delegate from a local union cannot sit as an affiliated delegate?

President Walker: The Illinois State Federation of Labor could not accept in direct affiliation, that is, give a charter to and accept dues and assessments and allow it to be known as a part of the State Federation, a practical, working portion of it, unless the national organization of that local is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Fraternal Delegate Long: If a local of the miners or the carpenters, or any of the others, wanted to come in and pay dues to us they could do so?

President Walker: They would have every right to do it.

Fraternal Delegate Long: That makes it much easier. I will soon send out notices of that meeting in Chicago. Under the misapprehension I labored under I was going to tell them in the letter that we would like to have them there if they could come. Last year there were present representatives from seven farm organizations, seven locals of labor, some city federations, and representatives from Wisconsin, Indiana and Minnesota federations. The officers of those federations were there and participated in our convention. Now I understand you can come in as members.

I hope you will be represented in that convention to be held in Chicago,

December 18, 19 and 20, and that we can carry on this work with other organizations. We are representing the farmers' organizations today, the Equity, the Grange and the Milk Producers. Did you hear about the Milk Producers' strike in Chicago? Even the Onion Growers were there last year. Come up and we will give you some onions!

Resolution No. 2.

By Delegate Geo. C. Slater, Anna Fitzgerald, John W. Bopp, Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The private ownership of the Telegraph and Telephone gives the moneyed interests control of the press news through such associations as the Associated Press and United Press, and is not only a menace to a free press, but also to a united and efficient means of communication, in war as well as peace; and

WHEREAS, The telegraph and telephone service is monopolistic and, when operated under private control, does not render the maximum of public service at a minimum cost to the whole people; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we heartily approve of the immediate postalization of all telephone lines, as outlined in Senate Document 399, in Postmaster General Burleson's annual reports and in H. R. 2471; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we will appreciate your active efforts to bring about the speedy enactment of the proper legislation to consummate this object; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the president of the United States, the Illinois congressmen and Illinois United States senator, Postmaster-General Burleson and Congressman David J. Lewis of Maryland.

Chairman Woll: The committee approves of this resolution and recommends its adoption.

A motion was made and seconded to concur in the report of the committee.

Delegate Bruce, Chicago: I agree with the recommendation of the committee, with the exception of sending one of those copies to Senator Sherman. We will not receive any assistance from him and he ought to be omitted when we send those communications.

Delegate Harding, Chicago: I think the point raised is a good one.

Chairman Woll: The original copy says "senator," while the copy I read from says "senators." Inasmuch as the original calls for only one senator I think the meaning is clear.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 58. ✓

By Fraternal Delegate Robert C. Moore, Illinois State Teachers' Association:

1. WHEREAS, The 49th general assembly enacted the following constructive educational measures:

(a) Added another \$1,000,000.00 to the state distributable fund;

(b) Established a state teachers' pension and retirement fund;

(c) Enacted a sanitation law, providing for the better housing and care, health and safety of school children;

(d) Raised the minimum school year to seven months;

(e) Extended the powers of school boards to include provisions for various social and recreational activities, connected with the public school;

(f) Made it possible for boards of education to establish kindergartens without calling an election; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we indorse all the above enactments; and be it further

RESOLVED, 2, That the next general assembly raise the state school fund appropriation at least equal to the two mill tax.

3. That a minimum wage law for teachers be enacted.

4. That a law be enacted that will empower boards of education to employ superintendents, principals and other teachers for a term of years, and that the tenure of position of superintendents, principals and teachers be made practically permanent, as long as they are efficient and of good character.

5. That the unit system of vocational education be developed and maintained.

6. That a law be enacted permitting school boards to use public school funds for the transportation of pupils in large or consolidated districts.

7. That the compulsory school attendance law be extended to include all children up to the age of sixteen years, and that the enforcement of the law in districts having boards or directors be made the duty of some single official in each county.

8. That a law be enacted providing for a county board of education elected by the people, in each county, one of whose duties shall be to divide the territory of each county into high school districts.

9. That each of the high school districts, provided for in accordance with resolution 8, shall elect a board of education who shall forthwith call an election of the people of such districts to decide whether they will levy a tax on the property in the district to pay the high school tuition of their pupils, or to maintain a high school of their own in the district.

Chairman Woll read the following report:

In submitting our report on Resolution No. 58 your committee is impelled to give expression to a feeling of gratification in noting the close co-operation being established between the Illinois State Teachers' Association and the Illinois State Federation of Labor. The resolution presented

not only evidences the good organizations mean to teachers, but also proves conclusively that the interests of the school teachers and the interests of trade unionists are the same.

It affords your committee much pleasure to recommend a full and unreserved approval and concurrence in these resolutions and instructs the School Committee to co-operate with the Illinois State Teachers' Association in securing the early enactment into law of the several proposals, excepting proposals No. 8 and No. 9. While your committee views these proposals with favor it hesitates in recommending their final approval by the Federation at this time, because of the request made by the representative of the Farmers' Co-operative and Educational Union, and endorsed, that these two proposals be referred to the School Committee of the Federation for attention, and that the officers of the Federation be instructed to arrange for an early conference meeting between representatives of the Illinois Teachers' Association, the Farmers' Co-operative and Educational Union and the School Committee for the purpose of reaching an understanding upon the question involved in these proposals.

Your committee also desires to express the hope that the Illinois State Teachers' Association may find it possible to co-operate with the School Committee of our Federation in all matters affecting schools and school teachers as decided upon by the Federation.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Fraternal Delegate Doyle: There is one point in that report I would like to enlarge upon for just a minute. The school boards in your towns and cities have the privilege of selecting experts from any part of the United States for your principals and superintendents. We farmers elect some good politician out in the country for our superintendent, and oftentimes he is not as intelligent as the people he is expected to get. And so

I wish that Brother Moore had put into that resolution the thought that we ought to get away from that system, that antiquated idea of electing the best politician in the county to run our schools, instead of selecting an expert to do it. I think some of our farm organizations ought to meet with the teachers in order that they might get together on some of these things we want, especially the high school matter.

President Walker: The chairman is of the opinion that if the farmers' organization in its convention will request the kind of legislation Brother Doyle has indicated he will find the teachers in a receptive mood and that the rest of the organizations will be glad to co-operate. The farmers are not the only ones interested in discontinuing the election of representatives of the book trust, whose expenses are paid out of the funds of that corporation, and putting them in control of our schools.

Fraternal Delegate Moore, State Teachers' Association: Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of this convention: I wish to state first that I want to make a little explanation concerning these resolutions and how they happened to be introduced here. Possibly preceding that I ought to introduce the idea expressed to me a few days ago by a man in our community who evidently does not sympathize with some of the things I am quite sure lie near the heart of a great many of the delegates in this convention, in order that you may give the proper consideration and proper weight to what I may say.

I talked to a man in our community a few days ago who is not now engaged in productive labor. He calls himself a farmer, but I am quite sure it is not the type of farmer represented by Brother Doyle. In fact, he isn't engaged in productive labor, but he is chiefly engaged in looking after his investments in farm lands and other investments in banks and railroad corporations. He happens to own a farm which is occupied by two or three ten-

ant farmers, and this gives him an excuse to call himself a farmer. He said he had no patience with the recent enactment by the United States Congress of the eight-hour law for railroad men. "I tell you it is absolutely wrong," he said, "for the Congress of the United States to legislate to give men ten hours' pay for eight hours' work."

And I agreed with him that possibly it is wrong, but I did not agree with him at once, so I said, "Now, my friend, are you sure that is wrong?" "Yes, it is wrong," he said. "Are you sure that men cannot earn all the money they are going to be paid in the future working eight hours a day?" He said, "I know it is possible they can earn it in eight hours." "Well," I said, "considering the fact that these men take chances on their lives and limbs every time they board trains to go to work, don't you really believe, looking at it from your standpoint, they do earn all they get in eight hours?" He said, "I guess they do, I cannot deny that." "Well," I said, "if they earn all they are going to get in eight hours, is it not a fact that in the past they have been giving ten hours' service for eight hours' pay?"

He was cornered, I think, as far as the argument was concerned, and he said, "Oh, you darn fool teachers run your logic clear to death until you go crazy on it!" I told this story so that if some things I say in the next two or three minutes do not strike you right you may know I am talking logic or insanity, or both, according to this farmer. However, that is the first time I ever heard clear logic and insanity coupled together in the head of one man, so I am a new kind of being, in the estimation of that man.

I thoroughly appreciate the fact that I was invited here to this convention as a fraternal delegate from the Illinois State Teachers' Association. I was extremely gratified and complimented one year ago to appear before this convention at Alton and address it for a short time. I was extremely gratified and complimented that you

thought enough of my address to distribute it among the teachers and labor people of this state. However, I was criticized quite a little by some of the teachers, who do not understand the matter as well as I think I do and as well as the Chicago teachers do, for some of the things I said at that meeting, so once again I had to plead that I did not know whether I was talking logic or insanity, but I don't think it was insanity.

What I say this afternoon in defense of this resolution I hope will cement the teachers' organization I represent more thoroughly and more closely to this organization. I believe that if you adopt those resolutions, which the State Teachers' Association has adopted for the last two years, with the exception of the last two concerning high school districts, I believe you will show the teachers of Illinois that you not only expect them to sympathize with you in your movement but that you sympathize with them in their movement for the betterment of the schools in the state and the working conditions of the teachers of the state.

Therefore I deem it a privilege this afternoon to present the resolutions, and I consider it an honor to me and to the Teachers' Association of the State of Illinois to have them considered by this body. What I say this afternoon will come from me, will be from me personally and not from the Teachers' Association, except as it is reflected in those resolutions. I think there are a number of the teachers who desire to be affiliated with this organization. I believe we realize as well as you do that wages mean life, as the man said yesterday, and not only life, but education for the children, which may be considered, of course, a part of their lives.

We teachers who have worked in districts such as I came from in Macoupin County know that one of the ways to get children to attend school longer, to get better school houses and better teachers, is to have better wages paid in that community. Some of the worst schools I know of,

some of the worst conditions for children in schools, some of the shorter years for school attendance are in districts that are unorganized as far as labor is concerned. Therefore, I believe the teachers are learning that organized labor means better schools, better working conditions and better salaries for them.

I hope you will adopt these resolutions. I am quite sure they contain many things that lie very close to your heart, and that you can adopt them and still be progressive in your labor movement as well as being progressive in the educational movement of this state. I will consider it an honor to me and to the Illinois State Teachers' Association, and will guarantee that it will help cause us all to see that we are really working for one common interest, and that is the welfare and the education of the children of this great state.

President Walker: Brother Doyle wants to say just another word on the subject. This is the first time he has been a regular delegate to the convention and he is not familiar with the rules. After he has been here a little while he will be able to say it all the first time he gets up.

Fraternal Delegate Doyle: I want to ask Brother Moore only if we might leave out the resolution on high schools until we confer more together.

Fraternal Delegate Moore: It is not at all becoming, I think, to fraternal delegates to come to your convention and then fall out among themselves. That isn't pitching anything at Brother Doyle, but it seems to me, since you are kind enough to let us come here and co-operate with you and state our cause, we ought to get along together.

I want simply to state the attitude of the teachers toward that new township law. It is called the Community Township Law. Then I believe I will be willing to withdraw those resolutions. We believe there are a great many villages in this state which, with the surrounding country, constitute one

unit and community. And we believe that the country surrounding the villages and towns and cities of this state ought to go along with the towns and villages as a part of their high school territory if the city cannot maintain a high school of its own. We know, and nobody knows it better than I, because I am one of those fellows who did not know enough to be county superintendent any other way, but ran for county superintendent twice and have served eight years. We have several mining communities, such as Staunton, Mount Olive, Benld and Virden, where the tax is up to the limit and they cannot maintain decent schools for their children. The village of Benld paid \$5.79 school tax along last year on every hundred dollars of property; they paid the absolute limit of three dollars for a grade school district and \$2.79 on top of that for a high school district. Still, they haven't as good schools as they ought to have. There are seventy, eighty and ninety children crowded in rooms, with an inexperienced beginning teacher who is paid a low salary. Even with that exorbitant rate they cannot maintain the proper schools for those coal miners' children, because those coal miners are long on children and short on property.

I might add also that the tax dodger in that community is quite common—that is, the man with property knows how to hide it. We think all the property of this state ought to be taxed to educate the children of the state. There is a farming community only a few miles from the place I spoke of, filled up largely with renters. Some of the absentee landlords live in the village of Benld. They have as good schools as they want and the school tax is 17 cents on the hundred. We claim that is not just or equitable. We believe there is a better way to settle this question of high school districts than the one suggested by my friend Doyle. There may even be a better way than we teachers have in mind, but we believe that these rich farm lands with their low assessment for schools ought to help to educate

the children in the crowded, congested communities that are not able to maintain schools, and which the farmers say are the hotbeds of crime and ignorance. The schools they now have are abominable in their nature.

President Walker: Brother Doyle has withdrawn his request. The fact that you disagreed so early in this matter, instead of reflecting on our fraternal delegates, only proves that when you get in here in reality you will make a mighty good delegate.

Fraternal Delegate Moore: I appreciate the courtesy of Mr. Doyle very much. This simply shows that the teachers and farmers haven't got together as they should have done, and I hope we will do so. Now, to show him I can be as nice as he is about this I want those two last resolutions withdrawn. They have not been adopted yet in exactly that form by the State Teachers' Association, and since they are not, in order to prevent any further discussion or feeling in the matter, I would like to have them withdrawn, if it meets the concurrence of this convention.

Chairman Woll: The committee, of course, was unaware of the attitude of the farmers on this question of high schools. The demonstration had here this afternoon proves more conclusively than ever that the Illinois State Federation of Labor, through its School Committee, can be helpful to all these associations. I am sure the balance of the committee will agree with the chairman and secretary to modify its recommendation to provide for concurrence except in Resolutions 8 and 9, and that they be referred to the School Committee with the recommendation that the farmers' organizations and the Illinois State Teachers' Association and the School Committee arrange a meeting to arrive at a full understanding on that question.

President Walker: If there are no objections the last statement of Chairman Woll of the Committee will be the motion.

The committee's report on Resolution No. 58, introduced by the State Teachers' Association's fraternal delegate, was adopted as modified.

Tax Amendment Resolution.

Resolution No. 61.

By Delegate E. N. Nockels, Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union, Chicago.

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor urge the workmen of Illinois to vote "No" on the Tax Amendment to the state constitution at the coming election, November 7, because it is intended by its promoters to legalize tax-dodging by corporations and to put a heavier burden of taxation on all the people.

Chairman Woll: Your committee, after careful consideration, concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Nockels, Chicago: I wish to offer an amendment to that recommendation of the committee, or have some one make a motion after the report has been adopted or rejected. I noticed that yesterday or the day before the "Labor Advocate," a union labor paper endorsed by the Building Trades Council, also called the local organ of the American Federation of Labor, carries eight or ten columns in reference to why you should vote for this tax-dodging amendment, and not one line of what the labor movement of this state stands for. I don't know whether the Labor Advocate thought enough about it to remember that the labor movement of this state, in its last convention, went on record opposing this so-called tax amendment, which in reality is a tax dodger's amendment. I believe this is a good time to start out and tell the alleged labor papers they either will have to sit in with the labor movement or sit out. This paper carries eight or ten col-

umns in reference to the matter. If we stand for this we are a lot of dubs. They beat us to it, inasmuch as the paper was printed on Friday, October 13th. If we permit this to go on we endorse the position of this paper as representing the sentiment of organized labor.

I understand as well as anybody the hardships the labor press has to contend with in order to make a success, but if they have to make it at the expense of the labor movement they ought not to exist. If a firm or corporation cannot exist and pay living wages it ought to go out of business. I think it is time for the labor movement to go on record in regard to the matter for the labor press, and tell the labor press to at least have the decency to support the movement or be held responsible.

At the last convention of the State Federation it was said everybody should become interested in this matter, and if the labor papers did not become interested they would be held accountable. I believe after this motion is acted upon some action ought to be taken on the question of the labor press taking a position opposed to that taken unanimously by the labor movement of the state.

Delegate Haley, Chicago: I have been interested in this question of the tax amendment ever since it was first presented to the legislature, I think six years ago. There are two reasons why we should vote "No" on this amendment. Of course I cannot vote "No" on it—I am in the same class politically as the delegate would have put us industrially if he had his way this mornnig. Women do not have a vote on it. Maybe it is a good thing for the Civic Federation of Chicago that we do not have a vote on it. We have no responsibility, whatever happens to that amendment, except indirectly.

The tax amendment was brought into the legislature at least six years ago. I do not remember whether it came in earlier or not. Its real pur-

pose was to kill the amendment which the labor organizations of this state have asked for repeatedly and which the people of the state had voted for overwhelmingly—that is, the initiative and referendum. As one lawyer expressed it, it was brought in and introduced so that one of these amendments, the initiative and referendum and the tax amendment, could knock the head off the other. The result was that each time the legislature adjourned one of them had knocked the head off the other. It was like the Kilkenny cats—there was nothing left but the tails.

We have two kinds of arguments, one on the way in which this amendment has been handled in this state, and that includes the people, the kind of people and the kind of interests that are back of it. The other is the amendment itself. I am going to deal first with the way in which this amendment has been handled in this state. I have a book sent out by the people back of the amendment. This little book has in it the name of the Civic Federation. I don't know what you people throughout the state know about the Civic Federation, but in Chicago we know that the Civic Federation is opposed at all times, on all occasions, under every circumstance, to anything and everything that organized labor wants. If you want to find out what the Civic Federation doesn't want in Chicago, go to the Chicago Federation of Labor and find out what the Chicago Federation wants. If you want to find out what the Civic Federation does want in Chicago, go to the Chicago Federation of Labor again and find out what that body doesn't want. That organization has existed for the purpose of defeating organized labor and everything it stands for.

In 1911 they began to consider seriously this tax amendment. They brought it into the legislature and we began to suspect they were going to try really to get it through. We were watching for a hearing. I was on the legislative committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor and was instruct-

ed to look out for that amendment. I tried my best to find out when there was to be a hearing. In those days we did not have a bulletin board up in the legislature so we could tell when the committees met; we had to be present when the legislature adjourned to find out. I was up in front so I could hear what the clerks said.

On that particular day I saw the gentleman whose name is on this book as one of the endorsers of the amendment, Mr. Harrison B. Riley. I said to him, just before the close of the session, "Is there going to be a hearing on this tax amendment?" He said, "Not that I know of." I was very sure then there was to be one, so I went up in front and watched the clerk as he read the list of committees. He did not read the name of the committee before which this amendment was pending. Then Mr. Homer Tice, who was interested in the initiative and referendum, arose and said to the clerk, who had finished his reading, "Is the Committee on Constitutional Amendments going to meet today?" "Oh, yes," said the clerk, as if he had forgotten all about it. "When?" asked Mr. Tice. "Just now," he was told by the clerk. "Where?" asked Mr. Tice, and the clerk gave him the number of the room. I gathered up my effects and proceeded to that room. When I got there Mr. Harrison B. Riley was on the floor talking on this tax amendment.

When I got there I sent a note to the chairman of the committee, in behalf of the Legislative Committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor, to give me an opportunity to be heard and to give me time to gather my committee together. I did not have time to send word. I was the only member of the committee who could be present or knew of that hearing. I notified the chairman of that committee that if they recommended that amendment out that day, under the circumstances I would go back to Chicago, report it to the Chicago Federation of Labor, and I was sure it would be considered cause to go out in the state to defeat that amendment. They did not recommend it that year, and

they did not get it recommended next year, but it served its purpose—it headed off the initiative and referendum.

In 1915 they did get it through both houses, but they never had one minute's hearing on it. Mr. Walker arose and asked for a hearing. We tried to get a hearing but we could not get it. That amendment—mind you, an amendment to the constitution which means so much to this state—had no hearing except the one I referred to a few minutes ago, when there was nobody there but Harrison Riley and I made my feeble protest at that time.

Every large tax-dodging corporation in this state is for this amendment. From Julius Rosenwald, the head of Sears-Roebuck & Company, down they are all for it. You know Julius Rosenwald himself was dragged up for tax dodging and he doesn't want any more of it. This amendment isn't the amendment the people of this state voted for. In 1912 there was submitted to the voters of this state a tax amendment. It was submitted to stop the woman suffrage amendment. In order to kill the woman suffrage amendment and get something else ahead of it they got this tax amendment out. Nobody ever saw the petition, nobody knows where the names came from, and I have yet to find a man, woman or child who ever saw circulated in this state one of those petitions; yet when the time came to file it a petition with two or three hundred thousand names was filed.

A tax amendment was voted on in the fall of 1912. While it was not what we wanted at the time, still it was a different amendment from this, it was better, it gave the legislature the power to classify all kinds of property and to exempt any class it might choose. When the legislature of 1915 came to submit a tax amendment they slipped in one word that is a joker, the word "personal," so that the legislature under this tax amendment will have the power to classify only personal property and to exempt such classes in whole or in part as it sees fit.

Now I will tell you what the legislature has done in thirty years in this state to exempt personal property. It has never in its history passed any kind of an exemption law except exempting corporations. The legislature in the early seventies passed a law exempting certain kinds of corporations. I would like to tell my coal miner friends that one of the kind of corporations it exempted was the capital stock of corporations for mining coal, and by so doing it has cheated the children of every miner for nearly twenty-five years in this state, for the mines have not paid their fair share of the taxes because of that exemption law. It exempts corporations for mining coal, it exempts newspapers and three other kinds of corporations.

In 1905 an assessor in one of the counties went out and assessed the capital stock of mines in that county, and they thought he was doing an awful thing. The mining corporations took it into the court and the Supreme Court of this state held that that exemption law was unconstitutional. In all those years the corporations were protected by a law which in 1905 was declared unconstitutional.

In 1909 the Supreme Court declared the law that was adopted to follow it was unconstitutional. Every kind of law that could be passed was passed and the Supreme Court knocked them out. Now they want an amendment to the constitution and this is the one they want and the one they are asking you to vote for. It is the amendment that labor paper is daring to ask the working men of this state to vote for. I know where the labor paper got that stuff. It was sent them by the pound. We call it "boiler plate" in Chicago. It is sent to all the newspapers of this state and they are paid for inserting it. I challenge the editor of that paper to say he is not being paid for inserting that stuff, and he is not doing it in the interest of the workers, but in the interest of the tax-dodging corporations of this state.

I feel it is almost helpless to make the struggle against it. This is the only body in the state that can make

an effective struggle, but if every delegate in this house, after we adopt this today—and I assume we are going to do it—but if every delegate in this house will see to it that every member of the union he represents is furnished with one of those little leaflets that has been passed around here and told to put it in his pocket and keep it until election day, then when he goes into the election booth take it with him and mark the ballot as this is marked, the Civic Federation and the rest of the corporations that think they can fool the working men and women of this state will know they will have to find some other way to do it than to use the labor papers. The labor papers of this state should have consulted the Illinois Federation of Labor before they printed that stuff. I would like to see instructions go out from the convention today asking the labor papers of this state to print its action in this matter.

If that tax amendment is passed the movement in this state for real amendment on the question of taxation is killed during your lifetime and mine. That is why these men want it. For sixteen years I have been out of the schoolroom working for the Chicago teachers, held out of my school room in order to have the public utility corporations of Chicago pay their taxes as other people pay them. For two years we made a fight and two public service corporations, two street railways, one electric light company and the Chicago Telephone Company in June, 1902, paid \$600,000 into the public treasury of Chicago, not only for Chicago, but the whole state, and they have paid that \$600,000 since June, 1902. They paid in 1902 for the years 1900 and 1901. They have paid nearly ten million dollars, and it would have been much more than that if we had not been cut down by Judge Grosscup and he was sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The reason why sixty-eight teachers are now out of the Chicago public schools is because we stood in the breach and made those corporations pay their taxes, and, not only that, but we tried to get public ownership of

those utilities. Now they want to defeat us and the movement that grew out of that. We threw ourselves into the initiative and referendum fight, and the men who are behind this tax amendment are openly and above-board against the initiative and referendum. They will not come into a committee meeting, but wherever we get them to say anything they openly admit they do not believe in the initiative and referendum.

If this amendment passes and the legislature has the power to classify personal property—and they will classify it—do you think they are going to pick out your personal property? Are they going to take your homes and classify them and exempt them from taxation? Not in a thousand years! They will pick out the stocks and the bonds and the securities. That is the kind of thing they intend to exempt from taxation, and they openly say so. They will take the corporations that are now forced to pay, if anybody will take the trouble to go into the courts and make them pay, and exempt them, and the people of this state will have no voice in it. At least say to the legislature, "If you are going to do that, wait until we have the initiative and referendum so that if a legislature selects one of the classes of property of these favored interests to exempt we can veto it." Until we do get the initiative and referendum I am opposed to giving the legislature that power.

It is mighty hard now for the people you send to the legislature to get any legislation in the interest of labor. What will it be if you pass this amendment and make it to the interest of these corporations to have more ownership than they have now in the members of the legislature? You will find every tax-dodging corporation in the state at every legislature seeking to get tax exemption, and it will get it.

While this amendment was pending and we were trying hard to get the initiative and referendum—your labor representatives from the state, as well

as our Chicago Federation of Labor and the teachers of Chicago—the secretary of the Board of Education of Chicago came to me in the lobby and said: "The Board of Education wants that tax amendment. The Board of Education has given its promise that there will be no opposition to that tax amendment, that everybody connected with the Board of Education will refrain from opposing it. If they do not do that, the interests in Chicago that want the amendment will kill the bill we want—that is, the bill to save the teachers' salaries from being cut?"

I said to him: "Does that mean me? I have no official connection with the Board of Education. I am employed by the teachers." He said: "That means you." I said: "You mean that if I oppose the tax amendment the people in Chicago who are for that tax amendment will kill the bill we want?" He said, "Yes." I said, "Mr. Larson, I am against that amendment because I believe it is fundamentally wrong. I would be against it for what you have said if for no other reason."

I went to Mr. Walker that evening and told him I hoped he would call a meeting of the Joint Labor Legislative Board for the next morning and give me an opportunity to come before that board and make a statement. He did so, and I requested the board to send out a communication at once to every member of both houses and state our position again on that tax amendment. That was done, and Mr. Larson and the Board of Education could not say, if they got the tax amendment through, that I was silent.

Mr. Larson came to me again and said, in the presence of another gentleman, about what he had said before. I refused and again he told me that the Board of Education wanted that tax amendment and they did not want anyone connected in any way with the Chicago schools to oppose it. A few months later the president of the Board of Education brought in a rule which provided that the teach-

ers of Chicago could not remain in the public schools and continue to support an organization that had an official who was not a member of the teaching force.

They could not tell me what to do, they could not dismiss me, but they did dismiss thirty-eight teachers belonging to the organization who supported the opposition to this tax amendment. Then they said the teachers could not have such an organization. The Board of Education of Chicago has made up its mind it will not have anyone connected with the school system in any way that cannot be told what to do, whether it is in Springfield or Chicago. I would like to send back the challenge to the Board of Education and say: "The teachers of this state will not submit to that kind of dictation; they will be free to say what they think; they will be free, if they think a thing is wrong, to say it is wrong, even if the Board of Education says it is right; they will retain that freedom and they will retain the right to maintain an organization with people who are free."

I don't think that has anything to do with your judgment on the value of the amendment, but it means at this time very much. Mr. Moore knows, as I know, that it is a very difficult thing for him to oppose this amendment. He knows the kind of interests that are after him, and I am surprised that he is still secretary of the State Teachers' Association and able to address you this year as a fraternal delegate, and I will predict that if he is with you a year from today as secretary of the State Teachers' Association it will be because the labor organizations of this state have been aroused and have come to find out what it means to have free teachers, teachers who have opportunities to express themselves and have others who may express themselves free from them.

I know something about the struggle to get Mr. Moore out and he knows something about the struggle to prevent the Illinois State Teachers'

Association from having a fraternal delegate here. He could talk for an hour on the viciousness of that tax amendment; he understands it from stem to stern, and they don't want people in the public schools of this state that do understand such things. They know that teachers, understanding it and taking concrete action on the right kind of taxation in this state, would pull the pillars from under the special privileges.

I remember the woman who gave nine reasons why she never married, and the ninth one was she was never asked. Now after giving all these reasons I am going to say, as Mr. Moore would have said, first of all, that this measure is in the interest of privileges, it is to prevent the great privileged corporations and individuals of this state from being taxed. This is an amendment in the interest of those privileges and it is those privileges that are paying for the insertion of such articles as have been referred to in this labor paper. I hope you will go after your local papers and ask why they are for this tax amendment and if they believe it is right.

President Walker: I believe if we stay in session for a few minutes we will be able to dispose of this question. It is nearly five o'clock. However, unless there is objection from the floor the chair will overlook the time registered on the clock and continue in session. The clock is stopped.

Chairman Woll: I shall endeavor to be very brief in presenting the viewpoint of the committee on this subject. First of all, there has nothing come to the attention of the committee, nor is the committee aware of any reason why the action taken by the last convention of the Federation on this subjection ought to be reversed today. We believe the reasons that governed the convention a year ago are equally as strong and justified, if not more so, today than they were at that particular time. All the publicity that has been given the new proposed constitutional amendment and reasons why it ought to be adopted are largely predicated upon the fact

that there is tax dodging of intangible property.

In order to do away with tax dodging we are now to adopt a constitutional amendment which will legalize tax dodging. That is the only reason advanced for its adoption. Between the two evils—I will not contend our existing laws are ideal or perfect—the proposed constitutional amendment is worse than the one we have at present and I would much prefer the existing evil than the evil proposed in this constitutional amendment.

Why have we the tax dodging of the intangible property today? We find that our legislatures do not define what property is. We find that courts in their functions have described and defined the property. When this constitution was written the existing laws and many of the ideals of property we have today were not then in existence. It has been by the usurpation by our courts of power to determine what property is and what property rights are that we find ourselves in the present dilemma, and now a constitutional amendment to get us out of the hole that our courts have put us in is proposed.

Now, what do I mean by that? We have properly distinguished between real and personal and then again the law distinguishes that property which is tangible, which we can see or feel, and property which is intangible, which cannot be felt or seen, but is purely an imaginary creation of our courts. And with their powers they have held that commercial securities, credits, contracts, even labor is property, and if they are willing to enforce the present law they ought to pay for that property that courts have given them. But they say it is impossible for you to compel them to pay, or that extensive machinery must be devised in order to bring about that result. And the only means they can see of overcoming that is by legalizing it and making the exemptions legal.

If this constitutional amendment is adopted we know what the legislature is going to do. We find that in the

report of the Secretary of State, in making his explanation as required by law of this amendment, it is very clearly shown that the purpose is to exempt intangible personal property. It shows you plainly it is capital stock, commercial security, notes, bonds, etc., that they intend to exempt or minimize to the lowest degree possible from taxation. The household affairs of the workers are not intangible, but tangible, and it is very clear in all reports made that it is not the intention to exempt or reduce the taxation upon the holdings of the working class.

But, leaving that question aside, this proposes to vest in our legislature a great power which is at present denied it by the constitution. I am opposed to giving the legislature that power. I say to you frankly that the legislation enacted by our legislature thus far does not give me confidence to trust it with the power that is being asked for in this constitutional amendment. You may rest assured that the poor working man will pay more taxes on his household affairs and those who have intangible property will go free or be taxed in the lowest degree possible. Between the two evils much do we prefer the present evil than the one now so subtly and cunningly proposed. No logical reason has been presented at any time why this convention ought to reverse the opinions and the conclusions arrived at one year ago in the Alton convention.

Secretary Olander: A question was asked me a moment ago that makes it necessary for me to say a few words. Somebody asked me, "Didn't the News Letter circulated here yesterday advise us to vote 'Yes' on the tax amendment?" It did not. It urged the defeat of the amendment in very plain and vigorous language. The trouble was that my questioner had confused our News Letter with one of the local papers.

Those of you who got the News Letter yesterday, and I believe nearly all delegates did, and those of you who attended the last convention will

remember the instructions that were given to us then to print the proposal as voted on by the people in 1912 alongside of the proposal as adopted by the legislature, so that a comparison of the two could be made. That was done in last week's News Letter. As to the attitude taken on it, the article says, "We say the tax amendment is dishonest, it is downright trickery, it will relieve the corporations, not the people. It should be defeated decisively." It is not the first or second article on the tax amendment—there have been a number. The News Letter goes to every labor paper in the state and there is no reason why they should not know the position of the Illinois State Federation of Labor on this question.

President Walker: The farmers have taken a position on this tax amendment question that is not entirely in accord with the position of the Federation. Secretary Doyle would like to make a statement showing what their position is.

Fraternal Delegate Doyle: I think possibly Brother Walker has not stated the position rightly. I rather feel that the farmers of the state are going to vote for this amendment. I do not give this as official, but from some communications I have had from other farm organizations outside of our own, I feel that they are going to favor it. This being the case, I took the privilege of sending out one of my circular letters to our organization headed "The Tax Amendment," in which I tried to give both sides. We had never made any expression and I felt it was not my place to go out and instruct our men. With your privilege I will read the letter I sent out. I start out in this way:

"A very important question will come before the voters of Illinois for decision on November 7, in the matter of a taxation amendment to our state constitution, and many requests have come asking for a basis of intelligent discussion in our lodges. Your secretary herewith tries to give a short synopsis of both sides.

"It should be first understood that our state constitution says, 'All property shall be taxed at a uniform rate.' The amendment seeks to give the legislature power to make VARYING rates for different kinds of PERSONAL property. It is admitted also that it would give the power to partially or totally exempt any personal property.

"Taking now the argument of the PROS or fors: Our present constitutional taxing provision was arranged in 1870, when the 'wealth of the state was still largely tangible (in plain sight), but that intangible property (money, notes, stocks, bonds) has increased immensely since then, and is probably now one-third of our wealth. This is a form of wealth not easily reached by the assessor, for in 1870 real estate paid 67 2-3 per cent of the taxes, and instead of the vast personal property lightening its burden, it now pays 70 1-6 per cent. Every old hen of the farmer is assessed, every stick of the worker's little home goes in.

"The moneys and credits given in for 1915 equaled \$265,000,000, while it is estimated that there is one billion on deposit alone, and a like amount in mortgages. A Chicago debate on a public policy question some years ago brought out these facts: Twenty-seven aldermen paid not a cent of taxes; others paid in less than \$500; city officials drawing \$6,000, \$8,000, \$15,000, not on tax list; Chief of Police ——— paid \$7.50 tax; out of 58 householders in a fine residence block only four paid taxes, Chicago illegally exempting household under \$300.

"The tax-dodging criminality can be explained as follows: Suppose a city house is worth \$9,000. The assessor usually takes it at about \$6,000. It is listed then at one-third, being \$2,000. In a town I have in mind the tax rate is over 8 per cent today, thus making this property pay \$160. Take, now, \$9,000 in money, assessed at par, and the one-third at like rate gives \$240.

"If the owner should be unfortunate enough to have this merely on bank deposit it would take in taxes from one-half to two-thirds of the income, and thereby force him to be a tax dodger to live.

"Enforce the law! A study of taxation proves this to be impossible. Adam Smith gives four principles, one being this: 'Take from the people as little as possible over what it brings in.' Say, the next greatest, puts it thus: 'With least vexatious circumstances that harass * * * without bringing anything in.' Ricardo sanctions these. Prying methods cost more than the returns.

"They claim that New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Vermont, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota have adopted the plan of classified rates, with fine results. That in 1880 New York real estate paid 87 per cent of the taxes and in 1913 only 65 per cent, thus bringing out hidden multiplied millions to the assessor when given a fair rate, and showing that people are not naturally dishonest.

The ANTIS or Against.

"The Federated Labor Unions are most bitterly opposed, having resolved against it in their annual convention. They say their first wish was an amendment for the initiative and referendum; losing this, then a constitutional convention; failing in that, then the power to amend our constitution more largely at one time; and that this has been used as a 'buffer' against all these. The skeleton co-operative stores law which we obtained by reason of our out-of-date constitution proves the justness of this claim.

"Their slogan is 'Down with the tax-dodgers' amendment.' The battle cry is worthy of attention, but it must be backed by facts.

"While a great millionaire, who was sued for taxes, appears very promi-

nently as a 'pro,' yet tax-dodging has been shown above to be peculiar to no one class. We are all alike.

"The great object is the FEAR OF THE LEGISLATURE. They say plainly, 'Legislature owned by the interests.' 'Always have favored them in the past.' A leading farm thinker says, 'It is dangerous to give the legislature such broad powers in matters of taxation.' One of our most eminent assemblymen says, I ask them what is their program, and they tell me they expect to leave that to the legislature. I reply, 'Ah, no! I know the legislature too well to trust it that far.'

"Keeping in mind the large representation from Chicago, this from Roosevelt's essay on 'PRACTICAL POLITICS': 'Much the largest percentage of corrupt legislation comes from the greatest cities; indeed the majority of the assemblymen from the great cities are "very poor specimens indeed."' In a careful poll of the New York legislature he said, 'About one-third open to corrupt influence.' When the Mulhall expose revealed the greatest corruption ever known in Congress, the matter was hidden away in a committee for a year, lamely reported, never discussed five minutes, and a Chicago congressman turned out as a scapegoat.

"This man is again a member, and has received a letter of commendation from the speaker of the House. Just some events to show why people are afraid; but they offer no remedy for the intolerable conditions of the present.

"After all, Roosevelt found but one-third corrupt, which gives us a two-thirds majority, and hope to look up and go on.

"Let me beg, brethren, that you discuss thoroughly and vote intelligently."

I am in a condition at the present time which compels me to leave the farm. I have a little farm, worth probably \$7,500. I want to sell it if I pos-

sibly can. Renting under the present condition is bad for the land. If I sell my farm for \$7,500 and go to Mount Vernon to live, under the present conditions I must become a tax dodger, I cannot help myself. That money will be taken in at par, and if I have it on deposit at 4 per cent in the banks the tax rates would take two per cent of it. When you go right and examine both sides of a thing you will usually find the other side has some good in it. When you find that possibly the other side has some good you will lose your intolerance. I am in hopes the vote, whichever way it goes, will be the best for you and for the poor men generally. Personally, however, I shall vote against the amendment.

Delegate Davis, Barbers: This is a question that should not be treated lightly. I feel the delegates in this convention should be instructed to take these pamphlets back, as Delegate Haley suggested, and give them to the local members of the various organizations so that this subject can be voted on intelligently. I therefore move that each and every delegate take back as many of these pamphlets as will supply the members of his local.

Delegate Mott: The taxes on the farmers for the last few years have increased until they have now reached a place where they are exorbitant. The literature that is sent out to the farmers is different from the literature sent out to the laboring class in this respect. They have orators going around the country telling the farmers that the purpose of this amendment is to reduce the taxes on the farmers. A great many of them have never had the other side explained to them. If there is any possible way to furnish the farmers with these pamphlets it will help, I am sure, to kill the amendment when it is voted on.

Delegate Seidel: I move that the remarks of Miss Margaret Haley be printed in the News Letter and distributed to the local organizations.

President Walker: Let us dispose of the pending motion first.

Delegate Dunn: There has been some reference to intangible property. There is one phase of the matter that has never been touched upon which I think is important and in which lies the real motive for the attempt to pass this tax amendment. During this recent wave of industrial business prosperity that has swept over the United States the large corporations have been accumulating a great amount of surplus. In some quarters a great deal of surprise has been expressed that the surplus has not already been distributed in the form of stock dividends. During the past twelve months a tremendous amount of stock dividends have been distributed. The Standard Oil of Ohio has distributed 100 per cent stock dividends. Armour & Co. is getting ready to distribute stock dividends of eighty million dollars, and in Swift & Company twenty-five millions is going into stock. I have no doubt this amendment is desired because certain forms of stock are intended to be exempt from taxation in the future.

In a number of subsidiaries of the Standard Oil corporation there is an enormous amount of surplus. The Anglo-American, with a capital of \$9,372,000 has a surplus of \$10,170,576 awaiting distribution. The Atlantic Refining Company, with a capital of \$5,000,000 has a surplus of over \$25,000,000. The Ohio Oil, with a capital of \$15,000,000 has a surplus of over \$65,000,000. The Standard Oil of Indiana has a capital of \$30,000,000 and a surplus of \$26,000,000. There are several other subsidiaries of the same company that have large surplus, among them the Standard Oil of Kansas, with a capitalization of \$2,000,000 and a surplus of one and one-half millions. There are nine subsidiaries of the Standard Oil, without touching any other industry, with a total amount of surplus awaiting distribution of \$202,397,676.

The fact that this surplus exists is the reason for the desire for the tax amendment. It will be put back into capitalization and the workers will be required next year and the year after to pay dividends on this extra capital-

ization. This is one cause of the destruction of liberty and of life that was spoken of yesterday. There has been a growing tendency in the last two years to exempt all stocks. The inducement to people to buy them which they use in their advertisements is that stocks are exempt from taxation in certain states and from the federal tax.

Chairman Woll: I wish to say only a word in regard to the letter read by Brother Doyle, which I believe more clearly indicates why the position of the Federation has been the right one and why it ought to be confirmed. He calls attention to the remarkable increase in the intangible wealth of the state, and it is the intention to have that exempted by the legislature, making the burden of taxation fall upon the holders of real estate. That is best indicated in the very illustration given by Brother Doyle in the possession of his farm. If he sells the farm, goes to Mount Vernon to live and places the money in the bank he will have to become a tax dodger under the present law, and under the new law he will not be freed from taxation. The measure of taxation upon the purchaser of his farm will not be changed. That is the selfish feature about this. What difference does it make whether I have a thousand dollars in bank or in property, why should not the possessor of that

amount of wealth be compelled to contribute to the operation of governmental affairs and the advancement of the social organization? There is no reason whatever. Unconsciously Brother Doyle brought out the fact that under this amendment, if adopted, intangible property will be free from taxation and tangible property will have to bear all the burden.

Delegate Kinsley: I move the previous question.

President Walker: The chair has not entered into the discussion, but he wishes to add to the statement of the chairman of the committee that the man who owns the \$7,000 farm has got to make his living on it, and if anybody is entitled to a decrease in his taxes he is the one who ought to have it rather than the man who has his money in the bank.

Fraternal Delegate Doyle: I will be paying more than the man on the farm—about double what he pays.

The motion to close debate was seconded and carried.

The report of the committee on the tax amendment resolution was adopted unanimously.

At 6:30 the convention was adjourned to 9 o'clock a. m., Thursday, October 19.

FOURTH DAY — Morning Session

Quincy, Ill., October 19, 1916.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Thursday, October 19. President Walker in the chair.

President Walker: We have with us today a representative of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Brother Herman Ross. I have known Brother Ross for about ten years. He is one of the active workers who does his bit wherever he goes, and he is

going pretty much all the time. I take pleasure in introducing Brother Ross.

Address of Mr. Herman Ross.

Mr. Herman Ross: Mr. Chairman and Brothers—This is one of the most important conventions ever held in the State of Illinois, because it is on the eve of the national election. I am representing the Bakery Workers, whose trade is known to every one

of you. The men I represent labor during the night so that you will have something to enjoy when you arise for your breakfast. I would like to see the rank and file of the trade union movement pay a little more attention in the future to the line of goods their families purchase. The staff of life the bakery workers make is the most important thing on your table, and it should be pure and sanitary. The old and the young, the poor and the rich enjoy the goods the bakery workers produce.

I have traveled many miles in your state, from Chicago to the coal mining states in the south, and as a rule the sanitation of bakeshops is very poor. You should see that the bakeshops in your localities are as clean as the kitchens in your homes. I want to call attention to the danger the bakery workers are confronted with at the present time. I refer to the great bread trust that is known to most of you in the labor movement. I know that you have all found out about the high cost of living. Your loaf of bread today isn't any larger than a decent ham sandwich was a year or two ago. We have enjoyed good conditions, but the increase in the cost of living has more than balanced the good conditions we have enjoyed.

Your president has shown to you in the report of the co-operative stores how to lower the cost of living. He has shown how you can do your own purchasing. We have one of our greatest enemies in control of the machinery that we are depending upon, especially the transportation. I refer to the bread trust. It is only a matter of a few years probably before they will control the mills and the wheat fields as well and you will be entirely at their mercy. If you earn four dollars a day and are compelled to pay out \$3.50 for your living you surely will not have much left for the rainy day. You should begin to prepare at the present time for the future by supporting your friends and condemning your enemies, as you were told yesterday to do. You can do that on the 7th of next month.

You have a power in the State of Illinois that every corporation realizes, providing you are going to go to the polls as a united body of men and women. It is necessary to do that, not only for your own sake and mine, because we have only a few more years to travel, but you should lay the foundation for the liberty of the future generation, so that they may be as proud of their forefathers as we have been proud of ours.

I want to thank you for this opportunity, and before closing impress upon your minds that the union label is as valuable to the trade unionist as the cross is to Christianity, and if you are loyal to that trademark of yours and employ union labor the future will be an easier road for the union man to travel.

Delegate Harding, Allied Printing Trades, Chicago, in the chair.

Delegate Kain, for the Committee on Credentials, submitted a supplemental report, as follows:

LAUNDRY AND DYE HOUSE
DRIVERS AND CHAUFFEURS
—Chicago, No. 712:

John G. Clay.

NURSES AND ATTENDANTS—
Peoria, No. 14755:

Frank Clark.

CIGAR MAKERS—Chicago, No. 14:
Barney Cohen.

UNITED MINE WORKERS—Lin-
coln, No. 815:
Edward Maher.

TEAMSTERS—Chicago, No. 727:
T. Nearey.

PRINTING PRESSMEN—Quincy,
No. 171:
C. Obrock instead of J. Timmerman.

UNITED MINE WORKERS—
Springfield, No. 731:
Henry Fishwick.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Nockels, Chicago: When we adjourned yesterday we were under the head of resolutions. I wanted to introduce a motion following the discussion on the tax amendment resolution, but did not have time to do so before adjournment. Is it in order to do so now?

Chairman Harding: If there is no objection you may read your resolution. Before doing so, however, the secretary has a letter bearing on the subject he wishes to read.

Secretary Olander read the following letter:

"Quincy, Ill., October 19, 1916.

"To the Officers and Delegates of the 34th Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

"Ladies and Gentlemen—

"Having read in the Quincy Morning Whig that the Labor Advocate had been criticised on the floor of the convention yesterday afternoon for having devoted space in its issue of the 13th inst. to articles favoring the Illinois tax amendment, I desire to say that the Labor Advocate never received one cent for running the articles. This is the first knowledge it has had that organized labor was opposed to the tax amendment, or it would not have given it space. The Labor Advocate has for the past five years fought the battles of organized labor and will continue to do so. It is owned and controlled by members of organized labor, and devotes its columns to furthering the cause of organized labor. Had it known that the Alton convention took the action against the tax amendment we would most certainly not have used the matter, and we assure the delegates that the Labor Advocate will oppose it in the future. In a talk with Delegate Woodmansee of Springfield, Ill., last evening, we learned for the first time that labor is opposed to the tax amendment. Assuring the delegates of our sincerity in and loyalty to the cause of organized labor, we kindly

ask your co-operation in the great cause we are all fighting for.

"Sincerely and fraternally,

"The Labor Advocate;
"R. S. Benedict, Editor."

Delegate Nockels offered the following motion:

Moved that this convention go on record as most emphatically repudiating the so-called union labor newspaper called the "Labor Advocate," of Quincy, Ill., which alleges that it is the "Local organ of the American Federation of Labor," along with its articles advocating the tax dodgers' amendment to the constitution of this state, which is contrary to the unanimous action and declarations made in the Illinois State Federation of Labor convention of 1915 (pages 67 and 217). It has also undertaken to misrepresent the aims and purposes of the Illinois organized labor movement. In addition to the foregoing we call upon the Quincy Central Labor Union and its affiliated local unions to take similar action and direct the officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to request the officers of the A. F. of L. to take all steps necessary to prevent this alleged labor paper from advertising itself as the local organ of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion offered by Delegate Nockels was seconded.

Delegate Arnold, Painters: If you will take this so-called labor paper—I call it a pretty rotten sheet—you will find on one page an article about the McCormick Harvester Company, and at the bottom of it the statement that they are most friendly to organized labor. It says of the Standard Oil that it is lovely to organized labor. These articles claim that these big corporations are friendly to organized labor and do everything in their power to make life happy for their employees. Now these articles are lies.

We see these papers in every convention. They are used by a lot of cheap politicians to delude the members of organized labor and the public. The men who come for the first time to the convention think this is a fine paper and decide to have one at home. I have been connected with a labor paper for years, and I would be ashamed to see such an article in it. The gentleman says he did not receive pay for it. Maybe not, but somebody else probably got the money. The union men of Quincy should get rid of that paper as quick as possible before it will poison the minds of the members and do more harm than good.

President Walker: We are dealing with one of the rather important questions, in fact, one of the vitally important matters that affect the labor movement. It is a rather peculiar situation. Our central bodies and the labor movement up to the present time have not had an adequate press, owned, controlled and published by these bodies. Because of that condition different individuals throughout the state and throughout the nation are publishing so-called labor papers, ostensibly in the interests of the labor movement, a great majority of them by union men, and I think a great majority of them by men really in sympathy with the labor movement. They have the endorsement of the labor movement generally, but at the same time there are a few of them that are being published as labor papers, because being published under that name the editors who own and control those papers are able to get the endorsement of labor. Most of these papers carry advertisements of firms opposed to organized labor. Many of them are calling candidates for office who are enemies of labor the friends of labor.

In our present status a union man has the unqualified right to say that the worst enemy we have is the best friend we have. We may question his judgment, but we haven't any right to question his right to do it

under the present status of our movement. Now this question has been brought to the attention of this editor. He makes the assertion that he received no money for publishing those statements. That may be absolutely true; I have no right to question it. I know of nothing to indicate that it is not correct, although I really think he could have gotten some recompense for favoring it. He says it is the first time he knew the labor movement of Illinois was opposed to the tax amendment. That also may be true. I think, however, you will agree that if he had been seeking information on that question he could easily have found out what our attitude was. He says he did not know our attitude, and for that reason published the statement; that if he had known it he would not have published it; and now that he is informed he is going to oppose the tax amendment and stand for the position of the Illinois labor movement on that question.

The harvester advertisement is absolutely wrong. I think, however, you can find 50 per cent of the papers owned by individuals and published as labor papers throughout the country that carry these harvester advertisements. You will also find the advertisements of other firms that are absolutely unfriendly to labor, such as the subsidiaries of the Standard Oil and the Steel Trust, under a friendly guise and different names, advertised and commended by these labor papers.

If our members are going to be able to act intelligently and unitedly that sort of thing must be stopped. There is no way we can get information on these questions except through the labor press. At the same time we cannot make fish out of one and flesh of the other, and I venture the assertion that if you pass a motion this morning and take the position that every labor paper in the state of Illinois should have its right to say that it represents the labor movement withdrawn, fifty per cent of those

papers would be put in that position this morning. It think it should be done. I don't think a man should publish a labor paper and continue to endorse the enemies of labor and call them the friends of labor. That is a worse influence in our movement than to have it published in the papers owned and controlled by the business and commercial interests and employers. Coming from a supposed friend, with the official O. K. on it, the people are misled and influenced to support our enemies.

In view of the statement the editor of the Quincy Labor Advocate made this morning, how can we go any farther? I believe that under the circumstances, and after the matter has been aired and his wrong position in this matter and with regard to the Harvester advertisement pointed out it may have the effect we desire. But in the face of his own statement and in view of the present situation with reference to labor papers I feel the only thing we can do, if we want to get the best results and not handle one and let the others go, is to have that motion withdrawn. I believe that will be for the best interests of our movement.

If you feel like passing the motion that the labor papers cannot carry advertisements either of a man, a firm or a party that is unfriendly to labor, saying they are friendly and recommending them to the labor movement, that paper, upon proof of that being done, will be repudiated as a labor paper and condemned. If you make that apply to all alike you will be taking a step in the right direction; but I do not see how we can consistently pick out one, especially in the face of the statement that he is going to endorse the position of the labor movement and advocate it, and that the paper is going to be published purely in the interests of the things the labor movement stands for.

Chairman Harding: Do you wish to comply with the suggestion of President Walker?

Delegate Nockels: I am not in favor of withdrawing the motion. I would

be in favor of having it referred to the Executive Board to take the matter up with the editor. I don't care what advertisements a paper prints if they are printed as advertisements, but I cannot understand how a labor paper can devote eight or ten columns to an amendment organized labor is opposed to without being paid for it, and print very little if anything that is in favor of the things the organized labor movement stands for. However, I am willing to have the motion amended that it be referred to the Executive Board for investigation and report.

Delegate Woll: I move that the substance of the motion be referred to the Executive Board of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and that it investigate the matter, not only as to this particular paper, but as to every other paper in the state of Illinois holding itself out as a labor paper, and to take such steps as are necessary to try to have every labor paper conform to the ideals determined by the Federation. (Seconded.)

Secretary Olander: As one member of the Executive Board I take the instructions of the Federation very seriously, and if we get orders of that kind they will be carried out. But it will not be pleasant work. If this motion is passed it is clearly unloading the problem on the Executive Board. That may not be the purpose of the motion, but if it is adopted that is what it amounts to. As to an investigation of this particular case it seems to me that this convention can make it. If you want a general investigation of labor papers after the convention has taken a clear and definite stand on the proposition, well and good; but to put the matter into the hands of the Executive Board now, without definite action by the convention, would not be right. I think, in view of what has developed here, that you would be putting too much on the Executive Board. If you want an investigation, it should be referred to a committee of this convention and some definite program laid down for the Board to follow. Don't put us in the position

of having to fight some of the labor papers in this state when you do not want to do it yourselves.

Delegate Seidel, machinists: I am opposed to the substitute. The official organ of the American Federation of Labor advertised the Union Pacific Railroad, and during the Harriman strike there were nearly 5,000 men out. In spite of that they advertised it as the best road to travel over. The Machinists' journal advertised a scab tobacco company. I would always advocate consistency in the convention, yet the labor papers throughout the United States published the advertisements of scab firms, poisoned the minds of the members and induced them to buy such goods.

If you want to make an investigation you should take notice of all the labor papers that have the advertisements of scab articles in their columns. The Weekly News Letter of the American Federation of Labor and the Weekly News Letter of the Illinois Federation of Labor are the two best labor papers in the United States, in my estimation, because they do not contain any advertisements whatever. I think if you make an investigation it should include all the labor papers throughout the United States and those that have scab advertisements in them should be condemned.

Delegate Woll: In support of the motion I offered. To start with, the motion made by myself contemplates, not placing any duty on the Executive Board to condemn any newspaper in the state of Illinois, but it requests that they use their efforts to have every labor paper in the state conform its policy to the aims and purposes as decided upon by the Illinois State Federation of Labor. I think there is no one who can take exception to that viewpoint, that this Federation ought to do everything in its power to have the labor press of Illinois truthfully and accurately express the viewpoint of the labor movement of the state.

It is true the motion contemplates an investigation of this and every

other labor paper. The investigation ought to be had, not to reflect discreditably upon this particular paper or any other paper. I am inclined to accept the statement of the editor of the paper as absolutely true, knowing something of the publishing world from being engaged in the printing industry. Most of the papers do not print their entire publication. Many of them buy their papers printed, many of them in Chicago, and edited there, with a few columns to be filled out on their own local press. It is true in matters of that kind the editor may not be held entirely responsible for it. Then we have what is known as the boiler-plate methods, and there are other methods in vogue; but what I believe we ought to do is to find the source from which this matter finds its way into the publication, who is paying for it and who is getting the money for that kind of advertising.

It is true that such an investigation means a great deal of work, and I have no particular desire to burden the Executive Board with further work. I am perfectly agreeable to have this convention appoint a special committee. The matter cannot be dealt with in a day or a week, it will take some time, and I think if a special committee is appointed it ought to report to the Executive Board some time in the future, or to the next convention of the Federation; but I believe an investigation for this purpose and for the purpose of having the labor press confine its news policy and its advertising space to the purposes and ideals and aims of the labor movement.

Delegate Dunn, Painters: I am opposed to the amendment, because I think drastic action should be taken right here and now in the case of this paper. The fact that this paper advocated the tax amendment is not the worst feature of the case. We have here an article praising the Standard Oil Company, an Indiana corporation. I understand this corporation has a local plant. In disseminating the idea that this corporation is fair to labor we are allowing to go forth informa-

tion that is as false as hell. Frank P. Walsh in his report says that we should take back the mines, the mills, the lands and the water power that are being stolen from the people by fraud, force and cunning. This company took from the people by fraud, force and cunning certain resources that belonged to the people and capitalized them at a million dollars. Two years ago it issued a stock dividend of 2,900 per cent and increased its capital stock to \$30,000,000. Ever since that time the workers in that plant have been exploited to pay the extra interest on that \$30,000,000 worth of stock, which represented nothing but the profits they themselves produced. Today they have another surplus of \$26,000,000 in the treasury awaiting distribution, which means, in addition to their present capitalization, a capitalization of \$56,000,000 on their original capitalization of \$1,000,000.

I believe when we see a dangerous snake we should cut its head off. We should not allow this influence to exert itself any longer over the labor movement of Illinois, to convey the impression to the union men, and to non-union men, too, that corporations that are exploiting them and destroying their very lives are friends of labor. In view of these things I believe the original motion is not half drastic enough.

President Walker: I don't believe there is anybody in Illinois that has any more individual experiences because of individually owned papers that are published ostensibly as labor papers than I have had. There is only one way you are going to have papers that will conform to the wishes and ideals of the trade union movement and advocate the things you want, and that is to publish them yourselves. You can make all the investigations you want to, you can agree on the most drastic rules you wish and enforce them as closely as it is possible to enforce them, and whenever an individual who can be influenced in that way comes to the place where he can get the price to use its columns and the influence he has built up by pub-

lishing it as a labor paper and conforming to your wishes, whenever he can get a price big enough from the enemies to pay him to use it in their interests he has the opportunity to do so, nobody can prevent his doing it. And some of these publishers will do it. The only possible way to have a paper conform absolutely to the wishes of the labor movement is to have it published by the labor movement.

The Chicago Federation of Labor, I think, is about as well able to publish and control, pay for and put into the hands of the labor movement, a paper of its own as well as any labor body in the state. Wherever that can be done it should be done. In a small town, where the burden may be too big for the few faithful—and it is pretty hard to interest the general membership to the extent that they will pay the subscription price and take an active interest in a local paper, as they should—but wherever it is too big a burden to print a paper of their own in that way they are going to have this kind of labor paper published. I can name a dozen of them, yes, if I have a little time I can name thirty or forty of them that carry regularly advertisements of firms unfriendly to the labor movement.

When we go to the editor of a paper carrying these advertisements he will say, "I am willing to do anything you wish if you will point out some source that will enable me to get along without them and live. If you will show me a way to live without those advertisements I will take them out. If you cannot point out some other course I can pursue and live I don't think you are treating me right in asking me to cut off these advertisements. My columns are open to the labor movement; you can publish anything you wish, but I have to carry those advertisements to live."

What is a man going to do under those circumstances? I say to you frankly again that it is no theory with me; I am so thoroughly convinced in the matter that I think I know it is true that you will not get the kind

of press you want and need until you print and publish the papers yourself. Anything you may do in the way of investigation will only point out temporarily the things some fellow has done that you don't want done, and he will do as the editor of this Labor Advocate has; he will promise not to do it again, and he will keep his promise, but next week he will have something else equally objectionable. If the motion is adopted you will keep the Executive Board busy continually investigating so-called labor papers in this state, and we will get nowhere in the end.

I believe, since everything has been made clear, that unless we can find some means of guaranteeing a labor paper's existence and conforming absolutely to our wishes there is only one course we can pursue and that is to take the endorsement of the labor movement away from it, let it publish what it pleases under its own name and on its own merits. Let us do that, so they cannot strike us with our own O. K. Unless we deal with the question in that manner we are wasting time in the convention, you are proposing to waste time on the part of the Executive Board, and later on there will be no other conclusion reached than that the only paper that should get the O. K. of the labor movement is the one we own, control and publish ourselves.

Delegate Bertelero, Mine Workers: I am not in favor of the motion. The editor of this paper says he did not receive any money for publishing this article. The other day when the convention special edition was handed out it stated at the head that all who advertised had contributed to the special edition. In Colorado the Standard Oil was responsible for burning men, women and helpless children, and whenever a paper takes money for an advertisement like that and tells you the Standard Oil Company is a friend of labor it is wrong. I don't see where the friendship comes in.

We should support the papers we publish ourselves. Instead of buying

the papers we publish we usually buy yellow papers printed by the Hearst concern, the Post-Dispatch and the St. Louis Republic. A paper like the United Mine Workers' Journal, the News Letter and some others, are not bought as often as the yellow papers are. When we buy no papers but those printed for our own benefit we will settle the matter. When we conclude that the fight of one is the fight of all and buy our own papers we will reach the goal we are seeking and not until then.

Delegate Bruce, Street Railway Employees: There is no question in my mind that this Quincy Labor Advocate is unfair in its advertisements. I notice in one of them it says that the street car company here is very fair to organized labor. The street car company in Quincy is so very fair to organized labor that it pays a rate of 15 cents an hour to men who start. If they stand it for six years they get 26 cents an hour. I fail to see the fairness!

We know that any newspaper published cannot exist from the sale of the newspaper itself; it must throw its columns open to advertisements. A paper cannot shut off any advertisements if it accepts them at all; it must either have a policy of accepting advertisements or cutting them out entirely. In Chicago we have the Day Book, which does not accept any advertisements whatever; it is strictly a newspaper. It hasn't been in existence for over five years and up to the present time, out of all the union men in Chicago and vicinity, it hasn't a subscription list of over 30,000. That paper hasn't an advertisement.

In Chicago we are working now to try to get a paper owned and controlled by labor. It is a difficult task and requires a lot of money. The penny the paper is sold for at the present time hardly pays for the paper in it. I don't see how you can condemn this paper for its policy when it is the policy of every other labor paper in the country. If this

man goes along and says he is going to take the proper position on the tax amendment I don't think it would be fair for us to say we will take the support away from every labor paper in the State of Illinois. Many of those men are real friends of labor, they want to fight labor's cause, but when they do furnish a labor paper labor will not subscribe for it and they are forced to accept those advertisements in order to live. We know it is not right, and this body cannot prevent them from doing it. The action proposed will not get us any place, but it will take away the support we get from those men.

A special committee might go out and make known the cause and purpose of labor and try to get these papers to be a little more fair; but if they are going to accept one advertisement they will have to accept all advertisements; you cannot cut out one and insert another; they must be taken as they come along. We need not patronize any unfair firm even though we see its advertisement in such a paper. Where this Quincy paper made a mistake was in saying this firm is friendly to labor. As for accepting the advertisements, I think they have to do it, and if you are going to take support away from this paper you might as well cut out all the papers in the state.

Delegate Hunt, Quincy: When this proposition was brought up Mr. Benedict, who started the paper, was given the support of the trade union movement. I think he received just consideration so far as subscriptions are concerned. After the paper had been published for some time it carried an advertisement for Tip Top bread, a scab article. We endeavored to have him withdraw the advertisement. He agreed to do so, but we found it would be hard to have him withdraw all the advertisements of firms that were not favorable to organized labor. For that reason we withdrew the support of the Quincy Trades and Labor Assembly.

Yesterday a statement was made that a number of labor papers received "boiler plate," or what is commonly known as the patent page. This paper is printed in Quincy in its entirety, no part of it is boiler plate or patent page. Whatever is contained in the paper the editor and manager are responsible for. I desire to make this statement in defense of the labor movement of Quincy.

Secretary Olander: I would like to make my position in this matter absolutely clear. To some of the delegates it seems that the only question involved is whether or not the Quincy Labor Advocate should be condemned. I am not seriously concerned about this case except in one particular. I am a very firm believer in the right of free speech and free publication. I believe that any man, no matter who he may be, has a right to publish whatever he pleases. What I do object to very seriously in these cases, and to which I think we ought to give some consideration, is the use of the official name of some part of our labor movement. The American Federation of Labor has taken the position that no paper can carry the statement that it is the official organ of the American Federation of Labor, except the journal owned by the American Federation itself, The Federationist. Let them publish what they will, but do not rate them as labor papers unless they are in agreement with the labor movement. We cannot say to these so-called labor papers, "You must cut out all advertisements except those that are strictly union," because that will in many cases mean nearly all advertisements of the kind they usually carry. That would mean they could not live. As to the matter that goes into their news columns and editorial columns, whatever they put there (so long as they do not use the name of the labor movement) is something they have a right to place there whether we like it or not. If they publish something we disagree with and they carry the official endorse-

ment of some particular part of the labor movement, then that particular part of the labor movement has disagreed with us—and it has a right to do so. We can and ought to say it is wrong, we can and should criticise it, but I do not think we ought to go to the extent of cutting it off. I believe that in dealing with newspapers and books we should never take any action without very seriously considering the questions of free speech and free press involved in these things. We must accord these rights to even our enemies if we are to retain them for ourselves.

I do not think we can afford to overlook these great big principles, and I am therefore opposed to any official action here condemning the Quincy Labor Advocate. I am in favor of saying that I do not believe it represents the labor movement of Illinois when it takes the position it does. I am in favor of saying, not only to the Quincy Labor Advocate and those responsible for it, but to any part of the movement that has given its endorsement to that paper, that they are wrong, that they are not in accord with the labor movement. We should say they have a right to print what they please, and we have a right to criticise it, to oppose it, to repudiate it.

I think in this case under discussion the transgression is so clear and the stand taken with the enemies of the labor movement is so plain that we should say in very strong terms that we believe it is wrong, that we believe it misrepresents labor; and I also think we should say every bit as frankly to any part of the labor movement here that permits that paper—if any does it—to use its name as an endorsement, that it also is wrong.

The Labor Advocate may have to do these things in order to make sufficient profit to live, but no organization can make any such excuse. I am opposed to any investigation. We can see the whole thing here, the facts are plain. I am opposed to any condemnation resolu-

tion, but I believe we should speak frankly, as we have been doing here this morning, and use our right to answer the argument of our enemies and say to The Advocate, "You have a right to oppose us, of course, but you must not claim to speak in our name when doing so," and we should let our people in the state understand that to be our position in all such cases.

Delegate Carlson: The action taken in the Alton convention is the cleanest proposition, I think, we have at this time, and I think we ought to substitute it for the motion before the house. I think the best thing we can do is to reaffirm the action taken in the Alton convention in relation to labor papers. I therefore move as an amendment that the action of the Alton convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, which recommended that the central bodies obtain control of labor papers as far as possible, be reaffirmed. (Seconded.)

Secretary Olander: The official action of the Alton convention in regard to labor papers is as follows:

"Your committee would recommend that in districts and cities where labor papers are published the organized workers should, so far as they can, get hold of the controlling interests so that these mediums which are of immeasurable value when published for the workers' interests may not be used to further the interests of our enemies."

Delegate Nockels, Chicago: I hope the delegates will not go on record saying they are absolutely helpless in reference to what an alleged labor paper prints, that we cannot do anything because it comes under the head of a union paper. If you do not take action on this proposition you will have a repetition of it and you will be accused of backing down. I have talked to a lot of the delegates in this convention, and they have taken the position that it is about

time the labor press, so called, has its attention called to the fact that the things the labor movement stands for must be made paramount. If some side-stepping action is taken on this matter today the papers will come out tomorrow and say that the motion repudiating this Labor Advocate was lost, and therefore everything it prints is espoused and endorsed by the labor movement. I am in favor of letting it go to the Executive Board, but if you do not do that, do the other thing and adopt the motion. If you do not do that, forever keep your mouth shut about what any labor paper prints.

Delegate Woll: I am going to ask consent of this convention for withdrawal of the motion I offered. My reasons for doing that are twofold: First, one of parliamentary procedure, because I know the motion now offered is not properly before the convention, the motion I offered previous to that being one of reference. In order to avoid that mistaken parliamentary procedure I ask the withdrawal of the motion I offered so that Delegate Carlson's motion will be properly before the convention. Second, because of the reference made to free speech. I was very careful to word my motion so that it would not deny anyone the right of free speech or the right of anyone to dissent from opinions we may reach here and publish that to the world.

My motion contemplated freely using the good offices of the Federation to try to have every labor paper conform to the ideals as determined by the convention, which is quite different from condemnation. But in order to avoid the unparliamentary procedure I have referred to, and that understanding of my attitude—because I am equally as firm in the matter of free speech as Brother Olander and I would oppose as strongly as he does anything that would deprive any man of that right—I desire to withdraw the motion.

No objection being offered, the motion offered by Delegate Woll was withdrawn.

Chairman Harding: We now have the motion of Delegate Nockels before the house and the motion of Delegate Carlson that this body simply reaffirm the action taken in the Alton convention regarding the labor press.

Delegate Jessen: I am in accordance with the views of Brother Nockels. I think the time is rotten ripe that we take a stand in regard to these so-called labor papers. I want to cite one instance. In the cities of Rock Island, Moline and Davenport we had a labor paper up to 1910, one of the best paying private papers in the state. The labor movement of the tri-cities went out and killed that paper, and when they felt the need of a labor paper they established their own.

In Chicago we have a number of labor papers conducted in the foreign languages. I am connected with one myself. My local union contributes \$20 a month to the upkeep of its daily paper and the brewers represented in this convention give us \$45 a month, the bakers contribute \$30 a month, and the machinists, cigarmakers and all the German trade unionists of Chicago support it. Our deficit is \$6,000 a year, which is made up by contributions from the trade unionists. In spite of the fact that we have that deficit, only three weeks ago we turned down an advertisement worth \$500. When the bakers or any other organization come to us and tell us they do not want a certain thing in the paper it does not go in, because it is opposed to organized labor. We know we will be supported in anything we do by the rank and file. When we cannot get money from the advertisers the men are willing to dig down in their pockets and make up the deficit. If we cannot meet our bills we go to the trade unionists and they come across with anything from \$100 to \$1,000.

If the trade unions that are not increasing because immigration is decreasing can do that, why cannot the movement in other places do it? I

think it is about time we formulated some policy to help establish a powerful press. I agree with President Walker that we cannot condemn all these papers, because we are not willing to support them, but in a case like this we should not be afraid to condemn a paper that is as raw as this Labor Advocate. I am as lenient as anyone in such matters, but we should put such papers as this out of business, because they are parasites on the labor movement.

The amendment offered by Delegate Carlson was lost by a vote of 236 in the negative to 176 in the affirmative.

The motion offered by Delegate Nockels was adopted by a viva voce vote.

Report of Committee on Officers' Reports.

Delegate Boyer, for the Committee, reports as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates to the Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Officers Reports has carefully considered the reports of both President John H. Walker and Secretary-Treasurer Victor A. Olander. We are pleased to note the splendid way in which they have conducted the affairs of the organization and to note the growth of the Illinois State Federation of Labor under the leadership of these very able and efficient officers. We do not count this growth merely in the increased membership of the Federation, but in the increased strength of the labor movement in this state, demonstrated by the increased activities, a greater demand for the union labels, interest in the co-operative movement and the campaign for legislation.

The portion of the report read was adopted unanimously.

Report of Secretary-Treasurer.

Your committee notes with great satisfaction the manner in which the accounts are kept by the Secretary-Treasurer and the splendid way in which the funds have been managed so that the increased work of the Federation could be met. We are impressed with the promptness and efficiency with which the work of that office has been conducted.

We realize, however, that with the increased membership, the editing and circulating the Weekly News Letter, the supervision of the new legal department, the pre-election campaign among the candidates for the legislature on the anti-injunction bill and later a legislative campaign together with the referendum election of officers, this extra work has so taxed the office of the Secretary-Treasurer that additional assistance is greatly needed. We, therefore, recommend that the Secretary-Treasurer be authorized to employ all necessary assistants within the means of the Federation.

Those who have been in touch with the work in the Chicago office know how much extra assistance in that office is needed and how much the Secretary is called upon to assist the various organizations, particularly the teachers in their fight during the past year, and how effective this work for them has been. We want him relieved of as much office work as possible so that when he assists in this work he can do so without having to overwork as a result.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Weekly News Letter.

The Weekly News Letter is well established as the official organ of the labor movement in Illinois. Its value cannot be too fully measured and from reports we believe it is well appreciated by the trade unionists of Illinois and there is a demand to get it to more of our members.

We recommend that the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to work out a plan whereby more members can secure the News Letter either through their local unions subscribing or on a club basis which the Federation will be able to finance. Even at an expense to the Federation the News Letter must be continued, even if it cannot be extended, as the one means of communication direct to our members.

The report of the committee on the News Letter was adopted.

Co-operative Movement.

The committee notes with pleasure the growth of the co-operative movement in this state and approves heartily the activities of President Walker in this direction, which has made the Illinois movement the best in the United States.

The advantages of the co-operative movement in the way of material progress for the membership and as a factor in reducing the high cost of living, and the value of having the business interests on their own side rather than on the side of employers in all struggles of labor; as well as getting the best qualities of union made goods, is so clearly evident that we recommend to all central bodies that they take up the co-operative movement as one of the most powerful weapons of organized movement. We further recommend that the officers continue their activities in this direction.

The report of the committee on the co-operative movement was adopted.

Brickmakers Dispute.

In the Brickmakers dispute, the active interest taken by the officers of the Federation has resulted in the matter being brought forcibly to the attention of the American Federation of Labor with prospects of a final settlement and a united organization of clay workers. Delegate Walker and John Fitzpatrick, delegates to the San

Francisco convention, are to be commended for the splendid fight made to bring about the conference which resulted in the agreement for amalgamation of these organizations and made it possible for the United Brick and Clay Workers to become affiliated with City Central and State organizations. Your committee would recommend that the officers continue their efforts until a final settlement of the dispute is accomplished.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Tracey, Brickmakers: I want to say in behalf of our organization that we wish to thank President Walker, Secretary Olander and the other officers of the State Federation for the good they accomplished for the brickmakers, not only in placing us in a position where we would belong to the labor movement of the state, but they have placed us in a position where we have been able to greatly increase our membership, advance the wages of our members and shorten their hours. We think this is due to the action of the Illinois State Federation of Labor more than any other cause. We are called radicals as soon as we light in town, disruptionists, etc., by the manufacturers; we haven't any craft ability they say.

In Streator we were up against a pretty stiff proposition. We knew the good the State Federation had done us, and we were not bashful about asking assistance. After the manufacturers had refused to meet our representatives we called on Brother Walker, he responded, and I believe we got more than we asked. We have even dragged your president out of the state to help us in Brazil, Ind., where we have had a strike on for fifteen weeks. Again I want to thank the officers and the State Federation generally for what has been done for our organization.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Straube Matter.

Your committee desires to express satisfaction with the action of the Chicago Federation of Labor in conjunction with the State Federation in the L. P. Straube matter and we are pleased at the prospects of a settlement of the same.

The report of the committee on the above matter was adopted.

Strike at Rosiclare.

Your committee realizes the seriousness of the struggle that is being waged at Rosiclare by the miners in that district. President Walker has given a full account of the conditions existing in that locality and of the outrages committed.

We understand that General Dixon recently visited Rosiclare, sent there by the governor, and reached an agreement providing that the private thugs must remain on the property of the company, but since General Dixon left that district the agreement has been repudiated by the company and the old abusive practices are resumed. Your committee recommends that this convention call upon the governor to use the state government to establish law and order in that community, to protect the miners and their families and to deport the gun-men. We urge that this action be taken at once.

President Walker: Since the report of the committee was made I received a letter from General Dixon, who is in Chicago. He said he was there under instructions from the governor for the purpose of trying to have that agreement carried into effect, the agreement that was made the last time he was in Rosiclare, and in which I understand the members of the organization on strike were in accord with. He notified me that he was taking the matter up with the sheriff of Hardin County and unless he was satisfied the agreement would be carried into effect he would go down there with enough strength, rep-

resenting the state government, to establish that agreement.

I wired General Dixon in regard to the letter, stating that, in my judgment, negotiations with the sheriff of Hardin County were useless; that he was absolutely a tool of the mining corporations there; that I would not believe him under oath, and the only way he could be assured the agreement would be carried into effect was to go there and stay there and see that it was done. I have not heard from him since, but I believe that will be about the course that will be pursued. From advices from the mine workers of Southern Illinois, if that is not done, my honest conviction is there will be enough miners go from the mining towns to Rosiclare for a brief vacation to see that law and order are restored.

The report of the committee on the Rosiclare situation was adopted.

Cement Strike at Oglesby and La Salle.

Your committee has considered carefully the report of the president on the cement strike at Oglesby and La Salle and realizes the needs of the strikers in these cities as well as Rosiclare after this long struggle. We urge upon all the delegates when returning to their homes to appeal to their local organizations and bring this matter to their members and ask that they contribute as generously as possible towards the relief of the strikers in Rosiclare, Oglesby and La Salle.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Organizer Chubbeck, A. F. of L.: I am here, not as a delegate, but I come directly from La Salle and Oglesby for the purpose of bringing to your attention a condition that exists in those two cities in the cement industry. I will be as brief as possible, and I hope you will bear with me for a few minutes, for there is a condition there you should be advised of.

For years and years, possibly sixteen or eighteen, the cement mill workers of Oglesby and La Salle have been laboring under the most deplorable conditions. The wages were such that American workers could not exist. They have been working thirteen hours at night and eleven hours a day at wages as low as 15 cents an hour. Men worked thirteen hours at night for \$2.08. The cost of living has gone up so much that the men could not meet the necessary expenses for existence. There was only one thing left for them to do, to reach out to the labor movement, which always assists the workers when they are down and out.

Five months ago last Sunday the cement workers met in Oglesby and after two hours' discussion, every man being given an opportunity to speak of conditions in his particular mill, they concluded there was only one thing left for them to do and that was to organize and apply to the American Federation of Labor for a charter. They did this on the 14th day of May. On the 15th they went back to work. The employers found out what they had done—there is always somebody who would rather tell the boss than to stick by the workers—and they dared to get up and tell how they had been treated.

The men in this district have red blood in their veins and they said, "No, you are not going to discharge these men." They went on strike and made a demand for the eight-hour day, better working conditions and a little higher wages. The companies refused to recognize any committee of organized labor. The workers struggled along in that way for a week, and on Sunday, the 21st, one week later, the workers in the German-American Portland Cement Company mills of La Salle, hearing what the Oglesby boys had done, called a meeting and organized. They started out their men to organize a union in the cement plant, from the superintendent down, but that didn't work. Then they struck. They are on strike today and have been for five months. These men

are largely Italians, Austrians, Lithuanians and Poles.

The labor movement in the Illinois Valley has rendered valuable assistance during this strike. The miners and other workers have contributed a little more than \$4,000 in five months. In the twenty weeks of this struggle, ending June 30 of last month, there was a deficit of \$150 between the amount they received and the amount they expended; in other words, they were \$150 behind in paying for their commissary. We have contributed commissary to the workers there, giving the married men their proportion in accordance with the number in their families. The single men have been getting \$2.00. It is very little, but they have not complained.

I want to say for your president, Mr. Walker, that he has been with us all the time, and so has your vice-president. Brother Kelly was there before I arrived and he rendered very valuable assistance. Brother Carbine has been there and delivered speeches which encouraged the workers. We have continued the battle with the help of the Federation and will continue it until these men get justice.

On the 24th day of June I was called from my work in Northern Wisconsin by the officers of the American Federation of Labor and directed to go to Oglesby and La Salle to render what assistance I could. I reached those cities on the 26th of June and have been there continuously since, giving my best efforts toward this struggle. They have tried to muzzle us. We have used every possible effort to bring about a settlement of this affair. We appealed to the Labor Department at Washington, and Mr. Charles Benheim offered his good offices, but the officials of the company would do nothing except refer him to Dudley Taylor.

Dudley Taylor has a patent on getting out injunctions against working men. He is always on the job, if he is in Chicago, to get to Judge Baldwin, because he knows he can get them in that court. He came to Ot-

tawa with a couple of other lawyers, went into the courts and got out a sweeping injunction against the Cement Mill Workers. If the judge in that district could have done it he would have bottled up the air, so we could not have had any of that. As it was, he took everything else away from us. I have brought 1,000 copies of the injunction. These copies were printed in Oglesby on the same paper the cement companies had theirs printed on. We have the label, but they paid for putting up the type. They put copies of this injunction on the telegraph poles, in barber shops and everywhere else, so there would not be a member of organized labor in the county that would not be enjoined as well as the cement mill workers.

Yesterday you discussed the anti-injunction question, and we thought we would bring a copy for each delegate and ask that they be taken back to their homes. We know full well that in some small places you are not troubled with injunctions, but we want you to put a copy of this on the wall, so that in after years you will know, because of your action yesterday, that this was the last injunction ever served in Illinois under such conditions. We will ask the ladies to take copies of this as well as the men. The lady delegates here have taken an active part in the affairs of the workers, and I was much pleased the other day when they got up and defended the smokers. I am a cigar-maker, girls, and you are all right!

In this injunction they have said we must not do anything that will hurt the workers. I want to call to the attention of the Chicago workers that this injunction is a repetition of the one issued in the Barnes case against the Typographical Union, practically word for word. They cite to the court that working men should not be permitted to quit their jobs in any great numbers because of the fact that it deprives the employer of his profits, and by doing that it creates great damage to the institutions. They did not use the language, but they might have said to the court, "We

want to prevent these men from striking," for that is their intention, for they have said if these men are permitted to quit their jobs in any great numbers it always requires the employer to spend a great deal of money to break in new people, and after he has broken them in—they did not say it, but they meant it—we own them, they become a property right of ours. If you let them quit us it will cost them more money to break in other men.

It will be a terrible condition, friends, if we allow ourselves to go back to the days before the Civil War, when the chattel slave was sold on the block. When you go back to your own districts, do not leave anything undone to elect men to the legislature who will go down and fix up an anti-injunction bill similar to the one adopted in Congress, the Clayton Act.

We have come to this convention today knowing full well it will be only a few days until the wind begins to blow from the north, there will be snow in Illinois and these men will need clothes, provisions, fuel and rent. For that reason we are going to ask every trade unionist to go home, get the members of his local together and ask them to contribute to help these cement mill workers. The cement manufacturers are digging millions of dollars out of the bowels of the earth, but they are not willing to give the workers any chance.

As our strike went on the employers brought the militia there. Governor Dunne sent the militia to La Salle after they had said that riots, murder and anarchy prevailed upon the streets. However, the Governor followed the militia there the next day. They came on the 12th of July, on the 13th he was there. After we had a conference of one hour with the Governor he took the militia away from the mills and sent them out on the playground—a good place for them, because most of them were children.

Through the trade union movement of La Salle, Oglesby and Peru in opposing the presence of the militia

in the community they were soon sent back home to the kindergartens, where they belong. For five weeks the employers have been trying to bring the militia back. They want to make the cement workers cut square corners and allow the scabs they have had there for the last two months to lead those fellows out of the bull pens. The scabs have been brought there by misrepresentation, and they are going away on every train.

The strikers have been peaceable, but the superintendent went to the largest hotel in the city, one night, got stewed up, walked out on the street and shot down a worker. Then they ran over him with an automobile. We have fought that case in the courts and succeeded in getting them bound over to the grand jury. Last Friday the grand jury brought in a true bill against them for manslaughter. A week ago last Saturday night the thugs came on the street and began shooting. A girl, the daughter of a miner, was shot through the abdomen, the ball lodging in her spine. The fellows who did that were indicted along with the superintendent of one of the mills.

They arrest every worker on any sort of pretense. Three of our men have been charged with attempted murder. Others have been taken from La Salle. They go twenty-five or thirty miles away from the city, take them before the farmers' justice of the peace and swear out warrants against them. I have been bound over to the grand jury myself, but in spite of that I am going back to fight every inch of the way until those men get what justly belongs to them.

The cement workers elected three delegates to come to this convention, but they did not have the money to pay their expenses. We hope in your convention next year the Cement Mill Workers will be fully represented. I hope that you men and women will all go back to your homes and contribute to their support. Try to get all the members of your locals to contribute. You can send the money to Secretary Olander. If you have only

a dollar send it along, it will buy twenty loaves of bread. I want to say to the farmers' delegates who are present that they can help. They always say, "Tell us what you want." I will tell you what we need, it is potatoes, and we will be glad to get them. If you will tell us where we can get them at as low a figure as possible we will buy them. We must have coal and bread and potatoes. If we get that we will be satisfied; we are not looking for any luxuries.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Legal Department.

A long-needed department for the labor movement has been started in the establishment of a legal department by the Chicago Federation and the Illinois State Federation of Labor, with able attorneys to handle all injunction and other legal cases.

We commend the officers for their work in bringing about this new department and hope it will be extended until it meets all the needs of the Illinois labor movement. We desire to express our appreciation to Mr. W. B. Rubin of Milwaukee, Mr. Frank P. Walsh of Kansas City, Mo., Mr. Angus W. Kerr of Springfield, and Mr. Clarence S. Darrow of Chicago, who have all generously offered to cooperate with us by serving as counsel.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Olander: I have here an estimate of what the legal work would have cost if separate lawyers had been employed. I will not read it, but will have it included in the minutes following the report of the committee if there is no objection.

Estimated Value of Work Performed by Legal Department.

October 14, 1916.

This department has, since its beginning, handled fifty (50) municipal court cases. The minimum charge for

such cases, by a reputable firm, is \$15 each. Some of these cases, by their nature, would have cost from \$25 to \$150. Some of these cases were jury trials, and taking the minimum charge of \$15 each the fees for these cases would be\$750.00

There were twenty (20) contempt cases. Taking into account the affidavits and preparation necessary to a proper presentation of such cases, and number of appearances in court, \$100 would be a minimum charge for such cases, the fees in these cases amounting to\$2,000.00

There were five injunction cases handled. The proper preparation of answers, affidavits and briefs required ten days and upwards each in preparation, in addition to appearances in court. A minimum charge for such services would be \$1,000.00 each\$5,000.00
Making a total of.....\$7,750.00

In addition to that there have been numerous consultations with union representatives and members of unions, examinations of contracts, advice given to persons as to legal rights, outside of the jurisdiction of this department, in which there has been much saving to union members.

Out of the fifty municipal court cases, the cases in which there were appearances and contest, acquittals were had.

The total fines paid by this department amounted to \$91.00, and all contempt cases heard have been favorably disposed of. There are still ten contempt cases pending.

Respectfully submitted,

Fred Schmidt.

Approved:
W. B. Rubin.

Union Label and Broom Makers' Case.

In the conference of President Walker with the unfair Merkle-Wiley Broom Company of Paris, Ill., the employers made it evident that they

were opposed to the organization of their employees, and by this action declare that they do not wish the patronage of organized labor. The delegates are urged to take this grievance up with their organizations, have committees appointed to call on the dealers and urge them to handle such brooms and other articles as bear the union label and are fair to organized labor.

Your committee would further recommend that all affiliated unions take a more active interest in the union labels and establish a system whereby some penalty may be enforced on such members as continue to purchase unfair and non-label goods.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Labor Temple.

Your committee recommends that the suggestion of the President regarding the Labor Temple be carried out and that a lot be purchased and plans arranged for financing the proposition.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Convict Labor.

Inasmuch as the report of the Convict Labor Committee has been adopted and their recommendation that all inmates of penal and reformatory institutions be employed on road work, penal farms and the state use system, has been adopted as the policy of the Federation on this question, your committee believes this section of the President's report has been covered by that action. However, we would recommend that any measure adopted or drawn up by the officers of the Federation on this subject should include the various county and city penal institutions of the state.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Labor Movement in Illinois.

Your committee is in full accord with the views of President Walker on this subject and recommend that

the delegates to this convention bring about a closer co-operation of organized labor in its work on the economic legislative and co-operative 'field. We further recommend that we work in close conjunction with all labor organizations, particularly the farmers' organizations, the Railroad Brotherhoods and the teachers' associations.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

At the suggestion of Delegate Woll the words "and the teachers' associations" were added to the report.

Delegate Conners (F. L.), Switchmen's Union: I am in hearty accord with the recommendation of the committee, with the exception of the last paragraph. It may be well for me to give an explanation of my reason for objecting to that. You who are familiar with the movement understand that the Switchmen's Union of North America is the only department of the transportation part of the railroad affiliated with the Federation. I am a delegate from that union, and sitting here and extending the hospitality of the convention to the fraternal delegates meets with my approval, with one exception. I am not in favor of wasting any bouquets on those who have for years refused to extend any financial support to this movement.

The Switchmen's Union has been ostracised by the four brotherhoods; we have been told—it is a worn-out excuse, of course—that a number of years ago they formed a federation at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and under that federation plan they are unable to affiliate with or co-operate with any organization that has any other affiliation. In other words, they cannot affiliate or co-operate with the Switchmen's Union of North America because we are affiliated with the Illinois State Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. Gentlemen, if that applies to us it applies to all of you. Last April we were politely informed that we were not fit to associate with them.

We are the only militant organization in the railroad transportation department; we are the only ones that have gumption enough to go out and put one foot in front of another. You who are familiar with the situation in the railroad field know the conditions. Does any delegate here know of a case where an engineer ever refused to get down and show a scab switchman where No. 7 switch was? The trainmen never miss an opportunity to fill our places and grab a contract. Does any one of you know an instance where a conductor has refused to get off the train and go to the yard to help the company out? I have regard for the firemen, but none for the other organizations. They are in a very unfortunate position, I think, because they are in bad company.

I move as an amendment that the words "Railroad Brotherhoods" be stricken from the report. (Seconded.)

President Walker: The only thing I am sorry for is that there isn't a delegate of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen here so that we could have the grievances between the trainmen and the switchmen threshed out on the floor of this convention. I would like, if it could possibly be done, to have a real jurisdiction dispute fought out once where the rank and file could see the fighting and hear the things that are said on both sides.

At the bottom of this proposition that is the real issue. The trainmen want to gobble up the switchmen and the switchmen don't want to be gobbled up. You will notice that Brother Conners did not throw any bouquets at the farmers or the teachers. I think you realize the reason why. There isn't any fight between the switchmen and the farmers or between the switchmen and the teachers. I expect if there wasn't a fight on between the trainmen and the switchmen, Brother Conners would not have a word to say reflecting on the trainmen either. In my judgment the real issue involved in this motion

is the fight on between the trainmen and the switchmen.

My own conviction about this matter is that the place to fight it out is in the convention of the American Federation of Labor. If the convention of the American Federation of Labor says the railroad brotherhoods are not union men and that we should not have anything to do with them, that we should fight them, then every state federation of labor and every central body and local union and international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor will be under obligations to take that kind of action. The fact is that in legislative matters the American Federation of Labor representative is working in close conjunction and co-operation with the representatives of the four railroad brotherhoods. In their dispute with the railroad corporations recently the American Federation of Labor, through its president and almost every other officer of it, rendered every assistance possible to the railroad brotherhoods. In the light of that situation, were we to adopt the motion made by Delegate Conners, we would not only be working out of harmony with the A. F. of L., but we would be indirectly taking a rap at the A. F. of L. and its officials for pursuing the course they are doing in reference to the Railroad Brotherhoods' organization.

This is not an ordinary matter. There isn't a man or a woman in the labor movement who understands what the movement means but wants the railroad brotherhoods in the general labor movement for the purpose of getting their full strength in the legislative program and on the economic field, as well as in their wages, hours and conditions. There isn't a man here but knows—and Brother Conners knows it as well as anyone else—that if the four railroad brotherhoods made application for affiliation to the American Federation of Labor in Baltimore they would be taken in by unanimous vote and every organization in the country would be re-

joining at the consolidation of the labor forces.

For years and years and years the international organization of the bricklayers and masons has been out of the labor movement. Here and there their policies ran counter to the rest of the building trades. In a number of instances they have actually given the strength of their organization to defeat other organizations—no, I won't put it that way, but they have withheld the strength of their organization when other organizations were fighting. In some places the opposite has been true. I might cite one instance.

In Ottawa, Illinois, the bricklayers' local union was the best fighting organization we had. There wasn't anything they could do for another union they did not go to the limit to do, and here and there all over the country there has been about as many of their local unions that have taken that kind of position as there has been by locals of any other trade involved in the struggle. Many times organizations that were affected and felt sore have asked the American Federation of Labor to form a dual bricklayers' union for the purpose of fighting them and putting them out of business. The officials of the American Federation of Labor and the officials of the organizations that make up the American Federation of Labor wanted the bricklayers to work in conjunction with the other organizations, but they felt that to concede to the wishes of the men who wanted to start that fight on them, instead of being helpful in bringing about that condition, would have the opposite effect.

The labor movement is a human movement, and I can judge other men a great deal by how I feel myself. You can reason men into almost any kind of a proposition that is half-way fair. I believe if I were convinced that a proposition was a right one and you tried to drive me into it you would have a great deal of trouble. Every organization is made up of hu-

man beings with pretty much the same feelings as ourselves. If I wanted Brother Conners to do a certain thing this morning the last thing I would think of doing would be to say, "You do this, or I will make you!" I am sure he is the sort of fellow who, even if he really wanted to do it, if I told him in that way would refuse to do it.

The Bricklayers and Masons International Union have made application now to become part of the general labor movement, and from the information I have at the present time I am satisfied that when the Baltimore convention of the American Federation of Labor convenes that organization will have a delegation there. I don't know how long it is going to take for the railroad brotherhoods to see the thing in the same light, but I do know this, that at the last state convention of the Firemen and Enginemen, held in Springfield, they adopted a resolution declaring themselves in favor of becoming a part of the regular labor movement, declaring they were anxious to do so, and requesting their international officers to find some means of getting their organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor so that they might become part of the state federations and central bodies.

I have attended some of the engineers' conventions, and in my judgment the rank and file feel that they would like to become part of the regular movement. I have attended some of the trainmen's conventions, and I have got the first trainman yet to hear express himself in opposition to coming in; in fact, every one of them I spoke to favored coming in. I believe the conductors feel the same way about it. I know there is hardly a delegate here but feels that if they had been forced into a strike to secure the eight-hour law and that strike had lasted a month the four railroad brotherhoods would be in Baltimore seated as part of the regular American labor movement.

I am not saying this for the purpose of rapping anybody—I believe

the switchmen are a fighting, aggressive bunch of good trade unionists—but I believe the switchmen are like everybody else, when they get hit with a brick they will fight back, and they are not very particular whether it is a paving brick or an ornamental brick they use when they do hit back. I think if Brother Conner's motion is adopted, instead of helping to bring about a better relationship between the switchmen and the other organizations and helping to bring the other organizations into the general labor movement, we could not pass a motion that would have a worse effect in the way of causing even more bitter feelings between the brotherhoods and the switchmen and making it harder to have them become a part of the general labor movement. I don't believe you could take a worse action in this convention in that direction than to adopt the motion.

I do not like to vote down the motion made by the switchmen; I would rather have them withdraw it, and if they have to have a fight on the question and feel it should be done, instruct their officers to bring it into the American Federation of Labor, not take it up here in the Federation and central bodies piecemeal. Take it up where it can be settled one way or the other everywhere in the country. I believe in the light of this understanding of the proposition it is possible Brother Conners will be willing to withdraw the motion and let the matter be taken up, where it should be taken up, in the American Federation of Labor convention. If he does not want to withdraw it and have the matter referred there, I say now, while I do not want to hurt the switchmen's feelings and I would not do anything to injure them, I hope the convention will as nearly unanimously as possible vote down that motion.

Delegate Woll: I want to plead with the introducer of this motion for its withdrawal. President Walker has ably covered the ground why this motion ought not to be considered by this convention. I slightly dissent

with President Walker even in urging the consideration of a matter of this kind before the American Federation of Labor. Experience has shown in the labor movement that when you seek to apply force in this manner, instead of abridging your difficulties, you are making them worse.

President Walker has illustrated well the experience of the American labor movement in the recent affiliation of the bricklayers. That might also be said of the car workers and other organizations heretofore not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This motion, no matter which way it is acted upon, will be of distinctive harm to its introducers, the switchmen's organization. If it is adopted it will mean that the Illinois State Federation of Labor alienates and does not want, as a matter of fact, will fight the railroad brotherhoods' organized movement in the State of Illinois.

I will ask you delegates, when you return to your own cities and make such a report and are asked, "Why have you alienated that support?" your answer will be, "Because the Switchmen's Union wanted it," and immediately a resentment will be aroused against the Switchmen's Union for making such a demand. On the other hand, if this convention defeats this motion the Switchmen's Union will be on record as having its claims repudiated by this convention; and surely if the switchmen are seeking to protect their interests they should not invite a condemnation of that character by the Illinois labor movement.

I believe the Switchmen's Union would do much more to aid its cause if it would withdraw the motion made and let every labor man throughout the state, affiliated with the State Federation and affiliated with the brotherhoods, realize that in the interest of peace, in the interest of affiliating all organized labor with one movement, they withdrew their motion and took the manly part in bringing about a better understand-

ing between all the organized forces in this state.

I appeal to the switchmen to withdraw the proposition. I should hate to be placed in a position where I would have to cast my vote against that motion, but if I have to do it I will do it unequivocally. This motion, if adopted, will in no way settle jurisdictional claims; it will in no way interfere with the claims of the switchmen if the motion is withdrawn. The Illinois State Federation of Labor, by virtue of the laws and the charter under which it is operating, is bound to respect the jurisdiction claims of any affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor, and we stand here today bound by law and all that is holy in labor union regulations to accept and to honor and to protect the jurisdiction rights of the switchmen's organization, and when we invite the co-operation of the railroad brotherhoods we in no way intrench upon the right of protection to the switchmen's organization.

Brother Walker has splendidly covered the situation, and I join with him in appealing to the Switchmen's Union to withdraw this motion and to have the report of the Committee on Officers Reports unanimously adopted by this convention. By so doing we will hasten the day when conferences will be called between the brotherhoods and the American Federation of Labor, whereby the labor forces of this continent will be promoted and the jurisdictional rights of all labor organizations protected.

Delegate Conners (F. L.), Switchmen's Union: It seems the brotherhoods have got caretakers in this convention in the persons of Brother Walker and Brother Woll. I am representing a local that is of one mind. This convention could not in any way, shape or form cause me to take the position asked of me by withdrawing this motion and acknowledging that the members of my local are wrong. Brother Walker spoke of what he had heard at conventions of

the various brotherhood organizations. He states that they all said they wanted to come in. In the name of God why are they not in? He speaks of the Baltimore convention of the American Federation of Labor. I would be one to raise my voice loud in a song of praise if they would come in, but until such time as you shove the Switchmen's Union out of the Illinois Federation they will not be in. The report of the committee will not be adopted unanimously while I am in the hall.

Secretary Olander: As I understand the recommendation of the committee it has mainly to do with legislative matters. We have shown our determination to go before the people of this state, and before the legislature, in a vigorous fight to secure the enactment of our anti-injunction bill. We have talked of all the very serious and grave issues at stake in that fight. We cannot afford to divide our forces on that field, and I believe the proposed amendment to the committee's report will, if adopted, cause a division in our ranks. Our enemies are successful enough in dividing our forces at times, as you know, without our helping them do it.

The representatives of the Chicago switchmen's unions have, as much as anybody in that city, given very liberal and active support to the work of the State Federation. They have never done anything that has in any way hampered our efforts. I hope they are not going to start now; I hope they are going to continue in their old course of doing what is best for the entire movement, even though it hurts them a little to do it. I can understand their feelings toward the railroad brotherhoods. There is a jurisdictional fight. I have been in as big a jurisdictional struggle as this movement has ever seen, so I know how the switchmen feel.

It is not the switchmen alone or the brotherhoods alone that are to be considered; it is the entire movement, and I feel when Brother Connors

and the Switchmen look at it from that point of view they will be more willing to say, not that they are wrong, not that they are going to change their attitude, but that they are going to take it out of this convention and that, for the time being, so far as the Illinois State Federation of Labor in this particular struggle is concerned, they will not inject that question.

I don't think there is anything President Walker or Delegate Woll said that was a request to the switchmen to admit they were wrong or to say their opponents in this struggle are right. I feel free in saying this to the switchmen, because there has been nobody who has stood by the Federation in its work better than the switchmen's unions or who has done more among the switchmen than their Chicago organizations. I feel they can withdraw the motion now without saying they are wrong or that the brotherhoods are right. Let us give first consideration to the interests of the entire movement of the working people in this legislative fight, and try to keep together solidly with all these organizations, the entire membership of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, with all those unaffiliated, the railroad brotherhoods, the farmers as far as we can get them, and the State Teachers' Association as far as it can understand us.

It means so much to the entire movement that if the switchmen take a moment to think it over I believe they will withdraw the amendment. They can do so without prejudice to their case. I believe they would prefer to go on and help in this great fight and not take a single step to hamper us. I don't think Brother Connors looked at it from this point of view when he made the motion, and I hope he will withdraw his amendment so we can work together on the legislative field, and thus have a better chance of winning the struggle we are engaged in.

The amendment offered by Delegate Connors, to strike out the words

"Railroad Brotherhoods" from the last part of the committee's report, was lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

President Walker: On a question of personal privilege, Mr. Chairman. Brother Conners in his statement—I don't know whether it was in calm judgment and with a consciousness of what it meant that he made it, or whether the feeling he has on this question is responsible for it—but he stated that Brother Woll and myself were able caretakers of the interests of the railroad brotherhoods. The impression may be left in the minds of some delegates that they were given special consideration in this matter. I want to disabuse his mind of that impression if I can, or at least make clear what my own motives were.

We have an injunction fight to make. I took an active part in making it last year. We have made it the paramount issue for the coming year. I know what the influences are that the other side will use to defeat us, if possible, in our efforts to secure the enactment of that measure. The question of the railroad brotherhoods, the switchmen, or even the coal miners' organization I am a member of myself, would not stand in the way of my doing anything that would secure the enactment of that measure when it means so much for the welfare of every trade unionist and every prospective trade unionist working in this state. I speak as plain to the railroad brotherhoods on the question of their being outside the movement as Brother Conners knows how to speak. I took the position I did in order to conserve the best interests of our movement in this state, the switchmen as well as any one else in that movement.

Delegate Conners, Switchmen: You misconstrued my statement, Brother Walker. I made this statement when Brother Walker and Brother Woll took up the fight for the brotherhoods, who have fraternal delegates on this

floor, and as we are not in church they should have spoken up.

Delegate Woll: Every one heard my remarks. I feel in this as President Walker has stated. I am not the caretaker of the brotherhoods, but I seek to take care of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Labor and all its affiliated unions to the best of my ability, and that is why I spoke as I did.

The Committee on Officers' Reports continued to report, as follows:

Conclusion.

It is with much regret that your committee learns of the retirement of President Walker. The great progress made by the organization, the splendid devotion to duty of this loyal official has endeared him to every trade unionist in the state. His wide acquaintance and high standing in the labor movement of the country has been of great advantage to the organization. His fearless honesty in expression of thought has won for the movement in Illinois not only the approval of our friends, but the respect of our enemies.

Through his untiring efforts the Illinois State Federation of Labor has become the largest and best state central body in the country and a power for good in our own state. Through his ability to present the cause of labor much legislation has been secured that has been of benefit to the men and women who toil.

In fact, John Walker has demonstrated that the position of President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, with him, has been a labor of love, an opportunity that has enabled him to work out his ideals along trade union lines and for the betterment of mankind.

Your committee would express the thought that in leaving the work of this Federation John Walker has the well wishes of every trade unionist in

the state and would recommend that a standing vote of thanks be extended to him for the splendid accomplishments of his administration of the office.

Deilegate Bruce, Street Railway Employees: I am not quite in accord with the recommendation of the committee. I don't think the Illinois State Federation of Labor is through with John Walker. It seems to me as though he is still going to continue this work, at least for some months. I think it is premature to say he is out of the movement. I don't like to see him go out of the movement; I don't think there is a delegate here that wants to see him go out. I would like to see the report put in some other words. I don't like to stand up and say by a rising vote that I am glad to see John Walker go out of here.

I think I express the sentiment of every union man in Illinois when I say that it is our wish to have him continue as President of the State Federation. He will be with us for some months at least. I think this report ought to be referred back to the committee to be redrafted. I say again I don't think the labor movement is through with John Walker, and particularly the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Chairman Harding: The chair would like to read the recommendation and make a suggestion in line with Brother Bruce's remarks. Would it not be as well to say, instead of "leaving the work," "that your committee expresses the thought that in retiring from the office of President of this Federation," etc.

Delegate Bruce: That covers my objection partly.

Chairman Harding: The chair will consider a motion.

Dele'gate Bruce: I move to refer the report back to the committee to be redrafted. (Seconded.)

Delegate McArthur, Teamsters: This recommendation is one that more than the committee should be allowed to take part in. I have been connected with the labor movement in the state of Illinois for several years, and I can remember when the State Federation was not in the condition it is in today. I can remember the time when Jack Walker first began to work along with the officers of the Federation, and I know he has given a great deal of time and energy to its advancement. Now that there is a chance of our losing the direct leadership of Brother Walker as the head of this organization I would like to see that committee and the convention take steps so that if in the future at any time the services of Brother Walker can be again secured by this organization the Executive Board be empowered to secure those services.

There isn't any one in this convention who wants to see a man in the movement advance any more than I want to see Brother Walker advance, and I am willing in every way possible to assist him in his aspirations to be head of the miners' organization; but at the same time I don't want to miss the opportunity for the State Federation to secure his services if there is such a thing possible as his not being elected to the head of the miners' organization. I want the committee, therefore, to bring in a recommendation leaving it open and giving the Executive Board power and authority to re-employ Brother John Walker if such a thing is possible in the future.

Delegate Thomas: I move that the report be recommitted to the committee to be amended as suggested by Delegate Bruce. (Seconded.)

Delegate Woll: The motion is an incidental motion to refer, and the original report will be referred back to the committee.

The motion offered by Delegate Thomas was carried.

At 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned under the rules, to reconvene at 2 o'clock p. m.

FOURTH DAY — Afternoon Session

Fourth Day, Afternoon Session.

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Thursday, October 19, President Walker in the chair.

The Secretary read a telegram from the Secretary and Vice-President of Local No. 124, Typographical Union, inviting the Federation to hold its next convention in Bloomington; also a telegram from the Public Ownership League of Cook County extending sincere congratulations to the organized workers of Illinois as represented by the State Federation of Labor. The telegram was signed by Charles Dold, Secretary.

Address by Mr. H. J. Conway.

Mr. H. J. Conway, President of the Retail Clerks' Protective Association, was introduced by President Walker and spoke as follows:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: This is rather a strange position for me to be in speaking to a convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, for I cannot address you as "Fellow Delegates." I am not going to tell you how many years ago it was that I attended the first convention as a delegate, because Walker said I was an old man, and I want to deny that—I am only a kid, I will be twenty-seven next March. I don't believe any one of the old-timers, Adam Menshe or others who have passed away, would be more rejoiced than I am at the multitude assembled here representing Illinois. It shows a wonderful progress. When I look back a few years and remember how happy we were if we had forty or fifty delegates in the convention to go out and spread the propaganda of trade unionism, it is inspiring to see in the neighborhood of 700 qualified delegates attending your convention. It makes me feel that the years that

have passed have not been lost, and I joint with you in hoping there will not be a hall large enough in the state of Illinois to hold the sessions of the future conventions of this great Federation.

We are sometimes blamed, sometimes rightfully so, but in 95 per cent of the cases wrongly, by those who holler for the union label and duck buying it every opportunity we can get. No one knows it better than I, as one of those who delivers the merchandise over the counters, and nobody knows your weakness better than the men and women who are giving you the merchandise. I want to repeat a statement I made a few years ago, which was taken up in the associated press, and in Cleveland an investigation was made of it.

The managers of two of the largest department stores completely acquiesced in what I said, and that was that to be a successful sales person you had to be an accomplished liar—the greater the liar the greater the size of the pay book and the greater the size of the authority you reached in the business community for being good Ananiases. In fact, instead of being sales people they became artists of hypnotism; they exercise a certain hypnotic influence over people, first because those people have money in their pockets, and secondly because they need some article, and with that wonderful gift of second sight the clerk is possessed of, his whole mind is on the problem of separating people from their money. If there is what we call a "spiff" in it, it is a little additional wage, they will use all the hypnotism they possess to separate a person from his change.

Some of the loudest shouters, not only in the local meetings, but in the national and international conventions, haven't labels on the garments that are covering their bodies, and I am not

talking of the women either, but of the men. There are towns where you cannot get men's clothing with the label, simply because you haven't created the demand. In talking to my friend, John Frey, during the lunch hour he gave a brief account of what the moulders did at one time in Cincinnati. Now, here are the representatives in the state of Illinois. If every one of you should go back to your home and make up your mind that the merchant was going to quit handling non-union goods and put in the label merchandise it would be on the shelves in thirty days.

Merchants will tell you they have to pay more money for the labels, but they lie. At one time I gave an illustration of what it means in some clothing stores to sell a union garment to a trade unionist. I believe I will spring it on you again, because it took fairly well. Suppose, for instance, one of you saw a garment in a clothing store, the style and pattern of which struck you favorably, as well as the price. You would go in and ask the salesman if it had the label. He would say it had; you would buy the garment and as soon as you left the store the salesman would have to hunt the cellar for the next hour because he didn't want to meet the boss. If he did meet the boss he would get a roasting you teamsters and moulders would fight a thousand people for. But if he had tried to sell you a suit of Hart, Schaffner & Marx he would not have to hunt the cellar, he would walk to the front of the store. The boss would ask, "What did you sell to the man?" "A suit of Kuppenheimer. He wanted a suit with the union label, but I sold him something else. Those damn fools don't know what they want and don't stick together!"

The next time you go into a store and demand a label and they hand you that line of talk, if you are in a cussing humor, cuss; if you are not in cussing humor and want to stand in with the law, hit the joker in the eye or walk out of the store. If you want the label you can have it. If you want to let it go as it is today it will never be seen, and if it keeps on

a label brought out of a store within the next five years will be a subject for some museum to be displayed as a curiosity.

Now I want to take up another phase of the labor movement, the women workers in the retail industry. Column after column of space has been used in all the metropolitan dailies, all the popular magazines and almost every one of the labor journals in connection with women in industry, and particularly those employed in retail establishments, owing to the great publicity given the white slave traffic. I cannot help but repeat an address given by the Rev. Bishop Williams of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Detroit a few years ago, at a Lenten noon-day service, when he said to the women congregated there that their hungry lust for bargains was one of the paramount causes for the downfall of young women in the stores of Michigan. That was given wide publicity by the associated press. There was quite a stir and a number of ministers spoke of it from the pulpit, but, like everything else, it was forgotten within a few days.

Two weeks ago in the city of New York during my visit there, at a meeting of the Jewish Rabbis a resolution was introduced and unanimously adopted bemoaning the fact that the greater number of white slavers in Greater New York were of the Hebrew race. That was published in the New York Times. The police department had given a slight expose, and one of the criminals who was arrested coughed up and mentioned the price that women were frequently sold into servitude for. Sometimes that price would not exceed ten dollars.

Not so very long ago a murder was committed in a little village adjacent to Chicago. The press gave publicity to the fact that two panders fought over the price of a woman one was trading to the other without her sanction. It may seem strange to speak of this in a convention of the State Federation, but these facts stare us in the face. Who are the men and women who toil today? Are they the

sons and daughters of bankers and millionaires who are too proud to spend their father's money? Or are they the sons and daughters of you workers who are trying to be helpful to their families? No better illustration can be given than was given by a former business agent of the carpenters in Decatur.

A few years ago his daughter was employed in a retail store in St. Louis. After she had been there long enough to entitle her to an increase in wages she asked the manager for an increase in wages. The manager turned to her with a sneer on his face and said brazenly, "Haven't you a gentleman friend?" She said, "Yes, I have." A few weeks afterwards her father came to St. Louis to see her, and as this jumping-jack employer was passing she turned and said, "You asked me the other day if I had a gentleman friend and I said yes. Here he is, my father." The father looked at her and said, "Did that pup say anything to you?" She told him what had been said, and it didn't take any more to get action. He beat hell out of that manager, and he was not arrested for doing it either. They quietly escorted him out the back door. They did not desire publicity.

A short time ago the city of Chicago heard of the Thieves' Club. They took young women from the stores and made virtual slaves of them. When the first of these men was arrested and gave up the stuff the papers quit publishing it very shortly, not because they did not want you to know it, but they were afraid some particular store would be picked out and censured. Not one of them had an iota of feeling for the little women that were inveigled into the proposition.

As I look into this audience today I see so many of you in Olander's class, with bald heads, that I know you have homes and families, that you have little girls in school, and I feel I must sound this warning to you. Don't be like the mother who came to my office thirteen years ago in Chicago, when I was business agent of our local, and abused me like a dog, and the next day

came back, put her head on my desk and cried and gave me a recital of the downfall of her daughter. The first time she abused me, and the next day she cried and wondered why those connected with the labor movement did not do greater work to prevent such things. There are women today working in Illinois for the uplift of women and girls employed in industry that, during the time of my work in the labor field in Chicago, gave utterance to the expression that I should be incarcerated in an insane asylum or a dungeon for the rest of my life for having the temerity to attack men like the late Marshall Field and other merchant princes. Later they changed their minds, and Mary McDowell and others I might name are working to prevent the downfall of those girls. If you fathers and mothers here will give a little assistance to them there will be less of the white slave traffic.

I want to give you a little resume of what we are up against. The employers, particularly in the department stores, love the officers of our organization. I have always been in doubt as to which would be the first and most willing to send flowers to my grave, the department stores or some of those who thought they were enemies of mine. I haven't any care, but sometimes when I have an idle moment and am soliloquizing with myself that thought comes to me. It is coming, not only with the women, but the men.

Six years ago today in New York City, Brooklyn and Jersey we became involved in a strike of 3,000 grocery clerks. They were men. Their work was such that in a very few years they would be crippled to such an extent they would be a burden to society. That is the result of paying the profit. The so-called economy stores, like the Atlantic and Pacific Tea stores, compel the men to go to work in the morning at six and six-thirty and stay there until eight and eight-thirty at night and until midnight on Saturday. We finally got them to close the stores between one and two in the afternoon so the men could go

to their lunches. There is usually but one man in a store, and all the time they had for lunch and supper was when they took a few minutes to eat what they had brought wrapped up in a paper. In some places they cannot have a stove.

I have just found out what the price of a Benedict Arnold is. The Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company has established a price on a Judas or a Benedict Arnold—ten dollars cash and a few words on a card. I have one of the ten dollars and I have a card which I will reproduce in the November issue of our journal. They established that with a few little words to the fellows who went back to work, shook their fellow workers and got the money. They have established the price, and we will know in the future that a Benedict Arnold or a Judas is worth ten dollars in American money. It might be like a district in Eastern Illinois at one time when votes were two dollars apiece. A foreigner lost his papers and it cost him ten dollars to have them renewed. That raised the price to ten dollars. One man spent \$4,000 to get a \$1,500 office for two years. I don't know where the profits came out of it.

I appreciate the enormous amount of business you have to transact and I will not take up any more of your time. I appreciate your indulgence and kindness, but I would like to say to every delegate here that we are putting forth every effort in the state of Illinois to organize it from the mouth of the Ohio River to the boundary line of Zion City. We are putting men in the field to take up the work. They will remain in the field as long as we can possibly keep them there, and I am going to ask every delegate in this convention to take off his coat and go to work with them to help organize the state. But they must be organized under a specific condition. We don't want their initiation fees and their taxes today and their resignation tomorrow; we don't want them organized so the employer can go to them and say, "You quit the organization or your job." We want them to quit their jobs when that

proposition is submitted to them and we will take care of them when they quit. We want them educated if you have to take a club and beat their blocks off and put new blocks on to teach them what organized labor means.

When it comes to boosters and knockers, there isn't a better bunch on earth than the sales people when you get them on the right tack. When you get a bunch of girls organized there isn't a boss on earth that can roast them, because they boost the label. When you see them straying from the right path, lasso them, and if they don't stop on the first jerk of the rope throw it over a telephone pole and separate them from the earth for a minute or two until they learn what you are about. If they are organized in large numbers they will become one of the greatest assets you can have.

There is one thing that has occurred during my short stay in this city that I feel has thrown a sort of melancholy over this body. That is the possibility of losing my old pal, Jack Walker, as your presiding officer. We may disagree sometimes on policy, but as a rule we fight it out. I won't tell you in what way, because that belongs to our secret society, and you have got to be initiated before you can get the secrets of that body, you can bet your life on that, and you have to pay cash, too.

I have watched the development of Jack. I am a few hours older than he is. I have watched his work, not only in the Illinois State Federation of Labor, but in the Mine Workers. I have watched his legislative work in Springfield. I have watched the intelligence with which he has presided as your president and his work in the field. And not because he is on the stand, not because I know him so well, not because we have cussed one another many and many a time and then shook hands again, ate many a good meal together, and sometimes meals that were not quite so good, because it made a difference who was paying.

But you are not losing Jack. I don't believe this wonderful new magnet that is supposed to be able to lift the heaviest piece of building material would have strength to wrest Jack Walker away from the labor movement of Illinois. Whatever position he may aspire to, I know his Scotch heart too well to fear that he will be divorced from Illinois. Even if he is in a new field he may be able to do better than he is doing today. If he separates from you temporarily you are not losing Walker from the Illinois labor movement. You cannot afford to lose men like Walker. It isn't dollars. Lord bless your soul, if we want dollars we would not need to come on the platform of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and talk about anything like that to you, because dollars would come to us easier than eggs and pork chops come to us now, but we don't want them. I don't think there is a person living who would even think of Jack Walker doing a thing like that. Even if he is divorcing himself from you, mark what I say, it will constitute a means in your rank to develop power and he will be just as loyal to you as ever.

If a trade unionist is honest we don't care how poor his oratory is so long as he has the moral courage to defend his honest convictions. And so even if old Jack does take a temporary leave he will be back, and he will be shouting with you in the next convention, and with a free rein to tell you from the bottom of his heart what he thinks is right. Let us not be melancholy, but offer him all the encouragement we can, for we know he is doing his best for his fellow men.

Now let me express the hope that this convention will redound to the greatest benefit of the workers in the state; that you will support the teachers and other workers, and if it is necessary let every one of you go down and contribute what you can to the men who are in the struggle in this state to defeat the master class. Above all, guard your legislation. If you do not it will be but a short time before the master and servant law of

New York will be adopted in Illinois. Give the masters the answer Bill Mahon gave to the men abroad when he was told, "You folks don't pass resolutions like that in America. We don't hear of it." Bill said, "No, damn the resolutions, we do the job and find out what is right and what is wrong afterwards." With leaders as honest as old Jack is at your head you will not need to fear that the master and servant law will ever come into effect, that law which binds the workers into servitude.

My wish is that the success of the Illinois Federation in the future will be so great that the past will be almost forgotten, except the cornerstone and the masonry done on it that no human agency will ever be able to shatter. May the lives of the workers be made brighter and happier, their offspring more loving and lovable, so that in the end when we shall have all resigned the lease of life we possess we can pass away with the full knowledge that we have been helpful to our fellow men.

Delegate Kain, for the Credentials Committee, reported that the credentials of 702 delegates had been acted upon, including those of the fraternal delegates. He stated that the list did not include visiting members.

Delegate Hansel, Milk Wagon Drivers: There has been some discussion about bringing the workers of this organization closer to the farmers' organization. The Milk Wagon Drivers' delegates met with the Farmers' Union last Monday night. We walked six or seven miles over the dark country road to meet the farmers who are trying to organize. There isn't anybody closer to the farmers than the milk wagon drivers' organization in Chicago. We are doing all we can to bring the farmers closer so that they can work with us for legislation and everything else we want. Now these men are real farmers, and we don't know much about them. The farmers appreciated our going to their meeting and showing

them how to organize. We were successful in getting a wage increase not long ago in our city, and as members of this body we will do all we can to forward the interests of the Federation.

Selection of Convention City.

The chairman called for nominations of cities in which to hold the next convention.

Delegate McDonald (D.), Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates—I have agreed in this convention that if they would allow me to make a nominating speech I would keep quiet for the rest of the time. I have been privileged, and I consider it a very great pleasure to present to this convention as the city in which to hold the next convention one of the queen cities of the plains. I want to place this city in nomination because of the fact that I believe from the standpoint of economy and in view of the ever-increasing numbers attending our convention, the question of train fare and train accommodations is one of the principal things we should have in mind. Not only that, but there are other essentials, and one we must consider is the possibility of a good meeting place. I am glad to say that we have a good hall here, but the city I am about to nominate has a still better one. Some 6,000 can be accommodated in that hall. It is splendidly equipped, practically in the center of the city and very close to the hotels. We will not have to walk as far there as we have had to do in some places we have met, and I know I have been on the job a good while and don't want to walk any farther than I have to.

This city I speak of is about as near the center of Illinois as it is possible to get it. The train accommodations are the very best. The city boasts of having eight good hotels within a radius of four blocks of the city hall. It affords me a great deal of pleasure at this time to present the Queen City of the Plains, Bloomington, Illinois.

Delegate Bruce, Street Railway Employees: I rise at this time to speak for a city closer to Chicago. We from Chicago have traveled down state for quite a number of years. We have gone to Belleville, Danville, Alton, always traveling away from home. Now I think it is time that we should get nearer to Chicago for one year. The milk wagon drivers are talking about getting closer to the farmers. We want to get close to the farmers around Chicago, for that is where most of the milk comes from. There is plenty of milk around Joliet and we can get other things to drink there.

Joliet is a city where we have had a great deal of difficulty with injunctions, prison-made goods and other things. I think if we hold a convention there we may be able to forever drive prison-made goods out of Illinois. If you come to Joliet you will all have a good time. There are plenty of good hotels, probably more than there are in Bloomington, and we can get better accommodations. To tell you the truth, I am tired going to cities in Illinois where the street car men are not organized. We have tried in every way to organize the McKinley system, but the men will not co-operate with us. If you come to Joliet you will find a city thoroughly organized, you will not have to ride on scab street cars or eat scab bread.

Delegate Pell, Joliet: I would like to have some communications read by the Secretary and then I will make a statement.

Secretary Olander read a communication from Warden Zimmer of the Illinois State Penitentiary, Joliet, inviting the convention to that city on behalf of the business men and citizens generally.

Telegrams from Packy McFarland and Alois E. Sittel, Joliet, were read, both containing invitations to hold the 1917 convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in that city.

Delegate Pell: Joliet is not geographically in the center of the State of Illinois, but Joliet has been for the past four years the magnetic point of the injunction abuse upon the working people of the State of Illinois. A few years ago the injunction process was inaugurated in our locality during the strike of the machinists of the Bates Machine Company. Japanese and Chinese strikebreakers were brought into Joliet and herded within the walls of the Bates Machine Company plant while they were guarded on the outside by armed gunmen. Residents of the city of Joliet, taxpayers and union men in the machinists' organization, went about the streets of Joliet with their lives in their hands, expecting at any time to stop bullets from the guns of those thugs.

A few years later came the great molders' strike, with which the Bates Company was identified as well as the Humphreys foundry. They had paid gunmen employed again. I paid the penalty that Brother Olander spoke of yesterday, did it with a smile on my face, and I am only one of the 5,000 trades unionists who are willing to do the same thing again. Then came the public service strike, and again paid gunmen ruled the city. Still organized labor has arisen triumphant, the victor in each of these cases.

You heard a description of the injunction secured by the American Can Company. A few weeks ago in the News Letter you read the injunction that was issued against these little girls who had worked in the can factory. Those little girls did not earn enough money some days to pay car fare from the plant to their homes. Often they were the only support of those homes.

Another injunction was placed on the toilers of Joliet in the brickyards of Rochdale. On the first of last April the Building Trades Council of the city of Joliet was met by a well laid plan and organization of the employers of the building tradesmen. They were banded together and to the best

of our knowledge each had a forfeit of \$500 up. Their association was known as the Builders' Exchange. Today they are combined against us. The mayor of the city is against us. We did not have him come here because we did not want to disgrace the floor of this convention hall.

A convention has just adjourned in Joliet that had over 3,000 delegates, and they were taken care of. Now we ask you to consider Joliet, where the injunction process is going to be made a better example of than in any other locality. If I have not given enough reasons for coming to Joliet, vote for Bloomington; but if you consider the duty you owe to the principle we are fighting for, then we ask you to vote for Joliet. It is not location we are fighting for, but principle.

Delegate Kinsley: I heartily agree with the people who have advanced Joliet and the reasons why we should go there, but it seems peculiar that this convention should vote to take \$40,000 into a city that has been against us right along when we can take it into a city as clean as Bloomington.

President Walker: In the past the rule has been to say whatever good could be said of a city, but there were no bricks or rocks to be thrown. Brother Pell digressed from that rule just a little. I hope you will not go any farther than he did, Brother Kinsley.

Delegate Kinsley: Well, I will stop on that and say I am for Bloomington.

Delegate O'Reilly (Mary): I want to say a word for the city of Joliet. I learned my trade in Joliet. I went to school there, and last spring during my spring vacation I went there to visit; but instead of spending my time visiting I spent it working for organization. I found the boys in the Joliet building trades locked out, and their mayor needed conversion, by whatever methods mayors can be con-

verted, as badly as any city official I ever saw. I went from a conference with the building trades officials to a conference of the teachers of Joliet. We are in about the same position the union men are down there; we have a good fighting group of teachers in Joliet, but it is small. They come to Chicago to our big meetings, they sympathize with us, but they have not yet been able to pull Joliet up where they can be of great assistance to us.

The Steel Company, the Bates Machinery Company and others that are unfair to labor are located there. That is not an argument for our staying away; it is an argument for our going there. That is the kind of place the delegates should go. When I attend a convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor I would like to go to a city that needs uplifting. I would like to see you go to Joliet and wake that old town up from the penitentiary to Rochdale. I have lived in Joliet during the time of the financial panic, and I saw little children from the workers' families go with their fathers' dinner buckets, which were not needed by the fathers, and stand around the penitentiary doors to get the leavings of the food.

It is the time to help the boys in the building trades organize stronger and strike. It is also time to help the little group of teachers there who have been carrying on the good work. Of course we Chicago delegates are really tired of going clean across the state, but aside from the motive of our wanting to have the convention nearer—and it certainly must be a great expense to have it far from the point where the greater number of delegates live—I think there is not a city in the state that would be of greater value to the labor movement if thoroughly organized than Joliet. I hope the convention will decide to go to Joliet next year.

Delegate Seidel: I think we ought to get down to business and do something to select a permanent convention city. Every time the plea is made that they have good accommodations,

but when we get to the place selected for the convention we find the hotels crowded.

Delegate Roderian: I come from Chicago. When I came here my co-delegate said he was from Joliet. When he heard the first speech for Bloomington he said, "I guess it's Bloomington." I have heard speakers say we are needed in Joliet, and I think we should select the city that needs us most. One speaker for Joliet said we will not have to ride on scab street cars if we go there. Now, that is just what we want. I think the impression this convention has made on the outsiders in Quincy is so great it cannot be weighed up with gold. I believe the street car company of this city has heard some remarks that will not be forgotten until the convention comes back here in five or six years.

Bloomington is not well organized. We don't care if we do not get the proper accommodations in the hotels, we don't care if we have to look for union-made bread. The fact that we do look for it and ask for it makes an impression upon the people. They will know that organized labor is growing and is coming to them and they must finally recognize it and come up to its demands. Therefore, I think if Bloomington is not so well organized as Joliet we ought to go there even if it is farther from Chicago and see if we cannot organize it.

Delegate Irvin: I want you gentlemen to know that we have 80,000 coal miners in the State of Illinois and the great majority of them are in the southern part, where the coal is so high that they are practically putting the north out of business. My local sent me here to try to get the convention in Bloomington, so we may have the pleasure of taking the United Mine Workers' delegates through that little vein next year. We want to do that, so that when we come to the next convention of the miners with the proposition of the low vein in our vicinity they will be able to speak of the conditions there. Then if we ask

for something we want the delegates from the other parts of the state to know what we need and will give it to us.

Delegate Collins: We have no injunction judges in Bloomington, because we do not elect that sort of man.

Delegate Farrell: I move that we close debate and proceed to vote on the question. (Seconded and carried.)

The convention decided to select the city by rising vote. The chairman stated that the cities would be voted on in the order in which they were nominated. A rising vote was taken, with the following result:

Joliet, 273 votes.

Bloomington, 261 votes.

While the vote was being counted by the assistant secretaries a delegate asked if they knew that every one who voted had a right to do so.

President Walker: The chair is under the impression that no one would come into this convention and vote on any question unless he had a right to do so. If there is any delegate who knows that any one voted who had not a right to do so he will make that fact known.

In accordance with the vote taken, Joliet having received a majority of the votes cast, I declare Joliet as the city in which we will hold our next convention.

Delegate Bertelero: I don't think the messengers were quite fair. They counted for Bloomington from the stage and for Joliet they went down on the floor.

Delegate Morgan: In view of the fact that the vote is so close I would like to have a verification of it.

Delegate Kennedy, Milk Wagon Drivers: I move that we proceed with the regular order of business. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Borman: As one of the delegates from Bloomington I desire to say we feel proud of the vote we received, and I move that the vote be made unanimous for Joliet. (Seconded and carried unanimously.)

Delegate Pell: In behalf of Joliet we thank you.

Delegate Harding, Chicago Allied Printing Trades Council, in the chair.

Report of Committee on Officers' Reports.

The secretary of the committee read the report that had been recommended for redrafting, the two concluding paragraphs being amended to read:

"Your committee would express the thought that in leaving the office of president of this Federation, John Walker has the well wishes of every trade unionist in this state, and we recommend that a standing vote of thanks be tendered him for the splendid accomplishments of his administration of the office.

"Your committee would further recommend that the Executive Board make every effort to secure the aid of John Walker whenever possible in legislation and other work of the Federation."

The report of the committee was adopted as amended.

President Walker: Friends, all I can say is that I appreciate your action in the adoption of the committee's report. I felt like saying a word this morning when you were considering the question of what I might do in the future. I felt like telling you that it does not make a particle of difference what happens after I go out of here, you will not be able to get rid of me; I will be with you anyhow. Whether I happen to be an official of the labor movement in this or any other division, or one of the rank and file, there won't be any time

id my life that my services can be of any assistance to our movement here in Illinois that I will not be ready to render the very best service I am capable of.

Delegate James A. Short, Chicago, in the chair.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Chairman Woll, of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 49.

From State Legislative Board of Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

Chicago, Ill., Oct. 13, 1916.

To the Committee on Resolutions, Special Convention, Quincy, Ill.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

The Illinois State Legislative Board of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, went on record in favor of the following legislation:

1st. An anti-injunction law, similar to the labor section of the Clayton anti-trust law.

2nd. An absentee-voters law. Allowing railroad men and others that are required to be away from home on election day to cast their vote.

3rd. Legislation that will place under state supervision the so-called Voluntary Relief Associations that are now conducted by some of the railroads and where the employes are required to contribute a per cent of their wages to these relief funds.

4th. A uniform school text book law.

5th. A law to prohibit dangerous surprise tests as are conducted by some railroads, by the changing of the signals and other means.

6th. A law requiring that two men be on all locomotives.

7th. A law that will exempt the militia from doing police duty where state rights or property is not jeopardized.

8th. The creation of a commission that will investigate the regulation of prices as are now controlled by the wholesale and retail merchants associations.

9th. A law that will abolish any and all loan companies that charge more than the legal rate of interest, which at present is 7% per year.

D. McCARTHY, Chairman,

Illinois State Legislative Board., B. of L. F. & E.

The committee reported as follows: In considering Resolution No. 49 your committee is gratified to note that the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen favor the enactment of several legislative proposals urged by this Federation. Your committee believes that substantial progress can be realized by complete co-operation between the Railroad Brotherhoods and the Federation. Because of this, and for the further reason that we believe the legislative proposals contained therein merit our support, we recommend their approval and endorsement, and express the hope that the Brotherhoods may also find it possible to give encouragement and support to all legislative proposals approved by this Federation.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 5.

By Delegates Herman Jessen and Emil Arnold, Painters' Union, No. 275, of Chicago:

WHEREAS, The employers who comply with the state Compensation Act have their employes insured in some insurance company which tries its best to keep from the injured workers their just compensation; and

WHEREAS, The experience with the Workmen's Compensation Act has sufficiently demonstrated that private owned insurance companies are detrimental to the workmen's interests; and

WHEREAS, The insurance companies of Illinois have organized the insurance federation for the purpose of fighting all legislation favoring state insurance; be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we urge all central bodies, local unions and individual trade unionists to use their influence with their respective senators and representatives in favor of the enactment of state-owned and state-controlled insurance.

Chairman Woll: Your committee concurs in Resolution No. 5 and recommends reference to the Legislative Committee for action thereon.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 6.

By Delegates Herman Jessen and Emil Arnold, of Painters' Union, No. 275, of Chicago:

WHEREAS, The investigation and examination of health conditions among painters in the city of Chicago by Factory Inspector Oscar Nelson and Dr. George L. Apfelbach of the State Factory Inspection Department has demonstrated the great extent of occupational disease among painters; and

WHEREAS, The poverty and misery created by partial disability of unknown origin and length is far worse than sickness from accident; be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled that all central bodies and local unions be urged to appoint or elect a statistician who shall gather all material in connection with cases of accident and occupational diseases

in their localities and forward same to the secretary or president who shall compile same material, and with the assistance of the legislative committee of the State Federation of Labor try to get the Workmen's Compensation Act amended to the effect that cases of occupational diseases be treated the same as accidents; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we appreciate the splendid work done by Factory Inspector Oscar Nelson and Dr. G. Apfelbach who, in spite of lack of funds, have investigated the real physical condition of the workers in various industries thereby furnishing us with valuable material to get legislation to favor us with compensation in occupational diseases.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Jessen: I will refrain from speaking on this resolution, as Oscar Nelson has furnished us with copies of his report which have been distributed to the delegates. I hope all the delegates will read the report.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 8.

By Delegate Henry Reitz, Guards, Keepers and Matrons' Union, Joliet:

Resolutions adopted by Guards, Keepers and Matrons' Federal Labor Union, No. 14785, Joliet, Illinois, to be presented to the State Federation of Labor for adoption by that body, and for presentation by them to the next legislature and senate to enact as state laws:

FIRST: Be it Resolved, That eight (8) hours constitute a day's work for guards, keepers and matrons at penal institutions in the State of Illinois; also that one day in seven, off duty,

be granted all guards, keepers and matrons without loss of pay.

SECOND: Be it Resolved, That the Guards, Keepers and Matrons' Federal Labor Union, No. 14785, Joliet, Illinois, ask the State Federation to use its influence with the governor of the State of Illinois and the civil service board to adjust the following grievances :

(a) That the twice-a-month pay law be enforced in the Illinois State Penitentiary at Joliet, Illinois.

(b) That the guards, keepers and matrons of the Illinois State Penitentiary at Joliet, Illinois, receive a salary of \$75.00 per month for the first three (3) months on probation, \$80.00 per month for the next three (3) months, \$90.00 per month for the next three (3) months, and after one year's service to receive \$100.00 per month, together with maintenance throughout all periods of service.

(c) That \$20.00 per month be allowed guards, keepers and matrons who live outside of institution.

(d) That guards, keepers and matrons receive pay at the rate of 40 cents per hour and expenses for overtime for services rendered in cases of escape, etc.

(e) That guards, keepers and matrons receive back pay which they are entitled to, according to the Civil Service Laws, but which is now withheld on account of lack of funds.

(f) That the State Federation of Labor use its influence before the State Board of Claims in adjusting the payroll of June, 1915, for which the guards, keepers and matrons of the Illinois State Penitentiary at Joliet, Illinois, are now paying interest on their salaries on account of an injunction suit now pending.

(g) That a union man be placed on the Board of Prison Commissions at Joliet, Illinois.

The committee reported as follows: Your committee finds that this reso-

lution deals with two distinctive subjects; the first paragraph being a proposal for an eight-hour day and one day of rest in seven for the guards, helpers and matrons employed at state penal institutions, the balance of the resolution dealing with the questions of wages and working conditions which are determined by the governor of the state and the civil service board. Your committee fully concurs in the first paragraph of this resolution and recommends instructing the executive officers and legislative committee to do everything in their power to bring about this desirable legislation. Your committee likewise approves of the demands made upon the governor and the Civil Service Board by the Guards, Keepers and Matrons' Union for a better wage and working conditions as set forth in this resolution, and recommends that the executive officers co-operate in every possible way with them to secure an adjustment of these grievances.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 9.

By Delegate Herman Jessen and Emil Arnold, of Painters' Union, No 275, of Chicago:

WHEREAS, A movement has been noticed to get free medical treatment for wage workers of the State of Illinois whose income is less than one thousand dollars a year; and

WHEREAS, The workers would be treated mostly by incompetent physicians of large private corporations in case such legislation should be enacted; and

WHEREAS, The system of state or municipal sick insurance should be established in place of extending the power of great labor crushing corporations, which try to control and dominate the worker's life from the cradle to the grave; be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that the president shall ap-

point a committee of seven which shall investigate this subject and report to the next convention the prevailing conditions of medical treatment by corporation physicians and propose a practical municipal or state insurance system.

The committee reported as follows on Resolution No. 9:

In considering this resolution your committee conferred with the introducer and finds that the intent is more particularly directed to bringing about a comprehensive investigation of practices in vogue among the large corporate interests of this state requiring their employes to undergo medical examination and treatment. Your committee was also advised that this resolution was intended to call attention to a movement by the same interests to bring about an extension of this plan for selfish purposes under the guise of a laudable and humane undertaking. Your committee is fully in accord with the intent of the resolution as explained by the introducer, but finds that the resolution itself as presented fails to give accurate expression to this intent and desire. Your committee therefore recommends concurrence and adoption of the following substitute resolution in lieu of the one submitted:

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the president appoint a committee of seven to make a thorough investigation of existing practices of these large corporate interests in giving free medical treatment and requiring physical examinations of their employes and to report to the next convention the prevailing conditions with such remedies which in the opinion of such special committee will best safeguard and promote the health and welfare of the workers of this state.

The report of the committee on Resolution No. 9 was adopted.

Resolutions No. 12 and 13, dealing with the same subject, are covered in one report by the committee. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 12.

From Miscellaneous Hotel and Restaurant Employes' Association, Local 874, Chicago, Henry Morris, President; Joe Seroto, Recording Secretary.

WHEREAS, The State Free Employment Department is doing good work and deserves the combined patronage of both employers and employes; and

WHEREAS, The giving of a license to a person for the purpose of selling another person a job is wrong from every human viewpoint, and the state that sells this privilege to a person is in reality a partner in the sale of jobs to its unemployed workers; and

WHEREAS, The private employment agencies have in all cases proven to be a burden to the workers, and are, on the other hand, of no value to the employers, providing employers are thus forced to patronize the state free employment offices; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That the Illinois Federation of Labor go on record as being opposed to the state licensing any private employment office, and that the executive committee stand hereby instructed to do everything possible to bring about a law which will make it illegal for any person to charge a person for a job, or for any information as to where a job may be secured.

Resolution No. 13.

From Miscellaneous Employes' Association, Local 874, Chicago, Henry Morris, President; Joe Serote, Rec. Secretary.

WHEREAS, Chicago saloon keepers are conducting free employment agencies in order to lure unemployed workers into their saloons, for the sole purpose of having them spend their money over the bar while waiting for jobs; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago hotels, restaurants and club houses, most of

which are also in the liquor business, are supporting these saloon employment agencies, in spite of the fact that the State of Illinois and labor unions furnish employment to workers free of charge; and

WHEREAS, Unemployed workers who are forced to hang around a saloon waiting for work, do in many instances drink more liquor than is best for their health, is a direct financial burden on them and their families, and often results in the breaking up of good homes; be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor call on the legislature to pass such a bill as will make it unlawful for any saloonkeeper to hire help of any kind other than for his own place of business, and that the commissioners of labor be given power to enforce the spirit of this resolution.

The committee submitted the following report:

Resolutions No. 12 and 13 both deal with the subject of employment agencies in which attention is directed to abuses under existing laws and practices which are not covered by law. Your committee was greatly impressed with some of the abuses which have been called to its attention. The committee, however, feels that in order to deal effectively with this subject a comprehensive survey should be made of the entire matter. Such an investigation will not only enable the Illinois State Federation of Labor to adopt a course which will correct these evils but will also bring the matter forcibly to public attention and thus prove very helpful in removing this grievous condition confronting the unemployed workmen. Your committee therefore recommends the appointment of a special committee to make a thorough investigation and comprehensive survey of the entire subject together with such recommendations as it deems best to protect the workers against exploitation of this character and submit its report to our next convention for consideration and action.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolutions 16^a and 36 are dealt with in one recommendation by the committee.

Resolution No. 16.

By Delegate R. H. Larnar, Granite City Lodge, No. 11, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee be instructed to draft a bill and use every effort to place it upon the statute books of the State of Illinois, providing universal free text books in the public schools.

Resolution No. 36.

By Delegate Martin J. Knapp, Staunton Trades Council.

WHEREAS, The school book problem this year hits the laboring men still harder than ever on account of the increased cost on books; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge the adoption of the Resolution No. 6 as adopted at the last convention at Alton.

JOSEPH H. RIZZIE,
President.

HENRY BIERSCHENK,
Secretary.
Staunton Trades Council.

Chairman Woll: Your committee finds that both these resolutions pertain to the same subject, and having carefully considered them we recommend their adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 14.

From Carpenters' Local, No. 581, Herrin A. L. Gothard, President; E. H. Beggs, Secretary.

RESOLVED, That Carpenters in the jurisdiction of a Carpenters' Local working at the mines as carpenters, shall not be required to join the miners' union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all carpenters working at mines as carpenters shall receive scale of wages of local in jurisdiction where he is working, but under no circumstances shall he be allowed to work unless he belongs to the Carpenters' Union.

The committee reported as follows:

This resolution requests the Illinois State Federation of Labor to determine a question of jurisdiction alleged to exist between the Carpenters and the Miners of Illinois. Your committee has carefully considered this entire subject matter, and finds that the Illinois State Federation is without power and has no right whatever in determining questions of jurisdiction. Your committee also believes it unwise for this Federation or any other State Federation to give the slightest consideration to controversies between affiliated unions relating to questions of jurisdiction in that such a policy would throw the entire labor movement into a condition of turmoil, friction and dissension. Your committee holds that this resolution cannot be considered in any form by this convention and therefore disapproves of it without prejudice to any of the parties named or involved.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 18, 24 and 57 are covered in one report by the committee. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 18.

From Chicago Cooks & Pastry Cooks' Association, Local 865:

WHEREAS, Ever since written history the human race has recognized one day during the week to be a day of rest for a worker, and not until modern machinery did establish the so-called continuous industries

have the workers been forced to work seven days per week; and

WHEREAS, One whole day of rest each week is absolutely necessary to maintain a sufficient amount of health among workers to enable them to continue in the industrial field as self-respecting workers; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, That the Illinois Federation of Labor again call upon the legislature to pass a bill which will guarantee each worker "One Day Rest in Seven"; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this bill shall not be considered as a labor measure but as a public health measure, and that it be construed that every vote cast against a bill of this kind be considered as a vote cast to destroy the lives of our citizens, and to rob them of their right as free citizens.

M. McLEOD, President.

ALBERT STEWART, Secretary.

Resolution No. 24.

By Delegate Dennis Lane, Butcher Workmen No. 546, Chicago.

WHEREAS, A large number of the wage earners of the State of Illinois are compelled to work long hours and seven days a week; and

WHEREAS, Such conditions make servile labor and in general an obstacle in the way of labor's progress; and

WHEREAS, The retail meat industry, a particular industry patronized by most working men and women, is one that needs attention on account of the peculiar conditions surrounding it, namely: Where one meat market is operated by the owner or owners without any outside help employed in competition with his neighbor, who employs butcher workmen; and

WHEREAS, If the one operating without any employee's help wishes to operate seven days a week and competition so keen practically compels

's neighbor to operate the same, therefore compelling the employed butcher workmen to work seven days a week; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, In general session assembled, that the Illinois State Federation of Labor, through its Legislative Committee, work earnestly for the enactment of legislation limiting a week's labor to six days and one day's rest, or, in other words, one day's rest in seven.

Resolution No. 57.

By Delegates Chas. Reagan, P. J. Carlson, Jas. F. McCabe, Tri-City Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In almost every line of industry employers have come to recognize the fact that at least one day's rest in seven is essential to the health and welfare of the employees; and,

WHEREAS, There are unfortunately employes in some occupations who are compelled to labor seven days in every week; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor instruct its officials to have introduced in the coming legislature a bill making it compulsory for employers to grant their employes at least one day's rest in every seven days.

Chairman Woll: These resolutions deal with practically the same subject; your committee therefore approves them and recommends their adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 17.

From Streator Central Body, Ed. Smith, President; T. L. Brooks, Secretary.

WHEREAS, Delinquent taxpayers of the State of Illinois are assessed twenty-five per cent (25%) the first quarter of delinquency, 50 per cent after the second quarter, and after a

certain time limit tax titles are secured by parties in that business and sold for whatever they see fit to charge; and

WHEREAS, The working people in general suffer most because of this unjust and extortionate rate, it is therefore the desire of the Streator Trades and Labor Council to request the Legislative Committee of the State Federation of Labor to draft a bill covering the proposition and present same to the next session of the Illinois Legislature; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the members of the Streator Trades and Labor Council believe that the county treasurer ought to collect these delinquent taxes at a fair rate of interest and that the tax title be held in trust by the county treasurer instead of selling same to those who make a business of buying tax titles.

Chairman Woll: Your committee concurs in Resolution No. 17 and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 19.

Cooks' Association, N. M. Leod, President; Albert Stewart, Secretary.

WHEREAS, It has been reported by the Health Department of the City of Chicago that a great number of Hotel and Restaurant Employes fall victims to tuberculosis and other dangerous diseases; and

WHEREAS, Kitchens located in basements or cellars are largely responsible for diseases of thousands of workers; and

WHEREAS, Not only are the lives of employes in grave danger by the continuation of these conditions, but the public who consume this food prepared under these insanitary conditions are daily in jeopardy, and every now and again we are confronted with wholesale sickness due to filth of one kind or the other, which

in almost all cases can be traced to the insanitary kitchens; and

WHEREAS, Almost every one of the basement kitchens are closed to the public and it is almost impossible for anyone except the employes and the officials of the health department to enter them; and

WHEREAS, The fact that public kitchens are kept in such private corridors, basements, cellars or other hidden places, causes a most dangerous peril toward the health of the entire public, be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor instruct its legislative committee to cause the introductions of such a bill or bills which will make it unlawful to maintain any kitchens or place where food is prepared for public consumption to be located in a basement or cellar, or in any place where insufficient light and natural air is procurable to insure the safety of the health of employes and of the public, also that representative people either of labor organizations or otherwise, may at all times be accessible to such kitchens in order to give the proper practical inspection relating to the safety of employes and of the public.

Chairman Woll: Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 21.

Introduced by Delegate Edw. Hammond, Painters' Local No. 147, Chicago.

WHEREAS, Recent investigations by the Occupational Commission of Illinois, by investigators for the United States Government as well as by investigations of the nations of Europe, notably France, Germany and Holland, have proven beyond question that the use of white lead in any form whatever is injurious to the health of the employes, and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid investigations have also brought out the fact that the greatest injury to the health of the workers is due to the use of white lead on all interior work and

WHEREAS, The experience of the countries above mentioned has been that it is possible without great expense to avoid the use of white lead, especially in the painting industry, and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America are at the present time carrying out an agitation prohibiting the use of white lead on all interior work in this state, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor hereby endorses the efforts being made by the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America to have enacted into the law an act which will prohibit the use of white lead on all interior work within the State of Illinois; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of this Federation and the Executive Board and the Legislative Committee are urged to give their hearty support to the Painters of the State of Illinois in their efforts to bring about this desirable legislation.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolutions 22, 30, 31 and 32 are covered in one report of the committee. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 22.

By Delegate Halbert Smith, Post Office Clerks No. 1, Chicago.

WHEREAS, The tour of duty for Chicago P. O. Chauffeurs and Mechanics has been arranged on a basis of eight (8) hours' work a day pro-

vided that the eight (8) hours of service shall not extend over a longer period than twelve (12) consecutive hours, and in cases of emergency we can be required to work twelve (12) consecutive hours without additional compensation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we ask the Illinois State Federation of Labor to confer with the Post Office Department at Washington, D. C., to the end that we be put on the same basis as the clerks, carriers and laborers whose hours of duty are eight (8) hours' work out of ten (10).

WHEREAS, By requirement of the Department of Chauffeurs and Mechanics are required to work Sundays and holidays with no compensatory time off, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, To ask the Illinois State Federation of Labor to aid us in having Sunday and holiday work compensated for on the same basis as other Post Office employees. Be it further

RESOLVED, that the Secretary of the Illinois Federation of Labor be instructed to forward these demands to the Post Office Department.

Resolution No. 30.

By Delegate James S. Jamison,
Post Office Clerks, Local No. 1, Chicago:

Resolution Against Excessive Number of Working Hours.

WHEREAS, It has been the custom in all large post offices to compel the clerks therein employed to toil an excessive number of hours during the greater part of the year, and it has been proven on numerous occasions that such avoidable overtime will serve to undermine the health and the required efficiency of the employees; and

WHEREAS, The principle of a penalty attachment to the eight-hour

law as a safeguard against the violation of the eight-hour act has been recognized by the congress and many other prominent representatives of the nation; and

WHEREAS, President Wilson in recent utterances has emphatically endorsed the eight-hour law as advocated by the American Federation of Labor, and has particularly emphasized the fact that it is a well nigh physical impossibility that the average employe comply with the same alertness and efficiency after eight hours' labor than during the regular eight-hour schedule; and

WHEREAS, Practically all industrial employers of the country compensate their employes on the basis of time and one-half or double time for all work performed in excess of eight hours; and

WHEREAS, We, the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, believe that the government should be a model employer; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor instruct its officers to demand that the post office department employ a sufficient number of substitute clerks to relieve the regular clerks from an excessive amount of overtime; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor urge their representatives in house and senate to enact into law a bill to grant all post office clerks time and one-half for all work performed in excess of eight hours per day; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the postmaster general and that also the members of the house of representatives and the senate will be supplied with copies of the same.

Resolution No. 31.

By Delegate Hal Smith, Post Office Clerks, No. 1, Chicago:

Protest Against Excessive Overtime in the Postal Service.

WHEREAS, The sixty-second congress enacted legislation giving to post office clerks the protection of an eight-hour day law, which provides that no time in excess of eight hours should be worked except in emergencies; and

WHEREAS, The practice in effect in Chicago and other large offices throughout the country is to compel clerks to work overtime day after day in disregard of the letter and spirit of the eight-hour day legislation; and

WHEREAS, The bulk of overtime work is performed by mail distributors who must study distribution schemes at home after office hours, and who are largely employed at night; and

WHEREAS, In order to minimize overtime the clerks are seeking to establish a wage rate of time and a half for all work in excess of eight hours; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Illinois State Federation, in convention assembled, pledge our support to the affiliated clerks in their efforts to force the postal department to limit overtime to actual emergencies; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Illinois delegation in congress requesting co-operation with the national officials of The National Federation of Post Office Clerks in securing legislation to insure to postal workers the protection of an eight-hour day.

Resolution No. 32.

By Delegate Halbert Smith of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Local No. 1, Chicago:

WHEREAS, A bill introduced in the house of representatives by Con-

gressman David Lewis of Maryland, provides for the reclassification of salaries of postal clerks and letter carriers, increasing the maximum to \$1,400 per annum in first-class post offices; and to \$1,300 in second-class post offices; and

WHEREAS, The salaries of postal employees have not been increased proportionately with the higher cost of living, nor do they receive a wage commensurate with the important, exacting duties they are required to perform; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorse the Lewis bill and instruct its legislative committee to co-operate with the officers of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks to secure this wage increase for the postal employees.

THE LEWIS BILL.

63rd Congress, 1st Session, H. R. 4836.

In the House of Representatives.

May 7, 1913.

Mr. Lewis of Maryland introduced the following bill, which was referred to the committee on the post office and post roads and ordered to be printed:

A BILL

To reclassify clerks at first and second-class post offices and carriers in the city delivery service.

Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, That on and after the first day of July next following the passage of this act, clerks at first and second-class post offices and carriers in the city delivery service shall be classified as follows:

Grade one, at a salary of \$800 per annum.

Grade two, at a salary of \$900 per annum.

Grade three, at a salary of \$1,000 per annum.

Grade four, at a salary of \$1,100 per annum.

Grade five, at a salary of \$1,200 per annum.

Grade six, at a salary of \$1,300 per annum.

Grade seven, at a salary of \$1,400 per annum.

Sec. 2. That clerks and carriers at first-class offices shall be promoted successively to the seventh grade, and clerks and carriers at second-class offices shall be promoted successively to the sixth grade.

Sec. 3. That a clerk or carrier who shall have completed one year of service in any grade with a satisfactory record for efficiency shall be eligible for promotion to the next higher grade, such promotion to take effect from the beginning of the next quarter-year period thereafter.

Sec. 4. That an act entitled, "An Act making appropriations for the service of the post office department for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1908, and for other purposes," approved March 2nd, 1907, in so far as the same is in conflict with the provisions of this Act, is hereby repealed.

Your committee has carefully considered these resolutions. We find these proposals all dealing with amending existing Federal Laws having to do with the wages and condition of employment of Postal Employees. Your committee is heartily in accord with the several suggestions contained therein but is of the opinion that more effective results may be had if these resolutions were referred to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor for consideration and action. While your committee recommends concurrence in the substance of these resolutions it further recommends reference to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor through our delegate.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 25.

By Delegate Dennis Lane, Butcher Workmen No. 546, Chicago.

WHEREAS, The men employed in curing meats and meat products and cutting, handling and delivering fresh meat and meat products to the general public for consumption; and

WHEREAS, The general health of the meat consuming public is in the hands of men or women who in many instances may be unreliable in performing such duties as curing meats and caring for same, which is often the cause of many cases of ptomaine poisoning; and

WHEREAS, The meat consuming public is also exposed to other contagious diseases which may be conveyed upon them through the ill health or unhealthy condition of the persons curing, cutting or preparing meats or meat products for public consumption; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor Labor cooperate with the Butcher Workmen of the State of Illinois by instructing the Legislative Committee to work upon the passage of a bill at the coming session of the legislature which would compel all persons employed in the capacity of cutting, curing and preparing meats and meat products in the State of Illinois for public consumption to pass an examination before a board of examiners, composed of practical men of the meat industry and a practicing physician, appointed to such board of examiners by the chief executive of the State of Illinois.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee has given considerable attention to the proposals contained in this resolution and finds that if it is approved in its present form that it may include men of other trades and organizations who have reached no definite conclusion as to

the legislative proposals suggested. Your committee also finds that the Butcher Workmen's Union has not yet prepared a bill covering this subject. In order to be helpful to the Butcher Workmen in establishing a condition beneficial to themselves and of protection to the general health of the meat consuming public your committee suggests that the Butcher Workmen prepare their proposals in the form of a bill; that upon such bill being presented to the officers of this Federation that they arrange for a meeting of all trades likely to be affected by this class of legislation in order that a united effort may be made for the early enactment into law of such proposals. Therefore your committee recommends action on lines herein suggested.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 28.

From Illinois Journeymen Barbers' Association, T. B. Davis, President; Wm. Jampel, Secretary-Treasurer.

WHEREAS, The Barbers' License Law has been a benefit to the barber craft of the state; and

WHEREAS, The barbers of the state have found from experience during the past seven years that this law has been in operation that the so-called barber colleges can be eliminated and the general public benefited by this law if properly amended; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the thirty-fourth annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor pledges its support of these amendments to the Barbers' License Law.

The committee reported as follows:

In considering resolution No. 28 your committee conferred with the introducers for the purpose of determining what particular amendments the Illinois Journeymen Barbers' Association intended to propose to the existing law. In response your committee was advised that the following amendments were desired:

"A new section to be added providing that a portion of all fines levied revert to the treasury of the board to be used for extra help, and to assist in prosecuting violations."

"Section 7 to be amended to provide that a permit holder would have no more rights than an apprentice until after he is examined and receives his license."

"Section 8 to be amended to provide that each barber college or barber school shall provide one instructor for each ten students, also that under no circumstances shall an apprentice be permitted to work unless a registered barber is present."

"Section 13 to be amended by giving justice courts the same jurisdiction as county courts."

Your committee having considered this resolution in connection with the amendments proposed favors its adoption amended so as to make these proposals part of the original resolution.

Chairman Woll: It may be necessary for the introducers of this resolution to secure legal advice on some of the proposals contained in it. Your committee did not care to deal with the legal phase of the matter, but suggests that that be done.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 29.

From Illinois Journeymen Barbers' Association, T. B. Davis, President; Wm. Jampel, Secretary-Treasurer.

WHEREAS, The barbers of Illinois are compelled to undergo the hardships of Sunday slavery; and

WHEREAS, The Illinois Journeymen Barbers' Association will seek the enactment of a Sunday closing law for barber shops at the next session of the general assembly; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the thirty-fourth annual convention of the Illinois State

Federation of Labor pledges its support of a measure of this kind.

Chairman Woll: The committee approves of the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 33.

By Delegates Agnes Nestor, Frances E. Harden, Mary Anderson, representing Women's Trade Union League of Chicago:

WHEREAS, Conditions in all warring countries have resulted in filling trades hitherto supplied by men workers only, with enormous numbers of underpaid women, unorganized and voteless; and

WHEREAS, We foresee, at the close of the war when men return asking back their jobs grave danger that these exploited women will be used to lower the wages of men as well, permanently and everywhere, thus causing the hard-won results of previous years of organization to be lost to the workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we endorse the movement to obtain from all governments at the time of the signature of the treaty of peace,

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS TO TAKE EFFECT WITHIN A DEFINITE TIME AND EMBODYING THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLE:

THE WAGE PAID FOR DEFINITE WORK MUST BE ABSOLUTELY INDEPENDENT OF THE SEX OF THE INDIVIDUAL PERFORMING IT.

The committee submitted the following report on Resolution No. 33:

Your committee has carefully considered this resolution and is fully in accord with the principle enunciated, namely, "that the wage paid for definite work must be absolutely independent of the sex of the individual

who performs it," and your committee recommends approval of this principle. The resolution, however, goes beyond a mere expression of this principle in endeavoring to have the Illinois State Federation of Labor approve a movement originating in France which contemplates bringing pressure to bear on all nations engaged in the European war to have this principle incorporated into whatever treaty of peace is arrived at at the conclusion of the war. Your committee is aware of the effort being made by the American Federation of Labor to secure the co-operation of the labor movements of all countries at war in having the rights of the workers of all countries, regardless of sex, fully protected in whatever treaty of peace is finally arrived at and believes it unwise for the Illinois State Federation to interfere with this movement in any way and therefore recommends that this matter be referred to the American Federation of Labor through our delegate for the purpose of having this proposal considered by it.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 34.

By Delegates A. A. Wigsnes, C. A. Lund, Carl Hausen, A. C. Anderson, Painters', No. 194, Chicago:

We herewith submit for the endorsement of the Illinois State Federation of Labor the following recommendations of the committee on health legislation of Local Union, 194, of Painters' District Council, No. 14, which were unanimously adopted and ordered submitted to the convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

1. That L. U. 194 favors the adoption of house bills Nos. 670 and 668, as presented to the 49th General Assembly, the adoption of which would benefit our trade, as follows:

Bill No. 668 by providing first aid medical service to injured members, payment for same guaranteed by the state.

The sections in house bill No. 670 of particular interest to our trade are the following:

Section 3a, providing elevator service to workmen in construction of all buildings to be eight stories or more in height as soon as such buildings reach a height of four stories; section 8b provides for at least one sanitary toilet for every fifth floor; section 8d provides for drinking fountains on each floor of a building under construction.

2. That an effort be made to secure the co-operation of the Painters' District Council No. 14, the Chicago and the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and other organizations that may be interested in the protection of the health and lives of the workers.

3. That our delegates to the convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor be instructed to secure the endorsement of above recommendation by the convention.

(Signed) A. A. WIGSNES,
Secretary Local Union' 194.

Endorsed by Painters' District Council No. 14.

The committee reported as follows on Resolution No. 34:

Your committee having considered this resolution finds that paragraphs No. 2 and 3 are merely instructions not intended for consideration by this convention and that only the subject matter contained in Paragraph No. 1 is submitted for action thereon.

In analyzing the subject contained under Paragraph No. 1 your committee finds that the proposal of providing first aid medical attention, etc., to injured workmen relates to amending the Workmen's Compensation Law. While your committee approves of this proposal it is nevertheless of the opinion that it should be handled by the executive officers in connection with all other amendments heretofore proposed and approved of to the existing compensation law and so recommend.

As to the balance of this paragraph your committee views with favor the proposals contained therein and recommends their adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 37.

By Delegates Agnes Nestor, Frances E. Harden, Mary Anderson, representing the Women's Trade Union League of Chicago:

WHEREAS, The National Women's Trade Union League at the Chicago biennial convention in 1909 called upon the Department of Commerce and Labor to establish a specific division to investigate and report from time to time upon the condition of working women in the United States with special reference to the health, safety and morals of the motherhood of the country; and

WHEREAS, At the last session of congress a bill was introduced in both branches to establish under the Department of Labor a division to be known as a woman's division and under a woman chief; and

WHEREAS, The rapid increase of women workers in the factories, mills and shops of the nation is fraught with industrial and social consequences of the utmost importance to the national welfare; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we heartily endorse the bill for the creation of this division, known as the Casey bill (H. B. 16353) in the last session, and call upon all organizations affiliated with the State Federation of Labor to help in the passage of this measure.

The committee reported as follows on Resolution No. 37:

Your committee having carefully considered this resolution favors the proposal in substance and is of the opinion that added value would accrue to such action if it were approved by the American Federation of Labor.

We therefore recommend reference to the coming American Federation of Labor convention through our delegate in the manner above indicated.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 40.

By Delegate Clyde A. Weston, East St. Louis:

RESOLVED, That this convention assembled, enact a bill in the house of representatives that any further board or committee of examiners examine all applicants for state license in person as the present form of pamphlet examination is a detriment to skilled organized labor.

MOVING PICTURE OPERATORS, LOCAL NO. 288.

Clyde A. Weston,
O. B. Kirk,
R. H. Davis,
E. J. Kerins.

Chairman Woll: Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 50.

By Delegate Geo. F. Golden:

WHEREAS, The automobile has become a factor in the State of Illinois, and the chauffeurs are compelled to take an examination to operate the same and pay five (\$5) dollars for the first license, and three (\$3) dollars for all renewals each year;

WHEREAS, There are hundreds and thousands of men, women and children operating automobiles and are never asked or compelled to take an examination or pay a cent towards the wear and tear of the streets or roads of our state; and

WHEREAS, The burden falls upon the wage earner to foot the bill or pay the damage; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor assembled, at Quincy, Illinois, that all persons, may it be man, woman or child, be compelled to take an examination in order to operate an automobile in the State of Illinois; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That they be compelled to contribute their share to the State of Illinois the same as the wage worker does, for the maintenance of the streets and roads of the State of Illinois; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the first examination fee remain at five (\$5) dollars, and that all renewals of license be made one (\$1) dollar each year instead of three.

The committee reported as follows:

In considering Resolution No. 50 your committee conferred with its introducer and with his approval submits the following substitute resolution in lieu of the proposal originally presented. This substitute resolution was approved at the last convention of the Federation and we recommend its re-affirmation when amended to read as follows:

WHEREAS, Our members are compelled to take an examination as chauffeurs and wage-earners; and

WHEREAS, There are women and children and men of the rich classes operating automobiles who are never asked to take an examination or pay a fee of from three dollars to five dollars as our members are; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the legislative body of the Illinois State Federation work in conjunction with the officers of the State Federation to have the fee of five dollars for the first license reduced to two dollars and the renewal of the second license and all renewals to one dollar; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the Illinois State Federation of Labor seek the enactment of a law which will prevent and make

it unlawful for any person under the age of sixteen years to operate an automobile of any character in any public thoroughfare of the State of Illinois.

Delegate Weston, East St. Louis, asked that a provision be included in the report covering moving picture operators, and many very young persons were employed in theaters where the lives of hundreds of people were in their care.

The chairman stated that the resolution referred only to drivers of motor vehicles, and that the other subject would require a separate resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 54.

By Delegate (Mrs.) A. J. Hopkins, Hospital Nurses and Attendants' Union, No. 14714, Kankakee:

WHEREAS, It ever has been the aim and inspiration of organized labor to promote the general welfare of its members, and also that of the unorganized for the betterment of mankind, to the end that those who toil may strengthen their participation in the powers of the government, and thereby obtain more complete co-operation in the administration of the laws enacted to further the common interests of all in a free and just administration of the laws of a popular government; and

WHEREAS, The State of Illinois has decreed that its charitable institutions shall be administered by a board composed of men of experience in the various questions involved in the care of the dependents and unfortunates, we find that, while this representation is just to a degree, there is not at the present a member of this board of administration who is an active member in the great labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It is essential that a member shall have certain qualifications, we claim that provision should be made for a member on this particular board who shall have had sufficient experience in the immediate care of the wards of this state to be able, by this knowledge gained through this experience in details of institution life, to add a greater measure of comfort in the lives of these unfortunates; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we entreat the Illinois State Federation of Labor to take immediate action on this matter, and secure for us the appointment of a person whose experience and integrity is unquestioned and in whose loyalty these workers would have perfect confidence to take a place on this board of administration, and have equal voice with the other members of this board in the conducting and the business of these state and charitable institutions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge ourselves, one and all, to the attainment of this end which will eventually mean better care for the wards of this state and contentment of its employes, and which will complete the development in the government of these state charitable institutions for it is inevitable that this step forward will mean better care and conditions for the inmates of these institutions, and greater contentment for the employes therein.

Chairman Woll: Your committee approves of this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 60.

By Delegate Burl H. May, Fed. Union, No. 14742; Mrs. A. J. Hopkins, No. 14714; C. H. Neal, No. 14767; Mrs. Fannie Casper, Leroy Bradley, No. 14715; Christ Baum, No. 15242:

WHEREAS, The Federal Labor Unions, representing the employes working for the State of Illinois in its institutions located at Kankakee, Elgin,

Peoria, Watertown, Jacksonville, Anna, Lincoln, Normal and Dunning, Illinois have been striving since they received their respective charters from the American Federation of Labor, to better their conditions of work and secure an increase of wages; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the State Federation of Labor in session assembled at its thirty-fourth annual convention, instruct the officers of the Federation and the members of the Trades Unions of this state, to assist the members of the above referred to organizations to have the legislature and senate of the State of Illinois at its next regular session to provide for a fund in its appropriation for the maintenance of the State of Illinois, same to be set aside for payment of salaries of the employes in said institutions, and for a substantial increase in salary, said fund to be used for no other purpose; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That said employes be paid semi-monthly in accordance with a law now written in the state statutes.

Chairman Woll; Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 4.

From Boiler Makers, Local No. 39, Chicago:

We, the officers and members of Local No. 39, Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, do recommend to your honorable body that you take up the case of Local No. 39, who are being discriminated against by the Building Trades Council of Chicago in preference to a dual local, Ex-Lodge No. 1, whose charter was revoked June 28, 1914. The above named Building Trades Council has used its influence in forc-

ing members of Local No. 39 off work in the city of Chicago and giving said work to the dual local.

We, the delegates of Local No. 39, Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, do recommend to your honorable body that you use your influence with the Building Trades Council of Chicago to have this dual local unseated and Local No. 39, seated in its stead.

Also, that this central body does recommend to the American Federation of Labor, with which we have been affiliated since 1886, that they work in conjunction with the Illinois State Federation of Labor and our international to have Local No. 39 seated in the Building Trades Council of Chicago. We have applied for membership on several different occasions in the Building Trades Council of Chicago and each time have been turned down.

The committee reported as follows: After carefully considering this resolution and calling before us the signers we recommend that the officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor Communicate with Secretary W. J. Spencer, of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., in an effort to have the matter adjusted to the satisfaction of all concerned.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Newbert: This fight we have on in Local No. 1 has been in existence over two years. We have tried every way possible to bring about settlement but we cannot do it. We have appointed a conciliation board of locals in and about the city of Chicago, but cannot get any consideration from Local No. 1. That local will sign an agreement and go back on it next day. We selected a committee of two from each of several boiler makers' locals working on locomotives around the city of Chicago. Each local presented an agree-

ment. Here is the agreement from Local No. 39:

"ARTICLE 1.

"If this Conciliation Board believes it is to the best interests of our organization to have two Contract Locals in the City of Chicago, we recommend 39th street to be the jurisdictional line for shops only.

"ARTICLE 2.

"That Local No. 39 shall have jurisdiction over all work to be erected anywhere in the City of Chicago by firms with shops located south of 39th Street, and No. 1 over work for shops located north of 39th Street.

"ARTICLE 3.

"In the event of foreign firms or contractors coming to the City of Chicago to erect work, Contract Local first applied to for men shall have complete jurisdiction over work to be erected anywhere in the City of Chicago or vicinity.

"ARTICLE 4.

"If there are to be two Contract Locals within the City of Chicago, each Local shall have equal rights in the building trades of the City of Chicago and, if one Local is seated in said Local Building Trades Council, both Locals shall be seated there.

"ARTICLE 5.

"Number 1 Local, if established, must get same scale as Lodge No. 39's members on all outside work.

"ARTICLE 6.

"We also recommend that any violation of the National Agreement on the part of the iron workers shall be immediately communicated to International Headquarters by the proper officials of each local.

"ARTICLE 7.

"Members of the Brotherhood with paid-up cards shall be entitled to work anywhere in the City of Chicago or vicinity where they can procure employment, and the only requirement of

them shall be that they shall deposit their cards in the Local having jurisdiction over such work as they are employed on and pay dues to such Local until transferred to another lodge, as per International Constitution."

No. 1 says that any time we come to town we must get clearance cards. It is a matter of only a few miles, but we must pay a dollar for every clearance card. Here is the agreement of Lodge 1:

"To the Committee of Conciliation Between Lodges One and Thirty-nine.

"Gentlemen:

"Upon your request that we put in writing, agreement covering the work in dispute between both Lodges One and Thirty-nine, and jurisdictional lines, we hereby submit for your approval:

"We claim, and have always had, **absolute** control of all contract shops, building and construction work in the City of Chicago and **vicinity**.

"The Building Trades Council of Chicago, the body we are affiliated with, have control of all work within Cook County, which we are also claiming; and also have had in the past.

"In regards to Contract Shops (Mechanics and helpers working in shops) we claim absolute control of all shops north of Sixty-ninth street. Also we have had, and claim, all work coming in to Chicago and vicinity, from outside firms, regardless of their locality.

"Action taken by Lodge One.
(Signed) JAS. McKERNAN,
"Pres.

"JNO. E. BURKE, Sec'y."

"If we live up to the agreement they offer we would have no place to work. They claim all of Cook County and we would have to go out of existence. I would like to see the original motion adopted.

Chairman Woll: I do not care to say much on this subject. I believe the committee's report is absolutely justified. We do not in any way judge of the dispute between Local No. 1 and Local No. 39 of the boiler makers. Unfortunately, this is a controversy between two locals of an international organization. The dispute having extended and having involved the local building trades council, and even having been considered by the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, your committee could take no other action than the one we did. We believe building trades disputes are best handled by the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and it will be ill advised for the State Federation to interfere with matters of that kind.

We therefore urge reference of this matter to that Department, with the hope that the Department will undertake to adjust it. That is as far as your committee believes this convention can go. Your committee wants to call attention to the fact that we have heard only the statement of the representative who introduced the resolution; we have not heard the side of the Building Trades Department, and as a labor organization we do not want to condemn any of our organizations until first given an opportunity of hearing and trial, and therefore your committee recommends reference of the entire subject to the Building Trades Department for the adjustment of the affairs duly delegated to that Department.

Delegate Newbert: The chairman made the statement that only one side of the question has been heard.

Chairman Woll: Only one side has been heard by your committee and only one side can be heard by this convention. The Building Trades Department is not officially represented here. It may be a hearing has been had elsewhere, but I am speaking of this convention and this Federation. I do not think the con-

vention or the Federation will make a decision without giving that large body an opportunity to be heard.

Chairman Short: As a matter of fact, neither the organization which he represents or the local seated in the Building Trades Council of Chicago are eligible to membership in that council. If the laws of the Department were carried out the Chicago Building Trades Council would be instructed to unseat locals of the boiler makers, because the last convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor unseated the international organization of the boiler makers.

Delegate Newbert: This resolution merely asks the State Federation to use its good offices to either make the ex-local—it is not a local at all now, it used to be Local No. 1—act as a labor organization should. It has been trying to strangle the life out of Local No. 39. We do not ask for a decision or an order, but for the Federation to use its good offices in this dispute.

Delegate Arnold, Painters: We have had Local No. 39 in the Building Trades Council. There is a certain element in the Building Trades Council in Chicago that, if you do not do the bidding of certain men, will put you out of business. In order to get justice for those men I think we ought to use our good offices to help them.

The report of the committee was adopted.

At 5 o'clock p. m. the rules were suspended and the convention remained in session to hear a further report from the committee.

Resolution No. 20.

From Aurora Trades and Labor Assembly.

WHEREAS, The Hon. L. Y. Sherman made an unwarranted attack on Pres. Gompers and the Labor Movement on the floor of the Senate some weeks ago; and

WHEREAS, Senator Sherman has made comments regarding dictation by Labor Organizations, but has never objected to dictation by corporations or employers' associations at any time; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor, assembled in regular convention, that we consider Senator Sherman an employe and representative of all his constituents, and as such should be willing to consider the interests of the workers as well as others at all times,

RESOLVED, That we condemn his remarks regarding Prés. Gompers and Labor Organizations and his attitude in general on matters affecting Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Pres. Gompers and to Senator Sherman.

Chairman Woll: Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 26.

By Delegate Will R. Boyer, Local Union No. 29, I. B. & W. M. U., Chicago:

WHEREAS, On June 8, 1916, a meeting was held in Paris, Ill., for the purpose of organizing the broom makers employed by the Merkle-Wiley Broom Company. The firm on learning of the said action, discharged a number of their employes for having become members of the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union; and

WHEREAS, The action of the firm was reported to President John Walker, who called on the firm for the purpose of settling the grievance of the broom makers. The management making the statement that they did not want their employes disturbed by the establishment of an organization, and refused to recognize organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The Merkle-Wiley Broom Co., by their action in discharging employes for becoming members of a trade union, indicate that they do not desire the patronage of union men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, declare the Merkle-Wiley Broom Co., Paris, Ill., to be unfair to organized labor, and urge all union men and women and friends of organized labor to refuse to purchase the products of the said firm; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated unions be notified of the said action and the attitude of this unfair firm, by the publication of these resolutions in the Weekly News Letter.

Chairman Woll: Your committee approves this resolution and recommends its adoption.

Delegate Boyer: I would like to ask that the delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention be instructed to introduce this same resolution.

Chairman Woll: The policy of the American Federation of Labor would not be to adopt the resolution in the form presented.

Delegate Boyer: They adopted a resolution much stronger than this that I introduced there last year.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 44.

By Delegate Joe Birnes, White Rats Actors' Union, Chicago:

WHEREAS, The Theatrical Managers' Association of Oklahoma, backed by the United Booking offices of New York, the Western Vaudeville Managers' Association of Chicago, and the Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association of America (known as the Vaudeville Trust), all

with offices in Chicago, have arbitrarily refused to meet the Stage Employes of Oklahoma to peacefully arbitrate their differences; and

WHEREAS, These same managers' associations have refused to even hear the Musicians and Moving Picture Operators, who also asked them to give a hearing to the Stage Employes; and

WHEREAS, The Theatrical Managers' Association of Oklahoma, by their unjust and arbitrary refusal to meet the Stage Employes, forced these three organizations to go on strike; and

WHEREAS, These three organizations, with the White Rats Actors' Union, made an agreement to stand together against the common enemy. One organization not to go back to work without the other; and

WHEREAS, The United Booking Offices of New York, the Western Vaudeville Managers' Association of Chicago, and the Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association of America, have not only furnished strike-breakers to the Oklahoma Theatrical Association, but have furnished them financial aid and support, and have sought to punish the White Rats Actors' Union for the stand they have taken in support of their fellow trades unionists of the allied theatrical trade, when they asked through their internationaleal president, James W. Fitzpatrick, for a peaceful conference in regard to adopting the closed shop policy for the actors in the different theaters of the country booked by these associations, by publicly announcing that they would not meet any committee of the White Rats Actors or have anything to do with them, so long as they were connected with the trades union movement, and went further, and announced publicly, and had large signs put up in the theaters of the country stating (to the effect) that after October 31, 1916, they would not play any members of the White Rats, or their affiliated branches; and

WHEREAS, These managers' associations have not only publicly announced themselves as enemies of the American Federation of Labor, but of all other organizations of labor, and of the public in general (their patrons) whom they refer to as "the always ignorant public"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor do hereby indorse the stand the White Rats Actors' Union has taken by their action in support of their fellow trades unionists in their fight for better conditions, and we heartily pledge them that we will use our every endeavor to assist them in bringing about a closed shop, an equitable contract, and peaceful arbitration of all differences between the White Rats Actors' Union and the Theatrical Managers of America.

The committee reported as follows:

Your committee was deeply concerned with the condition of affairs set forth in this resolution confronting the White Rats Actors' Union and believes that every possible effort should be made by the Illinois State Federation of Labor and all of its affiliated unions to support this organization in their conflict with the Theatrical Managers' Associations named in the resolution. We not only recommend concurrence in the proposals contained in the resolution but also instruct the executive officers of the Federation that in the event of the theatrical managers enforcing their threat of locking out all White Rat Actors after Oct. 31, communicate with the International officers of all crafts and professions closely associated with the actors for the purpose of securing complete and full co-operation of all these workers in protecting the rights of the White Rat Actors' Union and its members and to defeat the enforcement of the threat of the managers.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 51.

By Delegates Jas. A. Short and Arthur Dougherty, Chicago, Local Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of N. A.

WHEREAS, The stone entering into the construction of the state building known as the Second Regiment Armory, now being erected in the City of Chicago, is being cut in Bedford, Ind., where labor is much cheaper than in our own state; and

WHEREAS, We do not deem this to be conducive to the best interests of the citizens of our state, who pay the taxes, making it possible to erect such buildings and should at least be given employment in such construction work wherever it is possible; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the thirty-fourth annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, that instructions be issued to the legislative committee to frame an act for presentation to the next session of the state legislature to the end that all work for state institutions is to be performed by citizens of the State of Illinois wherever possible.

Chairman Woll: Your committee approves of the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 55.

By Delegates Fred C. Dahms, J. Cook, T. Madsen, Ray Bryant, Elmer Larson, Steve Sumner, Teamsters No. 753:

WHEREAS, We, the organized workers of this state, in convention assembled, stand for the principles of government for the people and by the people; and

WHEREAS, the daily press of today criticise the action of organized labor on our principles of militarism and patriotism; and

WHEREAS, There is today a great plea for the enlistment of our young men and children; and

WHEREAS, We, the organized workers of this state, take action in our Child Labor Laws, and also the public school system; and

WHEREAS, There is today a movement which endangers the minds of our children and also flaunts the minds against organized labor; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention draft such ways and means as they may see fit to stop the Boy Scout Movement.

In considering this resolution your committee finds that it is an instruction to this convention to provide ways and means to overcome the military attitude of the boy scout movement. To adopt the resolution as presented would burden the convention with a task which should receive careful and thoughtful attention.

Your committee deprecates any organized movement which in any way inculcates into the minds of our children the spirit of militarism at the same time we believe that any organized movement to develop the physical well being of our children is beneficial not only to the children of our state but to society as a whole. In order that these opinions might receive actual realization in the near future your committee submits in lieu of the resolution the proposal that the executive officers of the Federation cause an investigation to be made of all organized movements in the state dealing with the physical development of the children and to encourage only such movements as tend to improve the physical and mental development of our children free from any taint of militarism.

The report of the committee was adopted.

At 5:30 the convention was adjourned to 9 o'clock a. m., Friday, October 20th.

FIFTH DAY — Morning Session

Quincy, Ill., October 20, 1916.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Friday, October 20th, President Walker in the chair.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Chairman Woll of the committee reported as follows:

In view of the decision arrived at by this convention to make the demand for an anti-injunction bill, approved by this Federation, the paramount issue in this and all future campaigns until remedial legislation is secured and in order to call public attention to the many abuses of the injunction writ particularly as applied to the workers, organized and unorganized, your committee believes that active steps should be taken by this convention to create an atmosphere within the state for the immediate enactment of this essential legislation which our legislators can no longer evade or disregard without danger to their tenure of public office.

To this end your committee recommends that all city and central labor unions be directed to call mass meetings in their respective cities for this particular purpose and that all local unions be urged to co-operate with their respective city and central labor unions to assure an overwhelming attendance at these meetings.

In order that these mass meetings may be properly arranged as to time and place and afford the officers of the Federation an opportunity of co-operating with all city and central labor unions in securing able speakers and all other ways essential to assure success to this movement, your committee recommends that all necessary arrangements for the holding of these meetings be carried out under the direction and with the co-operation of the officers of the Federation.

Your committee further recommends that in cities where no central labor unions are in existence that local organizations in such cities arrange for a central committee to deal with this situation at once.

Your committee urges that we let it be understood everywhere from now on—in the present political campaign—during the election in November—while the legislature is in session this winter and continuing thereafter, if necessary—that the campaign for the restoration of the full rights of citizenship of the workers of Illinois will be steadily carried on until our efforts are crowned with success, the principals of freedom, independence and liberty are again re-established and the constitutional guarantees of free speech, free press, free assemblage, trial by jury, and freedom to the workers to associate and collectively endeavor to advance their general welfare are assured to all our citizens and all workers within the boundaries of the State of Illinois.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

Chairman Woll: That completes the report of the committee.

(Signed) Matthew Woll,
Chairman.
John Harding,
T. T. Moorehead,
Ed. Wieck,
John McGrath,
Clifford Henkel
Fred Ebeling,
Hunter Keith,
H. W. Grant,
J. J. McNamara,

Committee on Resolutions.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

Delegate Woll: When the report of the Committee on Schools was made exception was taken to the recommendation that the school board of the City of Chicago be paid and no reference was made to other school boards. The committee offered the following:

Supplementary Report of Committee on Schools.

Your committee has been advised that not only in the City of Chicago,

but in numerous other towns and cities of the State of Illinois has the working class no adequate representation upon school boards, and it can never have such representation nor ask for it under the present system by which members of school boards are supposed to render free service to their communities. As a matter of fact the members of your committee and the delegates to this State Federation of Labor, know that the service is rarely a free gift to the community. It is a matter of universal knowledge and experience that professional men, business men and politicians get themselves elected to boards of education often with the sole purpose of promoting their own professional, business or political interests and ambition. To make oneself a figure in the community and to obtain a following there, appears more often than the desire to render honest and efficient service to our public school system and our children. Your committee therefore recommends that a law be drafted making it possible to pay annual salaries to members of all school boards, thus making it possible for men and women of the wage earning class to serve thereon and eliminating or tending to eliminate the present tendency to seek this position in order to obtain patronage or prestige.

Delegate Seidel suggested that the report include a recommendation that school boards consist of five members instead of three.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

Report of Committee on Organization.

Delegate Short, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Secretary Short: "Resolutions Nos. 3 and 47, dealing with the same subject, are covered in one report of the committee. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 3.

From Teamsters and Chauffeurs, No. 179, Joliet:

WHEREAS, Local 179 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers was locked out on April 1, 1916, with other organizations in the building industry in Joliet and is still locked out by the larger dealers in building material; and,

WHEREAS, Local 179 is in possession of all the evidence showing the reasons for its members being singled out by the Builders' Exchange, in other words, the Chamber of Commerce of Joliet, for defeat; and,

WHEREAS, This evidence proves that the Builders' Exchange demanded open shop conditions in the delivery of building material, and this condition has been allowed to prevail since that time by the unions affiliated with the Building Trades Council of Joliet; and,

WHEREAS, Local 179 has knowledge of many movements in the Joliet district which, if allowed to continue, will nullify their efforts of the past and destroy their organization and other organizations in the building industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That local 179, I. B. of T., C., S. & H. demand an investigation of the conditions prevailing in Joliet by some person or persons duly authorized by the Illinois State Federation of Labor to make such investigation.

Resolution No. 47.

From Teamsters No. 179, Joliet.

APPEAL TO THE OFFICERS AND DELEGATES OF THE 34TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Greeting:—

The members of Local Union 179, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and

Helpers, ask the officers and delegates to the 34th Convention to consider carefully the following appeal:

On April 1st, 1916, our members in the building industry were locked out, together with the other crafts in this industry, and since that time have been engaged in a bitter fight with the local Employers' Association. All other crafts originally engaged in this fight for the union shop have succeeded in reaching an agreement with the Employers' Association. On the other hand, we have not been successful in forcing the largest dealers in building material to employ members of our organization or to operate their establishments under union conditions.

Since we have been engaged in this fight it has been our constant endeavor to obtain the co-operation and moral support of the other unions in the building industry. We regret that some of the unions have shown a disposition to consider their own welfare before that of the trade union movement in Joliet. We feel that this matter is of sufficient importance to the trade union movement to merit the consideration of the convention. If trade unionism is to develop in the future in Joliet, there must be a greater spirit of co-operation between the various unions.

We respectfully ask that the State Federation investigate the conditions prevailing in the building industry in Joliet. If, after hearing the evidence, the Federation decides that there is justice in our cause, we ask the moral support of the Federation in bringing about a recognition of our organization in the building industry.

Respectfully submitted,

WM. LeMAY,
Teamsters, Chauffeurs No. 179, Joliet,
Ill.

Secretary Short: Inasmuch as the B. T. C. of Joliet holds its charter from the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of

Labor, your committee is of the opinion that the proper method of procedure would be for the secretary of this Federation to notify Secretary Spencer of the Building Trades Department of the complaint and ask that suitable action be taken, and we so recommend.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Golden, Chicago: For fourteen weeks or over I paid strike benefits to the teamsters in Joliet and they have stood loyally by their organization. They are not getting the support they should get from the trades. Four of the largest firms in Joliet, material and lumber men, are employing scab teamsters and chauffeurs and the building trades, the carpenters, bricklayers and others are receiving the material, handling it day after day, and failing to support the teamsters in their strike as they should. That is the reason the appeal is in here today. All they want is to have the trades give them the support to compel these four firms to employ union teamsters and chauffeurs. That will solve the whole situation in Joliet.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 7.

By Delegate Cal. A. Crompton, Bartenders No. 89, Chicago:

WHEREAS, The various Bartenders' Unions of Chicago have been consolidated into one organization, namely, Bartenders' Benevolent and Protective Association, Local No. 89; and

WHEREAS, For years the Bartenders of Chicago have endeavored to secure union recognition and conditions from the saloon keepers and liquor interests; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Hotel and Restaurant Keepers Associations are most viciously opposing every at-

tempt of their employes to organize and are building dual or anti-union organizations in order to keep their employes from becoming members of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the I. S. F. of L. issue a general call of the trade unionists of Chicago to patronize only such bars that display the union bar card, and for the unionists to insist before being served that every Bartender wear a union working button; be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Illinois Federation of Labor stand hereby instructed to continue negotiation with the above mentioned organization to the end that all workers employed in the liquor industry carry a union card; be it further

RESOLVED, That the executive board of the Illinois State Federation of Labor be instructed to call a conference with the various Brewery Workers' Unions, and with such other organizations who may directly or indirectly be able to assist in unionizing the Bartenders of Chicago; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the executive board be given power to the fullest extent permissible under the laws of the Illinois Federation of Labor to bring about the sense and objects of these resolutions.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 11.

By John C. Augustin, Metal Polishers, Local 111, Quincy:

WHEREAS, The members of Local 179 of Woodstock, Ill., have gone on strike at the Woodstock Typewriter Co., to enforce a demand for a reduction in hours from ten to nine; and

WHEREAS, No settlement of this strike has been possible up to this time, due to the fact that Mr. Roe-

buck, the president of this firm, believes that he can get along without organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the thirty-fourth annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor direct its executive board to co-operate with the members of Local 179, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of N. A., Woodstock, Ill., in a campaign looking toward a complete victory, and use all honorable means within their power to bring the strike to a satisfactory adjustment.

The committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 23.

By Delegate Mike Rolewicz, Butcher Workmen No. 87, Chicago:

WHEREAS, A campaign of organization is being waged in all the large packing centers of the country which are controlled by the Meat Trust; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has given splendid support to this campaign, we feel that this is a big job and we need the help and co-operation of all organized labor, State and Central bodies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as supporting and aiding in every possible way the campaign of organization now being waged in the two large packing centers located in Illinois, namely: East St. Louis and Chicago; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates will convey this appeal to their local unions that every possible aid might be had.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 35.

By Delegate S. Bluse, Metal Polishers No. 6, Chicago:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in the 34th annual convention assembled.

After ten years of persistent effort on the part of organized labor, practically every leading musical band instrument factory in this country was organized and adopted the use of the Union Label of the

Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America. An agitation was then started creating a demand for the union made instrument. These firms profiting thereby, but were not willing to grant anything in return. After these factories were thoroughly organized and the demand for the union made product, the union men made a demand for a shorter work day and increase in wages. These musical factories immediately formed a manufacturers' association, namely, The National Association of Band Instrument Manufacturers, and immediately notified organized labor that all demands for Union conditions were refused, abrogated Union agreements and discontinued the use of the Union Label on their band instruments. They further declared for the non-union shop, and demanded the right to hire whom they pleased, paid whatever wages they felt like paying and work their factories any number of hours above the hours demanded by the union without extra compensation.

A general strike was called on Monday, February 14th, and all the Union employes, both men and women, went on strike and have been on strike ever since.

This strike has received the endorsement of our International Union, nearly all Central Bodies and the American Federation of Musicians in convention assembled; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois Federation of Labor, in its annual con-

vention assembled, endorse the action of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America in their efforts to better the condition of the Union men employed in the Musical Instrument Industry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we condemn the action of the following ten factories as being both antagonistic and unfair to organized labor:

H. N. White & Co., Cleveland, O.

C. C. Conn, Ltd., Elkhart, Ind.

Buescher Band Instrument Co., Elkhart, Ind.

The Martin Band Instrument Co., Elkhart, Ind.

The Elkhart Musical Instrument Co., Elkhart, Ind.

Emil K. Blessing Co., Elkhart, Ind.

Frank Holton Co., Chicago, Ill.

Tailor & Horn Co., Chicago, Ill.

Harry B. Jay, Chicago, Ill.

J. W. York & Sons, Grand Rapids, Mich.

Grand Rapids Musical Instrument Co., Grand Rapids, Mich.

And, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the Illinois State Federation of Labor be directed to give this strike all the publicity possible by communicating with all the locals in the State of Illinois, requesting them to see that the product of these unfair firms are not permitted to enter their cities.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 38.

By Delegates P. S. Cahill and Geo. Plowright of Chicago Printing Pressmen's Union No. 3:

WHEREAS, The firm of Rand-McNally Co., of Chicago, general printers and publishers of school books, has refused to employ men of the Chi-

cago Printing Pressmen's Union No. 3, and Assistants' Union, or grant the working conditions established by mutual agreement between the Employing Printers' Association and the Chicago Printing Pressmen's Union No. 3, and Assistants' Union, and all other organizations, in a campaign looking toward the unionizing of the Rand-McNally Co. plant, and use all honorable means within their power to bring the matter to a satisfactory adjustment.

WHEREAS, Several of the states now enjoying uniform school books use one or more of the publications printed by the Rand-McNally Co.; therefore, be

RESOLVED, By the thirty-fourth annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to direct the Executive Board to co-operate with Chicago Printing Pressmen's Union No. 3 and Assistants' Union in a campaign looking toward the unionizing of the Rand-McNally Co. plant, and use all honorable means within their power to bring the matter to a satisfactory adjustment.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution when amended by inserting in the last paragraph, after the words "Assistants' Union," the words, "And all other organizations."

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 41.

By Delegates Anna Fitzgerald, Geo. C. Slater, John W. Bopp, Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Penitentiary Commission of the state of Illinois has begun the erection of the new Illinois state penitentiary at Lockport with convict labor; and

WHEREAS, It is the purpose and intention of the said commission to employ convict labor throughout the construction of said penitentiary; and

WHEREAS, Members of the Building Trades Unions throughout the State of Illinois, by the use of convict labor will be deprived of the labor and wages justly due them as free citizens and taxpayers of the State of Illinois; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Local Union No. 1, of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers in regular meeting assembled, hereby protests most emphatically against the use of convict labor for the erection of the new Illinois penitentiary; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the Chicago Building Trades Council, the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Illinois State Federation of Labor and that they be urged to send letters of protest to the members of the Penitentiary Commission and to the Governor of the state and also to their affiliated unions, requesting them to protest against the use of convict labor for this purpose.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

President Walker: I believe this is one of the things which a clean-cut position ought to be taken by the State Federation of Labor, if it can be done. If you will read the report of the Special Committee on Convict Labor you will find it is recommended there that convicts be permitted to work on all work being done for the state government itself, in state institutions, that affects themselves. I did not say anything at the time because the delegates representing those institutions were here. If this report is adopted you will have a report in a general way agreeing the convict shall do this work, and you will have another report protesting against its being done. Then the organization involved will ask the Federation officials to take the matter up and have it stopped if they can possibly do it.

This is a rather large question; it involves the question of whether or not the convicts are going to be permitted to work. If they are not going to be permitted to do work, any organization has jurisdiction over, that thing has to be set forth clearly as the position of the Federation and then the officials will know what to do. But if they are going to be permitted to do work for themselves within their own institution and for the state government, that should be set forth so that one organization will not permit it to be done and all other organizations fall upon the labor movement to prevent its being done. I presume I should not have brought this to your attention, because if we are going to have a thorough discussion we are going to take up considerable time doing it.

Delegate, Donecker, Chicago: I notice there are two resolves and that only the second one was read. May we have the first one read, which contains the meat in the cocoanut?

The resolution was re-read.

Delegate Arnold, Painters: I understand the Convict Labor Committee recommended the use of convicts on road work and work for the institutions, but we did not understand they were going to be used on new buildings. There was a fire in Dunning and some of the buildings were burned down. What would be done to prevent the state taking prisoners from the penitentiary in Joliet and working them in the erection of new buildings in Dunning or elsewhere in the state? We understand the Committee on Convict Labor recommended that the men be used making roads and doing work for the institutions in which they are confined. I am opposed to the report of the Committee on Convict Labor on that point. I don't want the prisoners to work at any trade union labor controls, but knowing that the highways are not built by union labor we are willing to have them used for that purpose. I don't believe in allowing them to take the work away from use when they

can be protected by the militia and the police.

President Walker: I have had three disputes on this question during the last year and they have pretty nearly explained what the position of our movement is on this question. No organization has any special complaint about convicts working as long as they do not interfere with that particular trade, but as soon as convicts do work in that trade they raise a vigorous protest.

The Committee on Convict Labor provided for working convicts on the road. One of the most vigorous protests handed in to the Federation during the last year was by engineers because the convicts were doing work that belonged to them. Convicts must be permitted to work. Either that or you will have to institute golf links and other forms of exercise that you will give them a chance to get physical exercise and occupy their minds. That would be ridiculous! They must be permitted to do some work, and if they are going to be permitted to do any work we ought to say what it is so that when they do it the officials of the organization will not be requested to take the matter up with the state officers and try to get it stopped.

It puts the organization in an ugly position. It is a disagreeable proposition and if we are going to deal with it fairly some provision must be made to enable the convicts to work. The report of the committee does permit them to do work on supplies for themselves and on work for the institutions of which they are inmates. Now the question of a penitentiary being built comes up. At the Peoria convention some years ago the question of getting better accommodations for the inmates of the penitentiary was raised, and the only thing that stood in the way of its being done was to get an appropriation for new buildings. They figured that appropriations could be secured to buy the ground and get the material the convicts could not create themselves.

It was said if the could do that the convicts would be able to do the work. That is the action that was taken in Peoria.

Now if these convicts cannot work on that kind of an institution, I want to ask you frankly what kind of work will they be permitted to do? The bakers have a right to bake the bread, they have jurisdiction over that work; they have as much right to bake the bread for the convicts, and the unqualified jurisdiction, but if the convicts have a right to bake the bread they eat they have a right to build the house they live in. There isn't any kind of labor they can perform, if we want to be consistent, if there is a labor organization outside that has jurisdiction or if there is a class of labor doing it we want to organize.

I know this is an unpleasant question with the organizations involved, but we ought to deal honestly with it, we ought to take a consistent position and we ought to be big enough to do the right thing. I hope you will decide to do either one thing or the other. I feel the discussion should have been brought up when the Convict Labor Committee reported, but the delegates adopted that report without discussion. Now comes this resolution from an organization, and if it is adopted it will be reversing the position taken on the report of the Committee on Convict Labor.

Delegate Clark, Iron Workers: I am sure the Structural Iron Workers would be the last organization affiliated with the Illinois State Federation of Labor to present any resolution to this convention that would in any way place a stumbling block in the way of the officers. The State of Illinois held an examination for foreman for the erection of this state penitentiary. Notice was given the Structural Iron Workers of Chicago to take the examination for superintendent, assistant superintendent and three or four foremen. A similar notice was sent to the ornamental iron workers. There were five men that

were selected from our organization to act in the capacities I have stated. Feeling at the time our organization was going to control this class of work, our international officers visited the State Penitentiary Committee on the erection of the work. They also visited Governor Dunne, and it seemed to be the consensus of opinion that the building would be erected partially under union conditions. There were some provisos attached, that the iron workers permit some of the convicts to work around the building, carry billets, bolts, coal and do other incidental work. They were given that privilege by the committee from our organization, and I feel we were justified in doing that.

We realize that convicts must work. I am sure the structural iron worker does not want to humiliate this organization by putting them on record in the way Brother Walker has stated. I am sure every other organization that has jurisdiction over certain classes of work will come in for their share. The iron workers have taken the initiative in asking for support in controlling that work.

President Walker: Do you know whether or not this is a contract job?

Delegate Clark: No sir, it is not; the state is building it.

Delegate Gaudé: That is just the reason we agreed on this resolution. The building of the new penitentiary at Lockport is a contract job. If it had been a state job and they were going to build it with the convicts we might have come to some other conclusion; but we did not believe it would be right for a contractor to go in there, take out two hundred or two hundred and fifty prisoners to build the penitentiary and pay the state about 65 cents a day for their work.

Some of the members of the committee really believed the prisoners ought not to work at all, and not even put in golf courses and other forms of exercise. If that were done we would

soon be without prisoners. If some of the delegates can convince us this is not a contract job we will be able to agree on something else. It was brought out in the committee that it was a contract job. One of the members of the committee said if the convicts were used it would take about fifty years to build the penitentiary.

Delegate Woll: There seems to be a misunderstanding as to whether the particular work in question is being done by the state itself as an employer or whether the building is being erected by a contractor. In view of this misunderstanding, which I believe has a great bearing on the report, I move you that the matter be referred to the Executive Board to determine that question and to apply the decision of this convention as arrived at by the Committee on Convict Labor. (Seconded.)

Delegate Boyer: This convict labor question never will be settled until it is settled right. The only method of employing convicts, and they must be employed, is to do work for the state institutions. I visited the Columbus prison at one time when 600 convicts were out of work. There was no work for them. It was the most pitiable sight I have ever seen. Until all trades are willing to take their share of competition, doing work for the state by manufacturing such articles as the state needs and employing the convicts in that way, the question never will be settled in this or any other state.

If you are going to force the state officials to employ these convicts under the system of manufacturing goods to sell in the open market—and they must do that, because they must employ the convicts—you will bring about the old contract system. At the present time the prisoners in the Jefferson City, Mo., penitentiary are on strike. I assure you it is a militant strike. I have a communication in my pocket written by an inmate of that institution. The prisoners decided that on account of the abuses

under the contract system sometime ago they would burn every building within the stockade.

They were hung to the bars of the prison doors by their thumbs, they were put on bread and water because they could not do the work put on them by the contractors. They have burned five buildings in the last few months. We do not want that condition to exist in the Illinois prisons. Unless each trade is willing to allow them to take a part of the work in doing work for themselves and for the state, then two or three of the trades in the state will be entirely destroyed. For years and years my trade has endeavored to remove that competition, and I am pleased to say that with the aid and assistance of the officers and members of this Federation we removed broom making from the prisons and got better wages and conditions in the factories throughout the state.

Let each trade take its small share of this competition and it will hurt no one. I am sure that all the trades, if they will investigate the matter thoroughly, will agree to this proposition. It is the only solution. The question has been studied for years and years by trade unions and other organizations and that it is the conclusion that has been reached in every state where the proposition has been investigated. I trust this state will be as liberal as other states have been.

Delegate Clark, Iron Workers: I stated that the Structural Iron Workers agreed to such a suggestion, that we would take our pro rata of the employment of those men and see that they were kept busy in the construction of those buildings.

Delegate Searl: It came to my attention that the congressman from our district was a member of the commission in charge of this work. It was also brought to my attention that much of the work would be done by convicts. I looked up the law and

found it was being done under a commission and the appropriation was given with the direct understanding that convicts must be employed on the work. For that reason there can be no question that the convicts will do the work.

It seems to me the motion to refer to the officers is the proper procedure. We all know that the officers of this Federation, from the President down, are pretty well agreed on this convict labor proposition, and if the convention allows them to handle the matter I am satisfied it will be handled in the right way. The law provides that the work must be done by convicts if the convicts can do it. Where it is necessary to get mechanics from outside on work the convicts cannot do they will employ the mechanics we represent. I feel if this is left in the hands of the officers of the Federation it will be taken care of properly.

Delegate Ferris, Lathers: If any one of us, as a building tradesman, wants to build a home, and want to do what we know and can do, we should be allowed to do it. The state takes the same course and I think it is no more than right to let it go to the Executive Board to be handled by them.

Delegate Woll: I want to take up a few minutes to speak on the principles declared by this convention. The report of the Committee on Prison Labor opens in this way:

"The prison labor problem having been the subject of discussion of labor and reform organizations for the past fifty years or more, all students of the subject are rapidly coming to an agreement upon the following general principles covering the proposition:

"1. The prisoner must be employed.

"2. He must be employed productively.

"3. He must not be exploited for private profit or in unfair competition with free labor."

I think that fully covers the situation under discussion, the authorizing of the executive officers to see that competition with free labor is prevented in this state.

The motion offered by Delegate Woll, to refer to the Executive Board, was carried.

Resolution No. 42.

By Delegates E. Carbine, Emil Seidel and E. B. Passmore:

WHEREAS, We have a large number of organized men and women in this state, more so than at any previous time in the history of the state, but even at that we still have hundreds and thousands of unorganized men and women who are on the outside of the labor movement who are working in the mills and factories of Illinois, and hundreds of these mills and factories work their help all day on Saturday; and

WHEREAS, There are Central bodies in every city in the state where these so-called open shops, mills and factories operate; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Central Bodies from now on start campaigns and hold open meetings and labor demonstrations during the coming year of 1917 throughout the state of Illinois; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we secure speakers from wherever possible to take part in these celebrations and demonstrations, which will cost but a small sum if all crafts donate into the fund of the Central Bodies, which will conduct these campaigns. This will stimulate interest among the union men, and will also encourage the workers who are not affiliated with organized labor, or who have been intimidated through fear of discharge, and so on, from joining the unions to which they are eligible.

It will also open the eyes of the business men when they see parades pass by their doors with the banners calling attention to the labor campaigns in the cities where these labor demonstrations are being held. It will remind the merchants and the business men, who have been called upon by label committees from the various locals and central bodies; that they were asked to put in a stock of goods bearing the union label, but did not comply with the requests.

These parades and demonstrations will also attract the attention of the Chambers of Commerce, and the members of it who were active in lobbying against the Women's Eight Hour Law at the last session of the legislature in this state; be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention returning home to their locals and central bodies, will feel it imperative and take this subject up at their meetings and get ready for a gigantic organizing campaign to start this coming spring throughout the state.

We trust and hope that this resolution will be adopted and that each and every delegate will realize the importance of it and will proceed to put it into effect. Not only for our benefit, but for the benefit of the little ones who are coming after us and who will toil for a living in the State of Illinois.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Seidel, Machinists: During this battlefield prosperity we have had in the United States for the last two years the international organizations inaugurated a labor forward movement. Delegate Carbine was sent to Decatur to start it there. The membership has been increased to a certain extent. We had a big demonstration there on May 20. Brother Walker was there and he knows that it was one of the biggest demonstra-

tions that has been held in Decatur. The newspapers carried advertisements for drygoods and everything else but we could not get into the newspapers. Brother Carbine felt the best way to advertise was to adopt the moving picture plan. We had a moving picture operator take pictures of the parade and they were shown throughout the state of Illinois. Such pictures show what the organization can do in any locality.

I think if you pull off demonstrations of that kind all through the state, and it can be done, it will show the spirit of the movement. There is some expense connected with this plan, but not much. If each man or each union will contribute a little those stunts can be pulled off. You have Labor Day celebration, that comes off every year. There is another thing you can do. You might go out and have night demonstrations. Men can attend them who would not want to lose a day's work. I have seen some of the best demonstrations in Europe in the night. I saw such a demonstration in Antwerp, Belgium, where they sang the Marseilles, the song of liberty. I don't know whether you have a song of liberty for the working men here or not, but if you have, it should be sung at those demonstrations.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 43.

By Delegate Albert Peterson, Local Union No. 401, of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers of Chicago, Ill:

WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers have been on strike in the various brick yards in Cook county, Illinois, for the past four (4) years, and are still on strike; and

WHEREAS, The organization of United Clay Workers of America, an organization now seated in the Illinois State Federation of Labor, have and

are now, manning the positions held by the engineers previous to said strike; and

WHEREAS, Said organization of United Clay Workers of America have as recently as one (1) month ago demanded that engineers, members of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers working on two (2) brick yards in Cook county, that there was no contention to become members of said Union Clay Workers of America; and

WHEREAS, Said Engineers refused to join Clay Workers' Organization; and

WHEREAS, The United Clay Workers of America then struck these yards and forced the employer to discharge said engineers and employ members of the United Clay Workers of America in their places; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the thirty-fourth annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, assembled in the City of Quincy, Illinois, instruct its officers to use all honorable means with the president of the American Federation of Labor, the officers of the Chicago Federation of Labor, the organization of Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance and the United Clay Workers of America to adjust this long standing controversy to the extent that engineers of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers must be employed in brick yards in Cook County, Illinois; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor be instructed to attend the next conference by and between the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, representatives of the Chicago Federation of Labor, the representatives of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, and representatives of the United Clay Workers of America for the purpose of insisting on the rights of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers in this controversy, with a view

of settling same to the best interests of all concerned.

Delegate Peterson, Steam Engineers: Inasmuch as the representatives of the two organizations concerned in this controversy appeared before the Committee on Organization last night and came to an understanding that leads me to believe the Clay Workers and the Engineers will undoubtedly get together in the near future and settle this long-standing controversy, I am of the opinion that for the best interests of all concerned it would be policy for me to withdraw the resolution. I have in mind, however, the internal friction between the Clay Workers and Brick Makers, and also have in mind the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor where that matter will come up. For that reason I will withdraw the resolution.

Delegate Tracey: We had a session last night and certainly we objected to the resolution. I would like to make clear the resolve part of this resolution for the benefit of the delegates.

Secretary Short: I rise to a point of order. The resolution has been withdrawn.

Delegate Tracey: I would like to make an explanation. We don't want you to understand, Brother Walker, that we object to a conference. Vice-President Kelley is in the habit of coming into the conferences around Streator, and if he does not come in we drag him in. We have dragged Brother Walker and Brother Carbine into those meetings also. Whenever we catch a state officer running loose we drag him in.

Delegate Kasten (Frank): We have worked too hard to get where we are with the officers of this Federation and the Chicago Federation, without having any outside influence at the conference that will be held between the two factions of the clay workers. The situation will have to be handled delicately; there is still some bad blood between us that will not be

wiped clean unless we absorb the other faction of the clay workers.

President Walker: If the two factions will use the same judgment, tolerance and tact, and exhibit the same kind of feeling in dealing with their dispute that the engineers and the clay workers have in this case the chair is satisfied we will have a unified organization in that industry and that we will get a satisfactory agreement between them and the engineers as well. The adjustment of this dispute, in which both sides are intensely interested, typifies this morning the spirit of the real labor movement.

No objection being offered, the resolution was withdrawn.

Resolution No. 48.

By Delegates E. Seidel, D. K. Watson, Machinists, No. 833; Allan S. Haywood, Miners, No. 1807.

WHEREAS, Organization and education is the prime spirit in industrial emancipation of the working class; and

WHEREAS, There are many classes of industrial activity as yet unorganized that are very keenly feeling the need of organization, and are in a very receptive mood owing to the increased difficulty in solving the problem of meeting the increased cost of living with the decreased purchasing power of their salaries as evidenced by the growth of our organization in the past year among which are the mechanical and architectural draftsmen; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as favoring the investigation and initiation of steps looking to the organization of this class of labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate from the Illinois State Federation of Labor bring this matter to the attention of the American Federation of Labor that steps may be taken to organize a National organization of the above mentioned class of labor.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 53.

By Delegate Geo. M. Clark, Bridge and Structural Iron Worker, Local No. 1, Chicago.

WHEREAS, There is at the present time, in the State of Illinois in and around the mines of said state, being erected work of the following nature, which comes under the jurisdiction of the above mentioned organization, namely, coal bunkers, ash and coal conveyors, car dumpers, skip hoists and top rigging, steel towers, all overhead travelers, lowering, hoisting and placing on foundations of all machinery, sectional water tubes and tubular boilers, hoisting and erecting of all stokers, placing on foundation of all pumps, lowering and hoisting of all rams and cylinders, traveling sheaves and vertical hydraulic elevators, lowering and hoisting and placing and placing in permanent position all electric elevator machines that require rigging; and

WHEREAS, The foregoing work is being done around the mines of the State of Illinois, by firms that are absolutely unfair to the iron workers, namely, Decatur Bridge Co., Decatur, Ill.; Brown Hoist Co., Cleveland, Ohio; Worden & Allen Co., Milwaukee, Wis.; Wisconsin Bridge Co., Milwaukee, Wis., and Chicago, Ill.; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers most urgently request the hearty co-operation of the Illinois Federation of Labor in bringing about conditions to stop the erection of the foregoing classified work, as this, we believe, will be the termination of the above mentioned scab-hiring firms with the co-operation properly given the iron workers; be it further

RESOLVED, That any assistance given the Bridge and Structural Iron

Workers, or any of its affiliated local organizations in the State of Illinois, will be greatly appreciated in bringing about the foregoing conditions.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Clark, Iron Workers: In the past the firm I mention in this resolution has done a great deal of work in and around the mines of the State of Illinois that comes under the jurisdiction of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers. We realize that you cannot get the assistance necessary around the mines where the work is being erected, but in this case I feel safe in asking the Illinois miners to co-operate with the iron workers to assist in putting this firm out of business, as they make a specialty of the work I mention in the resolution. I would therefore ask the co-operation of the mine workers in forcing firm out of business in the State of Illinois.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 56.

By Delegates Chas. Reagan, P. J. Carlson, Jas. F. McCabe, Tri-City Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It has been successfully demonstrated that joint action is the most effective method of dealing with unfair employers; and

WHEREAS, We believe it contrary to the principles of the Trades Union Movement for a number of crafts to remain at work for any employer manufacturing the ammunition to be used to defeat members of another craft who are on strike for better conditions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor go on record as favoring a closer federation of the crafts in the various industries for the purpose of bringing about joint action in cases of industrial strife.

Report of Committee on Resolution No. 56:

Your committee has given its most thoughtful attention to Resolution No. 56. The proposal contemplated by the resolution is one which has received consideration time and again by nearly all international trade unions throughout the country and has been acted on by the American Federation of Labor.

The history of the labor movement demonstrates conclusively that the greatest and most effective progress in the work of organizing the workers has been accomplished by steadfastly maintaining and retaining the voluntary character of our movement. History of and experience in the labor movement proves that whenever force, intimidation or duress is applied to any group of workers organized into a trade union to compel it to do by force that which its members do not elect or choose to do, that friction, turmoil and strife inevitably follow as a consequence.

The splendid growth of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, shown by the remarkable attendance of delegates in this convention, is but additional proof of the accuracy of this conclusion.

Your committee can in no way reconcile the proposals contained in the submitted resolution with the policy of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and through the steadfast application of which the remarkable growth, strength and influence of the Federation has been attained. Indeed the Illinois State Federation of Labor has always and in a most earnest fashion endeavored to protect the right of affiliated unions and its membership in their freedom of choice and freedom of action.

Your committee is fully aware of the added value which will accrue to all organizations of workers by a still better understanding of and a more thorough co-operation of all affiliated trade unions in time of peace as well as during periods of distress

and industrial disturbance. Your committee holds, however, that such combinations and co-operation must come by the voluntary action and acquiescence of affiliated unions, encouraged and promoted under intelligent and sympathetic direction. This the American Federation of Labor has done and it is constantly engaged in this work. Likewise the Illinois State Federation of Labor has always interested itself in promoting this better understanding and close co-operation between affiliated unions.

The policy of the American Federation of Labor, as originally approved at the Scranton convention held in 1901, and which declaration has been approved since then time and again by the affiliated international unions of which all our local unions are part of, and the policy of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, to which the remarkable growth of the Federation must be attributed, makes it indeed unwise to deviate from or to venture into a field which spells possible turmoil, dissension and disaster.

Your committee therefore recommends that the Illinois State Federation of Labor continues to exercise its functions as heretofore outlined and as determined and approved by the great labor movement of America, the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Arnold, Painters: In the first convention of the Building Trades Department in Denver I offered a resolution that all affiliated unions be instructed to insert a clause in their agreements with their employers in regard to the sympathetic strike. That resolution was defeated by some of the biggest organizations in the building trades. I have seen those organizations time and again stay at work while other men were out fighting for better conditions and increases in wages. It is a fact that when small organizations have gone out to better conditions the larger organizations have been used to whip them into line. In the last fifteen or twenty years I have seen many or-

ganizations that used to be in favor of going out for any cause that was just, take the contrary position later. I have seen where our men were called out and other building tradesmen staid on the job. I have seen them go so far as to say to the owners and contractors, "We will not go out with those fellows."

It is all right to speak of the resolution adopted by the American Federation of Labor to allow each organization to do what it sees fit in such a case, but in Chicago where girls went on strike and other organizations went on strike, they were not supported; when even the newsboys were fighting a life and death struggle, the printing trades would not support them.

Delegate Dunn, Painters: I would not speak on this subject did I not believe it is the most important subject we have before the Trade Union Movement today. We are conducting the affairs of our organization under a system of leadership in which the administration is conducted, not from the bottom but from the top. The policy of the American Federation of Labor will be all right when we reverse our method of procedure and we have government from the bottom instead of from the top, but in the meantime a great amount of education is necessary. If this educational work is pushed from the only quarter from which it is possible to push it, the men who are sitting at the top will lose their jobs.

In Chicago two years ago the building trades were presented with what we call a uniform agreement. We have strong and militant trades there; they have succeeded in winning all their strikes up to the present time. We have others, like the plumbers, who are entirely in the hands of their officers and the employers, and they use their strong trades to whip the weak ones into line. The Waiters' Union has been trying for the last fifteen years to organize a string of restaurants known as the Messenger Restaurants. Sometime ago the I. W. W.'s organized them, and immediately

the proprietor sent word to the Chicago Federation and the Waiters' Union to organize his places. He was afraid of the I. W. W.'s but not of our organization. This is an illustration of what form of organization our employers are afraid of. It is the kind of organization they have.

In Chicago recently, on the North Side, at the Illinois Malleable Iron Works, we had a strike of people that hitherto had been unorganized. After they had been out a week or two John Fitzpatrick had a conference with the man at the head of that plant. He said, "I suppose after those workers have been out a while longer they will come back to you because of starvation. Is that the kind of men you want to work in your plant, men who have been crushed by starvation?" He said they could come back as individuals. He said further, "I don't care a damn how long they stay out, because I am a member of the National Foundrymen's organization, and at the end of each week I receive a check equivalent to the estimated amount of my profits. It will not hurt me if they stay out." You see the employers have an organization that is nationwide.

To show you how our leaders do I will say that in the Post Office Department recently the drivers were changed from horse drawn vehicles to motor vehicles. They affiliated with the organization of the post office clerks. Their delegates were seated in the Chicago Federation of Labor. Immediately a representative of the chauffeur's organization entered an objection to their being seated as members of the post office clerks' organization. He claimed jurisdiction over them. The representative of the Machinists also entered an objection because he said they did certain forms of repair work on those automobiles, and he claimed jurisdiction.

I do not say this to reflect on the leaders in question; they are only following out the policy outlined by the American Federation of Labor. I believe we should be able to look up to the men we call leaders for education.

I believe, under the present form of organization, they are the men who should point out the way we should go. We must not allow the lines to be drawn so tight that we are unable to see where we are going.

Delegate Maloney (Elizabeth): I don't want Brother Dunn to leave the impression with the delegates that the I. W. W.'s won the strike at Messenger's. We were on strike at Messenger's for over two years, and the people who joined the I. W. W.'s are those who took our places and then worked in that place under an injunction for two years. At the end of two years they came out. When they found out how rotten conditions were they joined us. We won that strike. Messenger was not afraid of the I. W. W.'s but he was afraid of us, because he had in his pocket when he went to see Secretary Nockels about the matter, the very contract we had presented to him two years before.

Upon motion debate was closed.

Delegate Arnold: Can I make an amendment to the motion?

President Walker: No, debate has been closed. The only thing to be done is to vote on the motion to adopt the committee's report.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Secretary Short: This completes the report of the committee.

CHAS. GAUDE,
Brewery Workers, Chicago.

JAMES J. McANDREWS,
Elevator Starters, Chicago.

HENRY REITZ,
Guards, Keepers and Matrons,
Joliet.

JAMES A. SHORT,
Stone Cutters, Chicago.

THOS. CASEY,
Barbers, Rock Island.

CLARA KATZOR,
Shoe Workers, Chicago.

PETE DEFENBAUGH,
Brick Workers, Streator.

JOHN FAHY,
Carpenters, Chicago.

ROLAND ADAMS,
Central Body, Alton.

HARRY REIFSCHNEIDER,
Clerks, Belleville.
Committee on Organization.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: I have a statement which I wish to make. We are gathered here at what we term the annual feast of the organized labor movement of Illinois. The Switchmen's organization, unfortunately, has to attend the feast with a dirty collar. I wish this morning, by a statement, to take the stain from that collar as far as possible. I therefore ask your attention while I read a document. President Walker told you he thought he was beginning to accept some of the theories of Darwin as true. In his address he applied the term "buzzard" to Lawrence Y. Sherman, and we all heartily approved of it. To the followers of Lawrence Y. Sherman he applied the term "louse." Now, I would like to have you listen to this document which I will read. It is on the letterhead of the Brotherhoods Joint Legislative Board of the State of Illinois. It is dated September 8, and signed by Culp, Connors and Carroll. It reads:

"To the Members of Organized Labor of Illinois.

"Dear Sirs and Brothers:—

"If we concentrate our forces, we have the power to put the right men in office.

"After a very careful investigation of all Republican candidates, we would recommend that you go to the polls, take your neighbor with you, and support the following candidates in the Republican Primafy, September 13.

"For Governor, Col. Frank O. Lowden; for Lieutenant Governor, Hon. John G. Oglesby; for Secretary of State, Hon. Louis L. Emerson; for State Auditor, Hon. Homer J. Tice; for Attorney General, Hon. Edward J. Brundage; for State Treasurer, Hon. Len Small.

"Take this to the polls with you. It means much to you, and the men who represent you at Springfield.

"Fraternally yours,

"J. A. CULP,

"JAS. B. CONNORS,

"W. W. CARROLL."

I wish to speak in behalf of the delegation of the Switchmen's Union in this convention, also the twenty-nine lodges represented in the Chicago District Council of the Switchmen. We feel that the signature of Brother James B. Connors to the document I have just read leaves the impression that it has the endorsement of the Switchmen's Union. In behalf of the local organizations I have mentioned I wish to repudiate that absolutely. Further, I will state that the action of any member, especially an officer, who would issue such a statement as that is unwarranted and that Brother James B. Connors' signature is unauthorized. I hope you will accept the sentiments I express this morning as the true feeling of the members of the Switchmen's Union. I thank you.

Delegate Peterson, Engineers: I would like unanimous consent to introduce a resolution. It pertains to a delegate to this convention who undoubtedly would have been here except for the fact that he has passed away.

Delegate Peterson was given unanimous consent to the introduction of the resolution, and submitted the following:

Resolution on the Death of Matt Keefe.

To the Thirty-Fourth Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Our beloved brother, Matt Keefe, business representative of the Street Paving Engineers, Local No. 464, International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, and a delegate to this convention, died at the city of Pensacola, Florida, October 3, 1916; and

WHEREAS, Brother Matt Keefe was a true trade unionist, well liked by all true trade unionists for his noble work for organized labor; and

WHEREAS, He had served as delegate to the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor for the past four years, and as delegate to the Illinois Federation of Labor, having been a member of Constitution Committee, Resolution Committee and Committee on Officers' Report at past conventions of the Illinois State Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and delegates of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in this thirty-fourth annual convention, assembled at the city of Quincy, Illinois, out of respect and esteem for our late Brother Matt Keefe, arise and with bowed heads remain standing for one minute.

Respectfully submitted,

ALBERT PETERSON,
Local 401 Engineers.

Delegate Wolf: I move you the adoption of the resolution as read.

Secretary Olander: It is with a great deal of personal feeling that I second the motion.

President Walker: During the three years I have been in this position no trade unionist in Illinois gave us his services more freely or more intelligently and effectively in building up our movement here than did Brother

Matt Keefe. He is a distinct loss to our movement and to the country.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote, the delegates all arising and remaining standing in silence for one minute.

Delegate Weston, East St. Louis: I realize that resolutions were to be in prior to five o'clock Wednesday, but I heard yesterday of a moving picture fire that occurred in Quincy at the Colonial Theatre where a boy of sixteen was operating a machine. He placed the lives of two or three hundred people in danger. It might have caused a disaster similar to the Iroquois fire in Chicago. I therefore desire to introduce a resolution asking that one under twenty-one years of age shall be allowed to operate a moving picture machine.

No objection being offered, Delegate Weston submitted the following:

Resolution No. 62.

By Clyde A. Weston, Delegate Moving Picture Operators, Local No. 288, East St. Louis, Illinois:

Request to prepare a bill prohibiting any person under age to operate a moving picture machine in the state of Illinois where moving pictures are exhibited for public entertainment.

WHEREAS, Operation of moving picture machines by inexperienced children between the ages of 12 and 18 is a dangerous practice, as the films are composed of high explosives, such as guncotton, ether and collodion; and

WHEREAS, The lives of the public are endangered by allowing the machines to be operated by these inexperienced children; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That all persons employed in operating moving picture machines be examined in person by a competent board of examiners, all applicants to be of the age of 21 years or over.

Delegate Woll moved the adoption of the resolution. (Seconded.)

Secretary Olander: I think we ought to have the understanding that, in so far as the details mentioned in the resolution are concerned they are to be subject to change and revision in consultation with the representatives of the various moving picture operators' organizations of the state. There are some municipal regulations we would hardly want a state law to conflict with.

Delegate Weston: Chicago is the only city that has a board of examiners for operators for moving picture machines.

The motion to adopt the resolution was carried.

Report of Committee on Union Labels.

Delegate Fitzgerald, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 27.

Introduced by Delegates Paul Roderian and Tony Weth, Bakers' Union, No. 2, Chicago:

WHEREAS, The label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America represents bread and other bakery goods made under fair and sanitary conditions, reasonable hours of labor, living wages and by union workers; and the label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America is the only means of distinguishing union from non-union made bakery goods; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, re-indorse the label of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That every member of each union affiliated with this Federation be and is hereby requested to ask for the union label on all bakery

goods and confectionery products he or she may purchase, thereby showing and proving his or her loyalty to the cause of trade unionism in a substantial and the most befitting manner.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 39.

From Tobacco Worker's International Union.

WHEREAS, Experience has fully demonstrated the necessity for, and the value of union labels to lend discriminating power in favor of union made products; and

WHEREAS, The good results to come from the use of the union label must come from the patronage bestowed by labor and the friends of the Union Label; and

WHEREAS, It is a notorious fact that products bearing the Union Label do not enjoy the demand that Union Labeled products have a right to expect from the members of our great movement; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union has a blue label which now is placed on hundreds of brands of tobacco, cigarets and snuff of the best quality produced, and is as well advertised proportionately as any other label in this country; and

WHEREAS, The patronage given to Union Labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarets is not within fifty per cent of that which it should be, which reliable statistics will prove; and

WHEREAS, With the ever growing membership of the American Federation of Labor, these conditions could be greatly changed for the better, by remembering the Label when exchanging good union-earned money for tobacco, cigarets or snuff; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we as delegates to the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Quincy, Ill., October 16, 1916, will ourselves do our duty, and we will, as far as lies in our power, urge others to patronize only such tobacco products as do bear the Union Label, and we will endeavor wherever possible to induce dealers in tobacco products to put in full lines of Union Labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarets; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we will refrain from and urge others to not patronize places of business who persistently refuse to keep in stock an assorted line of Union Labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarets.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 45.

By Delegates J. A. Kain, A. Lee, T. T. Moorehead, H. R. Chapp, D. Goebel, Wm. Eichorn, Ed Smale, M. Heffernen, Chas. L. Aldag, A. C. Dornemann, John Huesser, J. Roedersheimer.

WHEREAS, The Cigar Makers' International Union of America are engaged in organizing the employes of the Deisel-Wemmer Co., cigar manufacturers, with two factories located at Lima, Ohio, and branch shops at Toledo, Fostoria, Findlay, Van Wert, St. Marys, Wapakoneta, Sidney, Delphos and Bellefontaine, and which company are the makers of San Felice, Elk, American Stag, D-W. Special, John Morton, White Bee, Planta Santa, Choice Havana, 5-cent cigars; El Verso, 10 cents, and Ambassador, 15-cent cigars; and

WHEREAS, This firm is now and has been hostile to every effort made to unionize their factories, and are using every means possible to prevent organization; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Illinois State Convention of the American

Federation of Labor, now assembled, endorse and praise the efforts of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America to raise the wages, shorten the hours and better the working conditions of the employes of the Deisel-Wemmer Co., cigar manufacturers, and that the secretary of this state convention be instructed to write the Deisel-Wemmer Co., cigar manufacturers, Lima, Ohio, demanding that the blue Union Label of the C. M. I. U. of A. be placed on all cigars manufactured by them, and that each local union in the state of Illinois be requested through the delegates to write the Deisel-Wemmer, cigar manufacturers, Lima, Ohio, to the above effect.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Kain: I want to make a few remarks on this question. This concern in Lima, Ohio, is manufacturing in nine different cities. The Cigar Makers' Union has organized eight thousand girls and boys in that concern and they are on strike at the present time. This is a fight for humanity and it ought to be taken up by organized labor throughout the country. The main cigar of this concern can be found in nearly every store along railroad tracks and in restaurants throughout your different cities. It is also found in barber shops and every place you may go, with the exception of saloons. I know there are many of those cigars bought by union men, because I have caught union men asking for those non-union cigars.

Besides those nine cities mentioned in the resolution we have Milwaukee, New York City and Philadelphia where we have lately organized. A fight existed between two factions of the cigar makers some time ago, principally between the people who call themselves bunch breakers and rollers. We have succeeded in organizing them and we have a new local of those men and women in Chicago with about 1,100 members. You can see that with your assistance we can win this fight. Remember the name San Felice.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 46.

By Delegates Elizabeth Wright, Local No. 264, Decatur, Ill.; Mrs. J. F. O'Neill, Local No. 9, Chicago; Mrs. Ruth A. Dornemann, Local No. 341, Bloomington; Mrs. M. Argo, Local No. 319, Joliet; Mrs. May Gadberry, Local No. 290, Peoria.

WHEREAS, The Women's International Union Label League and Trade Union Auxiliary is doing splendid work throughout the state in the interests of the trade union movement, by educating and organization of the women into label leagues for the purpose of directing their purchasing power into a channel that will build and strengthen the labor movement in general by persistent demand for the Union Label, Shop Card and Button; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, do hereby pledge its moral and financial assistance in carrying on the work of organizing locals of the Women's International Union Label League in every city and town throughout the state; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention take it back to their respective unions and encourage the work inasmuch as having their wives, mothers, daughters and sisters to become members and boosters for the Union Label and the Women's Union Label League.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 59.

By Delegate A. Vanderpoel.

WHEREAS, Gardners and Florists have for a number of years maintained a successful organization known as the Gardners and Florists' Union, No. 10615, American Federa-

tion of Labor, the members of which at present are employed in Chicago and Springfield; and

WHEREAS, It will require very little effort on the part of organized labor to materially aid the Gardners and Florists' Union to extend its membership and to encourage further organization.

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, urge trade unionists to demand the label of the Gardeners and Florists' union in the cities where the workers in that craft are organized, and to aid and encourage the organization of such workers in all parts of the state.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Vanderpoel: This calls for the organization of the Gardeners and Florists where they are not organized. I have a little card that gives the names of all the florists in Chicago that are organized, and one in Springfield and one in Elgin. I would request the labor organizations in different towns, if they cannot get flowers with the label on in their vicinity to send the orders to any one of these men in Chicago, Springfield or Elgin. They will ship the flowers. It will take only a few such orders to get the florists in your towns organized.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Chairman Fitzgerald: At the request of the Chicago delegation, especially the Cigar Makers, the Committee on Labels offers the following resolution:

Resolution No. 63.

Submitted at the request of Cigar Makers' delegates, J. A. Kain, Harry R. Clapp, Anton Lee, Henry Goebel, William Eichorn, Charles Aldag, T. T. Moorehead, William Heffernen.

WHEREAS, Two of the Chicago manufacturers known as the La

Kurba Co., manufacturers of the La Kurba cigar, and Randel & Landfield Co., manufacturers of Press Club and Goya cigars, in order to suppress organization in their factories, locked out about 135 cigar makers and moved their factories to Benton Harbor, Michigan, and are at present supplied with all the police protection of that city, Chief of Police Pearl acting as the leader of strike-breakers imported there, suppressing all union meetings of the organized cigar makers of that city; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the city of Benton Harbor, Michigan, be declared unfair as a summer resort until its citizens bring to time this high-handed official; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we discourage the sale of these brands of cigars, the delegates to use their best efforts in their local unions to bring about these results.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Kain: Eight or nine months ago in Chicago a firm was organized. In order to beat organized labor they fell in with the Business Men's Commercial Club of Benton Harbor, Michigan, and got some concession. They put up a building for them and they moved over, throwing on the streets of Chicago eighty-five or ninety cigar makers. We followed them to Benton Harbor. They had succeeded in getting only a few people to go to work. Those they got were from the cheapest districts in the country, some from South Bend, Indiana, and some from Cincinnati, Ohio. They got a few scabs. We found the entire city was opposed to the firm.

We found that the authorities were not our friends. We held a meeting and when we got into the hall the sheriff and his assistants and the police force to a man were there. They watched every movement and told us

we had to be mighty careful of what we said. We held the meeting and got away. Later on the Randell & Lamphere Company was organized. We followed them also when they went over. We have a local union in the city of Benton Harbor, Michigan. We sent word over to rent a hall and a committee would go over to speak to the citizens. The Bijou Theatre was rented for Friday night. Saturday morning we got word that everything was in readiness for the meeting at 3 o'clock. When we landed we met the secretary of the union and he told us we were up against a pretty tough state of affairs. The police had come to take the hall from them the night before, there was no other place we could get except the Woodmen's Hall next door to the police station. I told them to get that. They did so. When we got to the corner we saw about sixty or seventy people standing around. I recognized most of them as the most notorious rats and strike-breakers that were ever in the cigar trade.

The chief of police was there. I said, "I understand you took some exception to the cigar workers holding a meeting." He said, "You are damned right. You are not going to hold one." I said, "What right have you to stop a meeting, paid for by union money in a union hall? We are here for the business of the International Cigar Makers' Union, we have a local here, organized under the state laws of Michigan." He said, "You will hold no meeting. If you understood what is done to people that come from outside the state and interfere with the citizens of Michigan you would be careful about holding such meetings. I said, "I don't know what you have reference to unless you speak of what was done in Calumet. We are going to hold a meeting here."

The chief of police is the leading strike-breaker of the place. When we got to the hall we found that sixty or seventy of those rats had taken their wives and girls in and sat down. We called the meeting to order and told them it was a union meeting and those not members would get out. We

said that any man who belonged to any union, regardless of what it was, could remain. When the hall was cleared out we found ten or twelve members besides the three of us that went over. The police were at the door. We decided nothing could be done and adjourned after saying a few words about the situation.

That was the first time I had ever seen a chief of police act in that manner. When I said, "You have no right to act as judge, jury and police officer in this affair, the state does not give you that authority." He said, "That is exactly what I am in this state." I was told by Lamphere before I started over there that I would meet that very proposition. He said, "I have all the police protection I want and you fellows are not going over there to molest us."

The chief of police called up a couple of scabs. The first man he called up was a dog I had taken twenty dollars to give to his sick wife a few weeks prior to that time. The chief of police asked if he did not make as much money in Benton Harbor as he had made in Chicago and he said "Yes." We knew what we were up against and we talked to them in a pleasant manner so that we would not get a crack over the head with a club. I said to that man, "You are not telling the truth." I said to the officer, "This man was a member of our organization and only a few weeks ago I took twenty dollars to him when his family was destitute." I brought up a proposition in the Chicago Federation of Labor to put the city of Benton Harbor on the unfair list until such time as the people put such men as I have described out of office.

Delegate Weth, Bakery and Confectionery Workers: It would not be necessary for delegates to bring in a resolution like that if people would call for the label oftener. We fine every man in our organization who goes into a United Cigar Store in Chicago. We fine him five dollars if he does that. If a man goes into a barber shop that doesn't have the

union card we fine him five dollars. We teach our members what they ought to do. If that were done by all the organizations it would not be necessary to introduce such a resolution as this in a convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. If I know there are no union cigars in a cigar store and no union collars in a dry goods store, I go in and ask for them. If that is done by all the trade unionists the public will soon realize that they must have union goods.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Recommendations of Committee on Union Labels.

Being well aware of the fact that organized labor must use all possible means to further the interests of the toiling masses, and as the union label is a strong weapon in the hands of organized labor if used effectively, it should be the imperative duty of every union man and woman to do everything possible to further the agitation for the union label and the sale of union labeled goods.

It is a deplorable fact that there are many members of organized labor who have lost sight of the importance of the union label.

In many cases our union men and women who, although taking an active part in their respective unions or crafts, seem to take but little interest in the welfare of other organizations. While fighting against the greed of the employing class, they buy goods which were produced under unfair conditions and patronize the employers who refuse to employ union labor.

We recommend that all delegates to the conventions of the Illinois State Federation of Labor should have at least five union labels on their wearing apparel.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee in regard to union labels.

Chairman Fitzgerald: Article V, Section 3, of the constitution says:

"Delegates to the convention must have the union label on all articles of wearing apparel when it is possible to secure the same." Now, we feel as though that was put in there in good faith, but there is no means of learning how much effect it has had or what the result has been, and your committee recommends that all delegates to the conventions of the Illinois State Federation of Labor have at least five union labels on their wearing apparel.

The committee had in mind in making this recommendation that possibly the officers could outline some plan to put that into effect at our next convention. When we have accomplished that we can extend it to ten labels, because there is no doubt the delegates can secure that many labels, especially the men. The women may have to scurry around to get five labels, but the men can do it. We also recommend that the officers of the Federation use their best efforts to have co-operative stores handle union goods as far as possible.

Delegate Carlton: I think we do not realize the value of the label in organization work. The label can now be found on nearly every article used or worn. Some of us here are wearing seventeen labels on our persons this morning, including collar buttons and jewelry. It is very easy to procure five labels; the committee recognized that, and I would like to see every delegate here have at least that number of labels on his apparel. I think the recommendation of President Walker is a good one. Let us not forget the printers' label, the cigar makers' label, the bakers' label, the barbers', and all the others.

Delegate Sumner, Milk Wagon Drivers: It interests me to hear you talk about the union label and about the printers' label. We have members in our organization who will holler about having the printers' label on the work they put out for the employer. We say to them, "If you can show us the union label on your clothes we will see that the employers use it." Think of working people

smoking Bull Durham and all the other scab tobaccos, and when I call their attention to it and threaten to take them by the throat and shake them they say, "We can't smoke union-made tobacco, it is too rank." What do you think of that for union people?

I remember one time when we could not get a union broom and my wife used my pants to clean up the floor. We got a broom after a while but not until we got one with a label on. If the working people demand the label on everything they can get they will create a demand for it. I don't ask you to go without clothing and be arrested on the street because you are not able to get a label, but demand it everywhere. I go into cigar stores where I know they haven't a label and make a fight for a union cigar, and I don't smoke either. One fellow says I will smoke hereafter. I want to inform him that I am not going to smoke hereafter.

We buy the products of Benton Harbor. We know the fellow that has the money will buy the scab article, but there is one thing that disgusts me, and that is to go into a union meeting and be smoked out with scab tobacco. Do you suppose if the workers of this country would act as the mine workers do when they send in enough men to a place to enforce their demands we would have any trouble about the label? Do you mean to say we cannot clean up any chief of police in the nation we want to? Of course we can, and get away with it. The biggest grafters on the face of the earth are the chiefs of police and a great many of the police forces.

I will tell you what I have found. I have found non-union men demanding the union label, and then union men will say that union tobacco is too rank! Why, the whole dog-gone stuff is rank! We made a fight against the brewery workers and threatened to every-one quit drinking beer until they organized their help, and they organized them. If we did the same with the American Tobacco Company they would organize their help. The

trouble is when any one says a word about not using tobacco you say, "Why, what will the poor cigar maker and tobacco worker do?" I don't believe one of you ever smoked a cigar or chewed a plug of tobacco to help those people. I have helped them and I haven't smoked or chewed tobacco.

I believe in fining union men who will buy scab goods. If our union will make it a by-law, believe me, I will bring in a lot of money, because some of our members smoke Bull Durham. If I ever catch some of them at it, little as I am, I am going to trim them.

Delegate Searl: This matter of the union label is very interesting to all of us. It is particularly interesting to me because I happen to be a member of the committee in Aurora that has been working for two years to get the dealers to handle union-made clothing. The answer to all these dealers is the same—"We will be willing to handle union clothing if there is a demand for it." We have tried to get the clerks' organization to help us in supplying our members with union-made clothing. They say they will do all they can to help us in that way. We find that most of them use union-made clothing themselves. Occasionally a man will have an article without the label, but most of them have the label.

If we demand the label we will get it. When we get a dealer to put in a line of union-made collars and six months later he will tell us he had requests from three men for union collars, we haven't much to say. Before we ask for clothing or other goods with the label in we should ask for a union clerk. I find that our men who demand the label will go into a store and buy from a clerk that is scabbing on the regular clerk. Our people will go and buy from these men who do not usually carry cards. A union clerk said to me recently, "You are one of the few men who has asked me for a card this week. If you men will ask the clerks for their cards you will do more to get their assistance in selling

union-made goods." They are sore because we demand the label on the goods and do not demand the label on the clerk.

Delegate Nylen, Tailors: The committee recommends that at future conventions we require every delegate to have at least five labels on his wearing apparel. We are not attempting to cause delegates any trouble, but we are trying to create a demand for the union label. The trouble is that we have not had a sufficient demand for it. That is why we request each delegate to wear at least five union labels when he comes to the next convention.

I will venture the assertion that if an inspection is made it will be found that 50 per cent of the delegates haven't more than two labels on their clothing. I was told recently at a meeting of the Label Committee that it was almost impossible for a man to get a pair of union-made shoes. I believe a man can go almost blindfolded in any city in Illinois and get union-made shoes and hats. If we create a demand for the union label it will be possible to secure anything we want. I hope the recommendation of the committee will be adopted.

Delegate Wright, Decatur: If the union men will educate their wives to spend their wages earned under union conditions there will be no reason why every delegate in the State Federation convention cannot be equipped with labels on every article of clothing.

Delegate Ball: There are a great many reasons why the union label is not better supported than it is by union men. There is no excuse for men not wearing the label on their clothing, but there is some reason. Where I am boarding three of the delegates refused to stop because the man had no label on his card. He immediately went to the printing house where he had the cards printed and asked why the label had not been put on them. He was told the label was not put on unless it was asked for. Give the label to every man who

comes and if he does not want it let him say so.

About a year ago I went into a shoe store and asked for a pair of shoes. The clerks were all union. One handed me a pair of nice shoes. I said they were not what I wanted because they did not have the label on. He said, "We have them with the label on." The clerk who said that was a union man and he should have given the union shoe without waiting to be asked for them.

Delegate McArthur, Teamsters: I want to call the attention of the delegates to the label of the organization of which I am a member. You need only to look out at the wagons to prove that you will have one of those members calling at your home several times this winter. I refer to the coal teamsters, and I ask you to see that the man who brings your coal wears the button of the Coal Teamsters' union.

Delegate Mott: This label question is one that ought to be treated as earnestly and seriously as any subject that has been brought before the convention, and we so treat it in our city. We demand the union label and see that the clerks' organization is perfected in our town. One man refused to organize his clerks. We have a union label committee which consists of a member appointed from each local in the city. We have meetings twice a month and we discuss these matters and take them back to our locals. About 150 of us agreed to go into this man's store, examine some article, then look around for the clerk's card and finding none turn around and walk out. He began to inquire what was the matter and soon found out. He sent for the organizer and his clerks are now in the union. There are various methods we can use that will assist in organizing and securing the union label.

Delegate Tracey: A delegate said some time ago he believed in starting at the top. I believe in starting at the bottom. Instead of asking each

delegate to have five labels on his wearing apparel when he comes here next year, why not have little talks about what is done in the local? I think you will find five or more labels on the clothing of most of the delegates here. Put a little more responsibility on the officers and say "Why didn't you bring this matter to the attention of your members?" Let us go back to our locals and urge the use of the union label, then when we come here next year find out, not only how many labels we have on us, but how many we have been able to get on our fellow members.

Upon motion of Delegate Jessen, debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Chairman Fitzgerald: Knowing that there is a growing interest in co-operative stores, we recommend that the officers of this Federation use their best efforts to have them handle union label goods as far as possible.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Chairman Fitzgerald: At a recent convention of the Manufacturers' Association it was stated that a large percentage of the members of organized labor do not patronize the union label. In view of this fact your committee heartily concurs in that part of the President's report placing a penalty on all members of organized labor purchasing non-union goods.

Respectfully submitted,

ANNA FITZGERALD,
Chairman.

E. ARNOLD,
Secretary.
CHARLES G. CARLETON,
ELIZABETH WRIGHT,
STEVE SUMNER,
W. S. NYLEN,
J. C. COLGAN,
CLYDE WESTON,
EDGAR BALLAN,
ERNEST WOOLLETT,
H. WILLIS,
W. A. WHITE,
Committee on Union Label.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

Report of Special Committee.

Your committee, appointed for the purpose of giving proper expression of the feelings of this convention regarding the progress made by the Mexican trade unionists as described in the telegram from Brother Rovalo, of Sonora, Mexico, and to make a suitable reply to the message, begs leave to recommend that the secretary be instructed to send the following message on behalf of this convention to Brother Rovalo:

"The Illinois State Federation of Labor, assembled in annual convention, was highly gratified to learn of the institution of the Sonora Labor Chamber, constituted of regularly elected workers for the purpose of giving full protection to the rights and liberties of the working people, promoting the cause of freedom, liberty and democracy, and of advancing the social, economic and political interests of the workers in your state.

"We congratulate the members of your organizations upon the progress described in your telegram and wish you complete success.

"We trust that the labor movement of Sonora will grow and prosper and that it will prove an inspiration to all the workers of Mexico. Time and experience has proven that no institution is more effective and efficient than the organized labor movement in the protection and promotion of the rights and liberties of the people.

"This convention unanimously wishes our Mexican brothers an early realization of the high ideals in the relationship of mankind, which, we are informed, is contemplated by your organizations.

JOHN BENNET,
TONY WETH,
B. L. COTTRELL,
HERB. HALLS,
JAS. C. KINGSLEY,
V. A. OLANDER.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the special committee.

Delegate Seidel: Is that the syndicalist organization that was established during the Madero government in 1912? In the Congressional Record of September 7th there was a remark by Senator Fall that the American Federation of Labor endorsed the I. W. W. or syndicalist organization.

President Walker: This is the organization of the miners, I believe, and it is the only bona fide organization of the workers in that portion of Mexico.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Peterson, Chicago, moved that the telegram from Mexico and the reply be printed in the Weekly News Letter. (Seconded and carried.)

Report of Committee on Finance.

Vice-President Fitchie reported as follows:

Resolution No. 52.

By Delegates John J. Bruce, Div. 308; John Conlon, Div. 416; Henry Culver, Div. 416; G. W. Shafford, Div. 216; Thos. Burk, Div. 416; H. T. Welch, Div. 236; Jas. F. McCabe, Div. 313; John McHugh, Div. 313; Jas. C. Kinsley, Div. 313; Earl Almore, Div. 125; Patrick J. Fleming, Div. 241; M. J. Whalen, Div. 125; Geo. W. Cross, Div. 125; W. B. Courtney, Div. 125:

WHEREAS, The concern of one is the concern of all in the labor movement, the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America, desire to call the attention of this convention to the facts of the New York street car strike; and

WHEREAS, This strike has been on for the past six weeks and there are 11,048 men out at present (there

have been only about 50 desertions from the ranks) and

WHEREAS, These men are in great need of financial assistance; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention contribute its moral and financial aid to this worthy cause.

The Finance Committee reported as follows on Resolution No. 52:

Owing to the vital principle involved in the great street car strike in New York City your Finance Committee recommends that this appeal be referred to the affiliated locals, by a circular letter sent to all affiliated locals, asking that they contribute as liberally as possible, to send all moneys to W. D. Mahon, President Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, 104 East High Street, Detroit, Mich., and that said appeal request the affiliated locals to notify our secretary of the action taken by their local unions.

R. G. FITCHIE,
ED. CARBINE,
M. J. WHALEN,
THOS. KELLY,
JOS. W. MORTON,
AL TOWERS,
J. F. DAUGHTON,
GEO. B. JENKINS,
ALBERT VINCENT.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report.

Delegate Bruce, Street Railway Employees: It is not very often the Amalgamated Association appeals for outside assistance. I believe it is the first time in our history we have gone into any central body and made such an appeal, but the situation in New York is so tremendous that the street car men are really unable to finance it without assistance from other organized labor. To begin with, in the vicinity of New York we had several lines organized for some years. When we tried to negotiate a new contract this year the manager refused to treat with our organization, inasmuch as

we did not have any organization in New York City proper. We decided to go into New York City and try to capture the industry there.

We succeeded in organizing most of the street car men in New York, but we did not touch the elevated or subway. After six days of a strike the companies entered into an agreement along this line: That they would recognize the right to organize; that they would meet and treat with committees elected for that purpose, and upon all questions the committee could not agree upon a board of arbitration would pass, the board to be composed of two members selected by each side. In the event the two committees could not agree on a third man the public service commission would appoint him. The men went back to work. After a time our International president, W. D. Mahon, had to go to Europe as a delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. Brother Woll accompanied him. No sooner had he left the city than the companies in New York began to work on the "master and servant" contract. They soon had about 80 per cent of the subway and elevated men under contract.

General Manager Hedley informed the committee they would have to go back to work the following morning. They said they had a contract allowing them to organize. Mr. Hedley said that did not matter; they would go back to work or be discharged. The committee refused to go back to work and they were discharged, as were all the street car men who refused to sign the individual contracts. There was nothing left for the men to do but again go on strike. We were successful in pulling out 12,000 men. We got many of the guards, conductors and switchmen on the elevated, but I am sorry to say that with the aid of the engineers and the individual contracts they were able to retain about 80 per cent of the motor-men.

At a meeting of the New York Federated Trades a man named Riley

came in and said he was authorized by T. V. O'Connor, of the Longshoremen, to call a sympathetic strike of 40,000 longshoremen. The central body took it up. When the day for the sympathetic strike came, to the surprise of everybody in the movement, the longshoremen simply used our organization to further their own selfish interests and went out and signed up fifteen contracts with the employers—and O'Connor got out of town. When the longshoremen refused to go out the other organizations could not go into the sympathetic strike.

The newspapers tried to turn public sympathy against the car men. We did not ask for a sympathetic strike, but it was to be brought about through O'Connor, and then he left town. Then the papers said organized labor was not with the street car men. Organized labor is with the street car men, but they were sacrificed by T. V. O'Connor, president of the Longshoremen. We still have more than 11,000 men on strike. We don't want resolutions down there; what we want is bread. It takes \$45,000 a week to give the men five dollars apiece.

Many of those men on strike in New York City have large families. One man I know of, a motorman on Third Avenue, has thirteen children. He asked how much bread he could get for five dollars for his family. Many of the single brothers gave him their strike money. A man named Duffy, another man named Murphy and a Jewish brother said, "We will get money." They went out on the corner, got a hand organ from a "ginny," put on placards and went out on the streets. The first day they brought in \$128 for those thirteen children.

It was said here the other day that organization is life. It means life to those street car men in New York City, and not only to them but to the entire labor movement. If they can lick us in New York they will try to do it in other places. It is true those

men were not organized, but, to their credit, they are standing pat. There is a mixture there, about two-thirds Irish and one-third Jew, and the Jews are standing as pat as the Irish and the Irish are standing as pat as the Jews—it is a good combination.

We are here to try to get all the organizations affiliated to contribute as liberally as possible. When President Mahon came into New York those men were one week behind in their strike benefits. The papers were playing that up as hard as they could. President Mahon told the locals not to worry, that the Amalgamated would not desert them, that it had not deserted the cause of labor or the cause of humanity, and by Thursday night he would have \$100,000 in New York. Wednesday night we had the hundred thousand there; those men are eating and they will eat until we win the strike. Bread is all we need to win the strike.

I hope the delegates will send money as rapidly as possible to W. D. Mahon, 104 High Street, Detroit, Mich. We want bread for the children in New York. If we can furnish that the Amalgamated Association will win that strike the same as it has won in all other strikes.

Delegate Woll: I do not desire to add much to the impressive appeal of Delegate Bruce in connection with the New York strike situation. I feel confident the New York street car magnates took advantage of the absence of the president of the Amalgamated Association. The difficulties that occurred prior to the time President Mahon left the United States were adjusted. Immediately upon his leaving the country the street car magnates endeavored to destroy that movement and that organization. Any one acquainted with international labor affairs must realize that the absence of an international executive, especially one who has held that position for years and who has merited the confidence and sympathetic response of all its members and all the labor movement, and no one was more

aware of the value of the absence of President Mahon than the street car magnates.

It was because of the request of the American Federation of Labor to represent them in the British Trades Union Congress that President Mahon gave up his work for a time to go to England. We of Illinois especially feel we are under obligations to make up for the loss of the services of the president of the street car men during that time. I am sure if he had been there the political scheming and conniving of some of our labor people in New York would not have been so successful as it was.

I have one request to make of Delegate Bruce and of the convention, and I think he will agree with me. I think it would be much better if, where it states in the second preamble that there have been only a few desertions from the ranks thus far, to strike out the two words "thus far." I feel there will be no further desertions.

Delegate Bruce: There is a possibility that there will be more desertions in the ranks. As I stated before, bread is what we need. If they get bread there will be no further desertions. It is up to the members of organized labor whether there will be any more desertions. If the members of organized labor send in their donations we will assure there will be no further desertions. If we cannot provide food for those members we are sure there will be further desertions. Out of 2,910 cars operated normally in the streets of New York City the greatest number out in one day has been 706. However, I will agree to have the two words stricken out.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Report of Committee on Unemployment.

The report was not read in full, but Delegate Mary O'Reilly gave a brief resume of the plan carried out by the committee in making the investigation and making their report. Printed

copies of the report were then distributed to the delegates. The report in full appears on pages 106-125.

Delegate O'Reilly: This report does not need to be read here; it needs to be taken away and studied and thought about. Perhaps when you look it over you will think the Committee on Unemployment has invaded every province of the labor movement, but I want to tell you we could not help it. You may report on some of the other topics and confine yourself to the topics, but the moment you take up the question of unemployment you must either give a shallow report or touch upon the fundamental principles of labor organizations.

We were told to cover fully the question of unemployment, and we have tried to do it. We have arranged the report in such a way that first comes a leading chapter of general observation, after that comes the analysis of the causes of unemployment in very short outline form. That is followed by a history of what has been done for unemployment in other countries of the world and notes of what has been tried in America. That is followed by tables of statistics which we have not given very fully. We have given a few, perhaps one typical table, to illustrate each point we wish to make.

Our report upon the co-operative movement in Illinois is perhaps not complete and not up to date, because the co-operative movement has been growing faster than we could keep up with it. I understand you now have a wholesale co-operative store in Illinois. I was very glad to find such a good, thorough report on co-operatives to brace up the report on unemployment. I hope you will study both.

In taking up the study of unemployment and analyzing the causes of unemployment we pictured the working people as unemployed. I have worked on this question since the year 1913, when the Chicago Federation of Labor ordered a report on the subject.

We studied on that for a year. I have been put on one employment committee after another. Conditions were terrible in Chicago in the winter of 1913-14. I said, "How shall we approach the question, the people have no work?" We decided we would picture them all together and then begin by picking out first the people who ought not to be there. That meant we had to take away the low paid labor which was competing with the regular, normal working class. There should be no child laborers, no convict laborers, no cheap, exploited women laborers, and the question of immigration should be handled so that there would not be an available supply of foreign immigrants.

The next question was to find work for those that were left. That would bring us to the question of employment bureaus, which at the time we began to study the question, had scarcely been developed in America at all. You will see by the recent report that the states have done something in the way of employment bureaus and the Federal Employment Bureau has taken a great step in advance in bringing together the employment bureaus of the state.

There is one piece of legislation I want to tell you about. It is the bill now pending in Congress, introduced by Senator John W. Kern, of Indiana, to regulate the private employment agencies that send employes from one state to another. Every organization that is represented here should send to Senator Kern and get his bill for government control of private employment agencies. If you endorse it, send in those endorsements to Senator Kern. There is a great fight being made on Senator Kern now because of such things as this and we need to study these things closely. I have not read the bill, and therefore, have not endorsed it. I mean to get it and study it and ask you to do the same.

After the question of bureaus is considered we consider how to place the unemployed in positions. The next

thing to do is to provide public works for those people for whom there is no work. The government ought to be ready to start in with projects that will provide work for those people, to be alternated with private seasonal work.

Even after we have taken out the low paid element from competition with labor, placed the employment bureaus where they belong, and provided public work for the balance, you will find the present industrial system demands a reserve of labor which must be present and ready when called upon. That reserve of labor should be paid, should be taken care of during the necessary idle period just as soldiers and firemen are taken care of to stand and be ready when they are needed.

That brings us to the last point in our recommendations, which is a recommendation for unemployment insurance to provide for the workers during the idle period they are needed to stand and wait until industry needs them. The countries of Europe have developed unemployment insurance and we have given here a rather complete description of the Swiss system, the German system and the British unemployment insurance system. We hope before this year is over we will be ready to draw bills on unemployment insurance and crystallize our ideas on the subject.

We have said here that everything which the workers do for the general welfare of the working class will help to solve the question of unemployment, because all of these things which are necessary are so intertwined with one another that every good move you make has its share in solving this problem. I think the two immediate necessities before us is the study of the co-operative movement and the study of unemployment insurance. Those are the two big things of our work for the coming year. Unemployment insurance not only provides for the idle working man and his family but it puts the cost upon industry. If the owners of

factories and mines and mills have to pay insurance while men are idle they are going to find some way of regularizing their industries, systematizing the trade and preventing unemployment if you make them pay for their own lack of organization.

That brings us to the point that the workers are not to blame for this condition. The industries are controlled by the great capitalist powers of the country that have brought about this condition on account of their selfish greed. You are to blame if you do not organize and make the fight for your rights. After all, as the report says, in the last analysis the thing that is necessary for labor is to control itself and not be controlled by anybody else. All of these steps that we take must come about through organization, and therefore, organization itself is the most important thing. We have given a program for legislation and organization. The legislation must be carried on by the power of the organization and must be backed up by them after it is gained.

I want to mention another bill, and that is the Newlands transportation bill. In Europe all the employment bureaus are able, when they are sending men and women looking for work from one point to another, to give them cheap transportation or free transportation. In most of the countries society owns the railroads. I hope before many years we will have advanced power enough in this country to have government ownership of railroads in the United States, but in the meantime, those railroads must be made to feel that when they took their great domain from the public they were put there to serve the public.

Long before the workers had awakened to this necessity for free transportation or cheap transportation for workers the railroads had looked out for that through the Interstate Commerce Commission, which forbids passes for anybody except certain employes of the roads. The result has been that the working men who had

to go from town to town had to ride the rods, the brakebeams or beat the ground to get there. We all know the story of the accident to workers looking for employment, crippled and maimed along the roads they have built. Senator Newlands has recommended a bill to compel the railroads to give cheap transportation or free transportation to all people who are sent to work under the Federal Bureau of Employment. That is another bill you had better get and read and endorse if the details are what they seem to be.

I think that is about all the committee can say on the matter, excepting this. I want you to study these questions now. We are told we have prosperity now. Of course, in 1914, when everybody else was unemployed, I was working; this year when everybody else is working I am unemployed. I begin to feel the real thing since I have been locked out and blacklisted; I feel as though I belonged to the labor movement. Already as the allies of Europe perfect their munition factories their contracts in this country are being closed and there is a change coming. We will face a terrible problem of employment, and the time to get ready for that is now while you have work. Don't wait until it is upon you—get your unions together, discuss the question of unemployment, make it a special order of business, take up the eight-hour day question, the shorter work-day, the provision for the low-paid element of labor, the transportation question, free or cheap transportation, and when in the midst of the next crisis we will know what you think about it when bills are drawn up, that must be drawn up, to relieve the situation.

We must reach out to the government until we control the powers of legislation and make things ours. I think John Walker will go down in history as one of those who has pointed the way by his splendid work in developing the co-operative movement in Illinois. What is the use of asking for a 20 per cent increase in

wages when you get a 60 per cent increase in the cost of living? You must control the markets and you must control the conditions of labor; you must control them through the political, the labor and the co-operative movement principally. Get ready.

Delegate Fitchie: I move the adoption of the committee's report.

The chairman announced that the motion had already been made.

Delegate Woll: May I ask the secretary of the committee to what does the adoption of this report commit the Illinois State Federation of Labor?

Secretary O'Reilly: I do not believe there is anything new or anything original in the report; I think it is already the program and we have tried to follow it. It is not intended to commit the Federation to any new proposals. In looking up the information we have tried to follow the program labor has outlined in the past. Of course, unemployment insurance is a new thing, but the recommendation is to study it.

Delegate Woll: The only definite recommendation is that the question be studied by the American Federation of Labor as well as by this movement?

Secretary O'Reilly: The American Federation of Labor has such a committee appointed and at work now. That was recommended by the Illinois State Federation of Labor last year, and, according to your instructions, our delegate, John Fitzpatrick, brought the matter up at the convention. The committee is working now to bring in a report to the American Federation of Labor convention. I think we ought to send all reports to the American Federation of Labor committee.

Delegate Woll: I am glad to hear that, because I think there are a number of subjects in this report which require considerable study before we are prepared to reach a definite con-

clusion upon them—the question, for instance, of unemployment insurance. There is no doubt as to the merit of the proposal as such, but when we study the question of procedure and practice we find ourselves involved in a most complex situation. On this continent we have the Dominion of Canada, in the United States we have forty-eight distinctive sovereign states and legislation of this character, to become efficient in any manner, cannot be by state regulation but must be by national control, requiring, in addition, constitutional amendments to our constitution of the United States.

Now as to the question of employment bureaus. Great Britain has been mentioned. I just returned two weeks ago from Great Britain, where I attended as a fraternal delegate, with President Mahon of the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees, the session of the British Trades Union Congress. Let me sound the warning that was sounded by the British Trade Union Congress of Bureaus controlled by the government. They are co-operating with the employers now to destroy the employment bureaus of the workers themselves. They will not employ a man unless he is employed through one of those governmental employment bureaus, and the trade union bureau is disregarded.

These questions require considerable study, and I am pleased to hear the explanation made that we are not committed to any definite proposals other than to give them thorough and intelligent consideration and study. With that explanation I join with the balance in approving the committee's report.

At 12:15 the convention was adjourned to 2 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

FIFTH DAY — Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Friday, October 20th, President Walker in the chair.

Delegate Vanderpoel, Florists, presented to President Walker a handsome basket of flowers, and in doing so, said:

In behalf of Florists' Union No. 1016, I wish to present to our president this basket of flowers, first, because of the esteem in which he is held by us, and, second, to demonstrate to the delegates present that flowers can be purchased with the union label and sent from Chicago if you cannot get them anywhere else.

President Walker: All I can say is that I appreciate the gift and more so the sentiment that was responsible for the giving of it. If in any way I can assist in furthering the cause of your organization, Delegate Vanderpoel, you may be sure there will not be anything I can do that will not be done in that direction. It is a great deal nicer to get a bunch of flowers thrown at you than a bunch of bricks.

The chairman announced that discussion would be resumed on the report of the Committee on Unemployment.

Delegate Dunn, Painters: I want to say a word in reference to the report submitted by Delegate O'Reilly, and also to touch on the deprecating attitude of Brother Woll toward it. Louis Brandeis once said that constitutions were made to serve and not to bind. President Taft took the exact opposite attitude, being a strict parliamentarian. Judge Chadman says that organized government, if it is to endure, must, like the bark of a growing tree, respond and expand to the forces that are operating within. There is an evident desire for expansion on the part of the membership of organized labor in regard to the question of unemployment insurance. We have numerous reports on the subject, among which I can instance one that was compiled by a commis-

sion appointed by Mayor Harrison during his last administration in Chicago. It was compiled by members of the city council, acting in conjunction with a number of prominent citizens, and not one single member of that commission was an avowed socialist. They stated that unemployment was inevitable under the present system and the question must be dealt with as such. They stated the problem was inherent in the present system and offered proof of their contention.

Now Brother Woll says we must be very careful how we approach this subject, and cited the conditions in Great Britain in regard to the government employment bureaus there coming in conflict with the bureaus appointed or elected by the labor unions themselves. I want to say here that unless we delegate special functions for governments to perform we can never discover the weaknesses of government under the system under which we are operating. The instance Delegate Woll quoted is proof positive that in Great Britain the employing interests control the government and control the appointment of the government bureaus, and naturally we cannot expect that those bureaus are going to operate for the benefit of the working class.

I know that Delegate O'Reilly has devoted her best efforts for years to this subject; those who have been associated with her have done the same, and I believe they are capable of going ahead and legislating in the interests of organized labor on this subject. I do not believe we should wait until such time as persons, both in and out of the labor movement, who are not acquainted with the subject, who have no knowledge of it and who are not interested in it even, will act. Therefore, I am heartily in favor of the report as recommended by Delegate O'Reilly in behalf of the committee.

Delegate Seidel, Machinists: The unemployment problem is one of the

greatest problems confronting the labor organizations all over the world. In the United States commissions were appointed to investigate and they were successful enough to bring the matter before the United States Congress. Miles Poindexter, Senator from Washington State, introduced a bill in 1911 that would have solved the unemployment problem. It was referred to the Committee on Labor, but it died there and no action was taken by Congress. A year ago there was a bill introduced in the state of Ohio and passed by the state legislature, but when it was sought to enforce it in a small county it was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of that state.

It seems to me it is up to the rank and file to say whether laws shall be constitutional or not, and not have to bow to the judges. The bill introduced by Senator Poindexter makes provisions for the supervision of each county and a provision is made for the amount to be paid common labor. The eight-hour day is included. If we have judges such as we have at the present time we will never get legislation in favor of the people.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

Report of Committee on Constitution.

Delegate Anderson, Chicago, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

That Article VI, Section 4, be amended by striking out the words "nor shall more than one reside in any one city or town."

Delegate Woll moved the adoption of the report of the committee. (Seconded.)

Delegate Palmer, Galesburg: All the committee did not agree to that and we have a minority report to present to the convention. I will read it. A minority of the committee believes it would be better that all the offices in the gift of the State Federation of Labor be distributed throughout the state as generally as possible, and that there should be no concentration in the large cities of the state, which the

report of the committee makes possible. Therefore, the minority submits the following:

Minority Report.

"We wish to oppose striking out the last three lines of Section 4, Article VI, believing that the best interests of the labor movement will be conserved by leaving the section as it now stands."

Delegate Carlson moved to substitute the minority for the majority report. (Seconded.)

Delegate Woll: I rise to a point of order. The minority report is not properly a minority report but a dissenting opinion from the report of the committee. If the original motion is adopted, that prevails; if that is defeated, the law will remain as it is.

President Walker: That is really a distinction without a difference. The Chair must confess lack of understanding of the finer points of the rules that Brother Woll seems to have in mind, but in all the experience I have had in the Chair and in dealing with the Chair as a delegate on the floor of the convention, I have never heard a Chair rule that a minority report could not be substituted for the majority when it was offered by a minority of the committee.

Delegate Woll: I do not make any objection to that.

President Walker: The Chair will rule that the minority report is before the convention, although the language used in the make-up of the motion is not exactly what should have been used.

Delegate Woll: I believe this Federation wants to secure the services of the most able men it is possible to secure. Any restriction on the Federation in securing these services, I believe, is detrimental to the Federation. Last year you enacted a referendum system of election. You all know my position on that point; but, assuming that as being true, you say we want to elect our people by the rank and file and now you propose to

restrict that same right you have been fighting to give them.

Why not leave the question of where the man shall come from where he shall reside, with the rank and file as well? If you are going to be democratic don't enact a constitution in the convention that contains further restrictions and limitations of that character. I believe we want to secure the most earnest, efficient and loyal trade unionists for officers. Even though two reside in one city or belong to one trade, what difference will it make? Are we legislating along trade lines or location? You speak of industrialism, you divide yourselves in trades. It is the most irreconcilable position I can conceive, taking into consideration the viewpoint declared for in this convention.

Secretary Olander: This matter came before the Committee on Constitution at my request. I went to the members of that committee and pointed out the situation that would develop in the coming election if that section of the constitution were not changed. That section was placed in the constitution by the Alton convention, not by referendum vote, and it has never been in effect. It goes into force in the coming election if permitted to remain in our laws. One of its effects will be to automatically discharge two of the present vice-presidents. It seems to me, if we are honest in this question of the referendum vote, we will let the members generally decide whether or not those two vice-presidents shall be retained on the Executive Board.

Now, as to territorial representation, to say in the constitution that not more than one vice-president shall come from any one town is not saying that these officers shall be from different parts of the state. You can find spots all over the state where there are many towns very close together, only a few miles apart, and you could elect a vice-president from each of those towns and have them all in one county without violating this section of the constitution. But you don't do those things that way; you will not, the membership has too

much common sense to proceed in that manner. I am sure that the intelligence of the members, their sense of fairness, and their desire to do what is best for the movement, can be relied upon to solve the question of who the vice-presidents should be and what locations they should come from, better than any constitutional rule.

Further, I do not think it is wise to enact legislation of this kind aimed at some particular locality. Let us deal frankly with this question. A couple of years ago there wasn't such a very large affiliation in Chicago, for various reasons. Today, however, there are enrolled in the Federation 130 local unions in Chicago, and there will be a good many more before the first of the year, according to the reports that come to me now. To say to this large number of affiliated unions that, regardless of what the membership of the Federation throughout the state may want, the convention arbitrarily limits this great field to one vice-president, would not be wise. I don't think it will have a good effect for you to say to them that, after the membership has selected three vice-presidents from that city an amendment to the constitution, made in convention, is to be used to force two of those vice-presidents out.

I want to see this Federation grow; I want to see its membership solidified so that we can work together. I don't want this convention to take action that will compel me to devote a couple of months of my time to explaining and trying to settle the trouble that may ensue within our own ranks. Think of what it will mean to the rest of the state when Chicago lines up solidly with the Federation, as I believe it will.

I don't think any one of the three vice-presidents now in office would care very much what you did, so far as they themselves are concerned, but if you say to the Chicago movement now, after the membership has elected these men, that they are to be removed by the action of a convention, regardless of the referendum vote, it

will hamper the work of organization, will be-unfair to the men themselves—there has not been the slightest criticism against them—and may create an impression that the Chicago movement has been legislated against.

Delegate Bruce: The only motion I heard was to concur in the committee's report.

President Walker: You must have been pretty busy with other matters.

Delegate Bruce: Then we will vote on the minority report to leave Section 4 stand as it is?

President Walker: Yes. The section now reads: "No trade shall be represented in more than one of the offices of vice-president, nor shall more than one reside in any one city or town."

The majority report reads: "That Article VI, Section 4, be amended by striking out the words, 'nor shall more than one reside in any one city or town.'"

It means that while there is a restriction to one vice-president from one trade, there is no restriction as to the number that may come from one city. The motion is to adopt the minority report, which is the re-enactment of the present law and which restricts the selection of vice-president to one from any one city.

The motion to substitute the minority report for the majority report was lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee amending the constitution was adopted.

Resolution No. 15.

By T. F. Neary, Chauffeurs No. 727; Tony Weth, Bakers No. 2; John G. Clay, Teamsters No. 712, Chicago:

WHEREAS, Article 7 of the Constitution of this Federation has been in practice for the second year, and it has been proven in many instances that the law as it now stands has

been abused in so far as the officers of the local unions voting for the entire organization on the referendum vote, and other abuses came from this practice; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Article 7 of the Constitution be changed so that the election of officers in the future will be held by the conventional election system, as prior to the year 1914.

Secretary Anderson: A majority of the committee concurs in the resolution, and I move its adoption. (Seconded.)

Minority Report.

Delegate Palmer, Galesburg, read the following:

The undersigned members of your Constitution Committee find themselves unable to agree with the report of the majority of the committee on the advisability of discarding the referendum in the State Federation of Labor.

We are not insensible of the abuses which have shown themselves, but hold that the benefits are so apparent and so much greater than the deficiencies as to make it folly for this step to be taken.

Year after year this convention has gone on record as favoring the initiative and referendum in state affairs. Our representatives have besieged legislators session after session in the interest of a constitutional amendment giving to the people of the state real self government through the initiative and referendum. The delegates to this convention, after hearing the arguments of several delegates yesterday on the tax dodgers amendment, do not need to be told how the initiative and referendum is feared by the interests opposed to the progress of labor.

Should this convention now take the action proposed, we feel that our sincerity may well be questioned. If we ourselves cannot govern the State Federation of Labor by means of the

referendum, even to the election of our officers, how can we expect the people of the entire state to adopt this system?

We feel that this convention may well pause and consider this question seriously before taking a step which we are thoroughly convinced is a step backward.

We also wish to oppose the striking out of the last three lines of Section 4 of Article VI, believing that the best interests of the labor movement are to be conserved by leaving this section as it stands.

GEO. H. C. PALMER,
P. J. CARLSON.

Delegate Palmer moved to substitute the minority report for the majority report. (Seconded.)

Delegate Bruce, Street Railway Employees: I am opposed to the minority report. When they refer to the initiative and referendum as a state proposition or a city proposition, it can in no way connect with the organization of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. In an international organization, in which your affiliation is compulsory, it will work all right; but in an organization of this kind, where affiliation is voluntary, it is almost impossible to carry out the expression of the rank and file of all the organizations within the state of Illinois. Speaking for the street car men's organization, our elections are fixed by our international at a certain date, on which it is impossible for us to vote in accordance with the law of the Illinois State Federation of Labor; therefore, it is necessary for our organization to hold a special election to vote for the officers of the State Federation. That incurs an expense of about \$240 for our organization and for No. 8 about \$1,000. It does not work well as far as our organization is concerned and the same thing applies to a number of other organizations in the state.

I do not think it is wise to continue the referendum system as far as

the Illinois State Federation of Labor is concerned. I think the way it stacks up this time is nothing more than a huge joke, and I think they are trying to crowd the issue when they speak of the initiative and referendum in this state. The state has the election all over the state on one day. The Federation cannot say to the affiliated organizations they must hold their elections on a certain day, because they haven't that power.

Delegate McArthur, Teamsters: As a member of that committee and one of those voting for the majority report to have the constitution changed so as to do away with the referendum system in the election of the officers, I first want to call the attention of the delegates to the fact that the initiative and referendum, as spoken of in the minority report, isn't the same as the rule in the State Federation of Labor. In the first place, we are asking for the initiative and referendum in the laws of the state of Illinois, which covers all the people or is supposed to cover them equally. In the State Federation we have an entirely different condition. Instead of being a mandatory organization we have here a Federation of voluntary organizations. It is voluntary and not mandatory and cannot enforce rules on affiliated organizations whose charters allow them local autonomy. I want to ask the secretary how many affiliated, per capita tax paying members were in the Federation at the time of the last referendum vote?

Secretary Olander: I cannot answer that accurately. Before answering it I want to say there is a very substantial difference between the membership upon which per capita tax is paid and the actual membership. The membership upon which per capita tax is paid is very much smaller than the actual membership. It was necessary for me to have printed 180,000 ballots.

Delegate McArthur: Is it not true that ballots coming in from a large number of the organizations came

with an equal number of votes for a number of candidates?

Secretary Olander: I published the report.

Delegate McArthur: Isn't that true?

Secretary Olander: I have posted the report on the bulletin board, and, as I remember, the figures it will show that the statement of Delegate McArthur is true.

Delegate McArthur: I am not saying what I do to disparage any organization, but I want to bring out a point that will impress upon the minds of the delegates the conditions under which the State Federation of Labor is getting its officials elected. I don't want to bring out the point that these officers are not good officers or not entitled to election. At the time the Illinois State Federation of Labor officers were elected the Illinois mine workers elected their state officials and international officials, and the vote for the Illinois miners' state president was something like 55,000. On the same day they voted for the officials of the State Federation of Labor, and, if I am not mistaken, the vote for the entire organization representing the State Federation of Labor was something like 66,000 votes.

Men who have studied this and followed this will know that what I am saying is right. There are hundreds of organizations throughout the state of Illinois that have no provisions in their constitution or in their organizations for taking a referendum vote. There are hundreds of organizations whose members are not acquainted with a single official connected with this State Federation of Labor. There are many organizations whose returns came in as returns of an election in the last referendum of the State Federation whose officers could get up and honestly tell you that that vote, according to the constitution of this body, was sent in illegally.

At the time of holding the election for officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor many organizations

with which I am familiar, and with which many other members are familiar, members would say to the delegates who had been to these conventions, "Who are these men that are running for office? Who will we vote for? What men do you want us to vote for?" And in many instances a motion would be made for the officers of the organization who had been delegates to this convention to cast the entire vote of that organization for delegates they themselves knew. Understand, brother delegates, that simply because your ideas and mine do not coincide is no reason why I am lying. There are delegates who are willing to take the floor and say those conditions existed in their local unions.

I contend under those conditions, without the power as a mandatory body, to compel the affiliated organizations to hold a referendum election as that constitution says it should be held, and without any way of knowing whether the constitution really is carried out, the referendum as it exists in this organization at the present time is not a success.

I understand there are a large number of delegates who differ with me, and do so honestly; men from my own town differ with me, and they do so honestly. Every man here and every man in the State Federation has a right to his opinion on that question, but I know from my own experience in the Trades Assembly in Peoria and in my own local union and locals I have attended that the rule as it now stands allows the election of officers of the State Federation of Labor according to the dictate of whoever may be the favored one in an organization with the largest number of the rank and file.

It has been explained to me that under this system of referendum elections the old custom of log-rolling and wire-pulling is done away with. That may be true and this may be a magnificent convention, but I mention some of that stuff we had in the old times when we had good times, too. I am doing this for what I be-

lieve is the benefit of the organizations affiliated with this Federation. I am not opposed to any officer that is nominated or that may be nominated at some time in the future, but I like to see the men nominated and elected from the floor of the convention by the men who are seated here to run the affairs of this State Federation—and do it here in the open instead of back home behind locked doors.

Delegate Haywood, Miners: I am in favor of the minority report. I believe in the referendum in the Illinois State Federation of Labor, even though it is a voluntary body. The only opposition so far advanced against it is the abuse of the referendum by different organizations. We have had speeches today about different local unions penalizing their members for patronizing scab shops and non-union products. It is up to the brothers who know of these abuses to go back and see that laws are enacted to penalize their own members who abuse the referendum. You can penalize them in your own locals. If the referendum is kept away from the members they will never know how to use it. The best way is to give it to them and educate them to its use. Keeping it from them will not educate the members.

Now in regard to the miners' votes in the different elections. I will venture to say that since the referendum was put into effect in the State Federation the mine workers have taken more interest in it than they ever did prior to the time it was put into effect. The reason a larger vote was cast than for our own officers was because they are elected on the same day. I cannot imagine why any man should get up here and oppose the referendum on account of the ignorance of the membership, and then advocate that the tax amendment we discussed should be submitted to a referendum vote in the state of Illinois. If the members are too ignorant to vote on the officers of our State Federation of Labor, they are certainly too ignorant to deal in

finances, which is a larger proposition and a larger problem.

Don't get up here and quote the abuses of the principle to try to defeat the referendum. There are abuses connected with the convention election. In the past when we got off the train we were met with the glad-hand—Tom, Bill or Jack was a candidate for office and he was glad to meet us. Most of the progressive work of the convention was defeated because delegates were gumshoeing around campaigning for some candidate.

If the referendum system of election had not been in force in the Illinois miners' organization not so many men would know John Walker as know him today. We may get some crooked officer in some time and the referendum is the way to get hold of him. It gives the membership the power to regulate these matters and adjust them. I hope this delegation will be progressive enough to re-enact the referendum method, and at the same time give those opposing it credit for being honest in their opinion.

Delegate Patterson, Brewery Workers: As a member of this committee and one who voted to concur in the resolution, before giving my reasons for doing it, I want to reply to some remarks of the previous speaker in regard to the ignorant workers. I don't believe all the men we represent are of the brightest kind. We are here representing the working people, and if, as he stated, they are too ignorant to vote on the question they are too ignorant to handle finances. If they were bright enough to handle finances throughout the employer would hardly find it necessary to keep them in their present position; he would promote them to something better. I represent seventeen different nationalities, and hardly a day goes by that I do not have to naturalize some of those working people. I do not say those people are educated in laws of referendum and the ways of this country.

I favor the resolution, first, because the organization I represent has sent

me and my fellow delegates here to represent it and to handle matters pertaining to the interests of our members in this convention, not when we go home to ask them to use their own judgment on matters that came up here and in voting on officers we have met. I am of the opinion that the delegates sitting here are in a position to see the officers and nominees and see their work. In my organization the election of officers falls on an entirely different date from the referendum election of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. It causes a great deal of expense, some trouble and some hardships to the men.

I heard a remark that the election of officers in convention means bringing about a great deal of lobbying in seeking the election of favorites, taking the time and attention of the delegates from the business of the convention. I cannot agree to that. I cannot see that there has been less attention shown in the past than there is at the present time. I believe if an election were to be held in this hall today or tomorrow not as many delegates would have left the town last night and today as have left. Those delegates have had the matters they are interested in acted upon and they are on their way. If there is to be an election they will sit in the convention until the time for adjournment.

Delegate Jessen, Painters: I am opposed to the adoption of the minority report for the same reasons that the minority committee is in favor of it. I am speaking from the standpoint of democracy. I think the delegates who wrote the minority report have not studied what democracy is. They are confusing the political situation with the Federation's affairs.

I regard the referendum as a guiding method for an organization and not a governing method. We have primitive democracy and modern democracy. Primitive democracy is what we use in our local union where the will of the members governs. They meet in one hall, they

know each other, they know their officers and elect their officers because they know them. The State Federation is an affiliation of bodies from different cities; it represents the modern system of democracy, which is government by representative, and you will find that all the European labor organizations are governed by representatives. The greatest political economist of the last twenty-five years, Karl Kowsky, says that it is not progressive but reactionary to have a system of this kind. Therefore, I am opposed to the minority report.

Any one who has had anything to do with referendum elections knows that abuses occur which, of course, is also true of elections in the convention. I have seen them in this convention myself, but we should not condemn anything on account of its abuses. It is the principle that is involved, and I think as long as the members of our organization are not familiar at the present time with the conditions of the State Federation of Labor and with the officers it should be left with the delegates to decide these questions.

Delegate Fonefo, Mine Workers: The greatest thing the labor movement has ever had is the referendum. Electing officers on this convention floor means a great expense, especially to the miners' organization. When we had the convention in Decatur our delegate was sent there instructed to vote for Walker, and we held in reserve at his command a telegram saying, "Six more delegates to be sent to Decatur to elect Walker." You speak of the number of delegates that have gone. They were here only to vote for Joliet or Bloomington. If we elect officers on the floor of the convention we will have delegates coming in on the eve of the election. I tell you, gentlemen, we have gone to Springfield year after year and begged the legislature to enact a referendum. Then we come to this convention and try to vote it down. What will they tell your Legislative Committee when it goes to Springfield?

"You people don't want it because you would not support it in the State Federation convention."

Delegate Ferris, Lathers: My international organization some seven years ago took up the referendum idea of voting for international officers and for all laws. We went through that form of government for seven years. The first year it was very popular, and when our first election returns came in we had the grand total of 35 per cent of the rank and file voting on the subject that was proposed through the referendum system. It was so all down the line for seven years. Never have we, until this last election, which took place a month ago this coming Saturday afternoon, polled more than 42 per cent of the rank and file.

In this last election we had a proposal to go back to the convention system. That proposal carried 68 per cent of the vote that was cast in the last election. Why? I will tell you. During the seven years of our referendum we stood at the same per capita as we were prior to the time we had conventions. It seems there was no enthusiasm put into the officers. Every time we went to vote in the election the same identical officers were on the ballot. Why? Because they made their trips to organized cities, spent their time in that way and did not pretend to get into the field where we were unorganized. The referendum in the state is a different proposition. That has been explained by the brother back here. I think this convention ought to adopt the majority report, and I believe you will when it comes to a vote.

Delegate Bertelero, Mine Workers: If a bunch of men buys the gasoline to run an automobile at least they should have the say as to how it shall be run. Therefore, I believe in the referendum. One of the speakers said that a great deal of abuse occurs in different locals and that they delegate the voting to one particular man. As far as the miners are concerned each member must vote for the candidates

he wants. It was said here yesterday in a corner that the delegates ought to stay to carry this thing over because the miners were getting so strong they were running everything.

It seems to me we are divided like the Irishman and the Jew in Chicago. A majority of the voters in a ward were democrats. About one-third of the voters in the ward were republicans, but for twenty years a republican alderman had been elected in that ward. Last spring the democrats got together and tried to form a plan to elect a democrat. The Irishmen decided to have a big blow-out and most of the dishes they selected had pork in them. A young Jew got up and said, "I make a motion that these big doings occur on Friday night." The Irishmen could not eat the pork on Friday. When the election came on a republican was elected as usual, and the democrats whether they are Jews or Irish will have to go to Mr. Republican for some favor.

I attended this convention when the officers were elected on the floor in Decatur, and it was a dirty shame the way it was done. As soon as I got to Decatur I was grabbed by one after another of the delegates who were there. Some offered me booze and some offered me rotten cigars to vote for some one. This is the best convention I have ever attended and we have no election here.

Delegate Hammond, Painters: I am opposed to the minority report and wish to state one or two reasons why I am opposed. It has been said by the minority of the committee we are so very much in favor of the initiative and referendum in the state government. Every student of the labor movement knows that the federal government and state and city governments are organized and used for the sole purpose of perpetuating the capitalist class. They make the laws and enforce them with all the powers they can muster. The labor organizations, on the other hand, make laws in the interest of their class and enforce them with all the power they can muster. Now comes the clash of

these two organizations. One makes a law and the other is trying to throw sand in the machinery of the other class's organization in order to stop the enforcement of those laws.

The initiative and referendum came from the socialists in this country, proposed and advocated by them for the purpose of throwing sand in the capitalist's machinery. This thing has got to be a religion in our organization, this referendum. Now we are proposing to throw sand in our own machinery. We want a live organization. You cannot judge the caliber of a man who lives in some other part of the state whom you never saw or heard make a statement. You are going to choose him for an officer. How ridiculous! The brother who spoke before me said this is a very successful convention. If we are going to grow as we have in the past five years we must have men we have confidence in to serve as officers. We would not have the representation we have here today if we had men in the president's and secretary's offices we did not have confidence in. I know my organization and other organizations would not be represented here were it not for men like John Walker, Victor Olander and men of their type. President Walker says he is not going to run. Who are you going to elect? Somebody you don't know, I suppose. That is what is going to happen. I don't believe you are going to do the thing that will advance the interest of this organization by that method.

Delegate Kasten (Frank): I am a member of the Committee on Constitution and one of the majority. I am opposed to the minority report, and I claim there is no comparison between the initiative and referendum as demanded by us in the state movement and as demanded by the people who are in favor of the minority report in this convention. In the first place, we foolishly elect people to office in our state and municipal governments who steadfastly refuse to enact legislation we want. Then we go and ask those men to give us the initiative and referendum so that we

can legislate for ourselves, and they will not even do that.

In this case we are all gathered here for the purpose of advancing the interests of those who toil and those who are in favor of the minority report tell us that when we go back the rank and file are going to elect officers. It is the men and women who come to these conventions who tell the rank and file on election day who the people are they ought to vote for because they know them. The rank and file know Jack Walker, yes; they know Victor Olander. Some of our people know Joe Morton and Brother Kelley because they were interested in advancing something we wanted. Did they know any of the others? They will know who those men are who have been nominated if we go back and tell about them. On the 10th of December, 1912, we had the rottenest, dirtiest stunt pulled off that was ever pulled off in any organization. It was done through the referendum and you cannot convince our membership it is a good thing.

Delegate Weth: I am one of the introducers of the resolution. Last year when Secretary Olander sent the ballots to our office very few of our members knew who was who and what was what. I am a trade unionist and I want to play a fair game with anybody, but I don't think it is fair and square for one official to have the right to mark the ballots and send them back to the state office just as he wants them.

I believe in a referendum to some extent. My international organization is conducted by the referendum and some of the delegates are surprised that I speak against it here. In our convention in 1909 I was a delegate and one of the greatest fighters for the referendum in our international. We had a controversy in our local and we stood for the referendum. I still stand for it in the international but I am not in favor of it in a voluntary organization like the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Different trades are represented in the Federation all over the state and they do not know

who to elect. They know John Walker and Victor Olander but they do not know the others. After a man has treated you fair and square you would not care who else is put up as a candidate you would not vote for him. I know I would not do it if 500 people told me to do so. I know when I go to the ballot box who to vote for. After sitting here for a week I know who is the best man to vote for.

Every man who is elected once, even if he is not fit, will be re-elected; you cannot get him out through the referendum. He would not be re-elected on this floor after the delegates had seen him work, but he would be elected in the referendum. Brother Bruce spoke of the expense. We need our money for organization purposes more than to call a referendum election. Last year when the time came to nominate the ten candidates for office I had to nominate every one. Every one asked me to do it. I wanted our local to nominate officers but the members did not know who the men who were candidates were. I hope and trust the delegates will vote in favor of the majority report.

The miners' organization is very strong, I believe they have eighty or eighty-five thousand members, and I would like to see them have 200,000 represented here. One delegate spoke about the socialists. I think the delegates from Chicago know where I stand on that, but that makes no difference here in a trade organization. We need the money for organization purposes, and if we spend it that way the State Federation will have thirty or thirty-five more locals affiliated with it.

Delegate Cook, Milk Wagon Drivers: Mr. Chairman and Brother Delegates: I want to tell you the position the milk wagon drivers of Chicago occupy on this question. The milk wagon drivers of Chicago, I think, have the speediest organization in the movement. We have a system of election in our organization that cannot be beat. If you men think you are

not capable of electing right here and you want to do the best thing for the organizations affiliated you will relegate the referendum system. It may be all right for the miners—

Delegate Bertelero: The miners don't allow any one to work unless he is organized. You cannot find a scab working in the coal mines of Illinois. As far as organization is concerned the miners are at the head of the list.

Delegate Cook: When I tell you that the milk wagon drivers any time they have to raise their wages simply mark them up two dollars over night and they get it, you will realize the kind of organization we have. I hope you will relegate that old piece of junk to the rear and come here and vote for the candidates in this convention.

Delegate Watson, Machinists: Being one of the young members of this assembly, never having attended a session before, I will intrude myself for only a few minutes. I represent an organization I think I would be unworthy of representing did I not rise up to protest against the surrender of the referendum. For years the machinists' organization has had this principle in its constitution and declaration of principles. They have set it forth to be enacted into the organic law of this land. I hope the delegates will not vote against the proposition here.

If we take the expense of the proposition into consideration it will be an argument against adopting the referendum in our national and international organizations. I hope to see in the near future, not only the election of officers by the referendum, but to have the initiative, referendum and recall. I expect this has been the most profitable year in the history of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and I know it has been accomplished under the referendum. I do not expect because we retain the referendum that we will go backwards, no, never; we will still go forward. We have done it with such men in office as

President Walker and Secretary Olander.

I want to take back to my local the word that you have not been inconsistent. There have been too many inconsistencies in the labor movement. We have already gone on record favoring the initiative and referendum in regard to the tax amendment and I hope you will not have the press association flash it through the state of Illinois tomorrow that we do not want it in our own organization but we want to impose it on the public at large.

Delegate Williams: I feel like the brother who has just spoken, that I would be unworthy of my constituency at home if I did not rise and defend that sacred word referendum, which means so much to the members of this organization and to the unorganized men of this country. It was said prior to the revolution that the common people were in the majority but that they did not have brains enough to run the country. Vice-President Marshall made the statement the other day that we had to sacrifice efficiency for democracy. The referendum is the only true democracy we have. I don't believe I have more knowledge than that great sovereign power we hear so much about—the boys back home.

This is a very serious question. We ought to settle it here. We are a legislative body. Are we going to leave the inference that the masses of the people of this country haven't knowledge enough to select their own officers? One gentleman spoke of the miners. The miners know who they are voting for and that is why they cast such a large vote. That brother spoke of the militant organization he belongs to. Granting they are militant, but when he spoke of the rotten deal through the referendum he did not say the referendum was to blame. Another gentleman says, "Well, some know Jack Walker and Victor Olander and Kelley, but who knows who is running for president?" Jim Morris is running for president. I heard

a gentleman back there speak of him as a coal miner. I believe he served this organization for twelve years as secretary, and he traveled over this country when he did not have a sleeper and served us when it was not so popular to do so as it is now.

Delegate Woll: It is rather pleasing to me to know that where I was almost the entire minority a year ago there have been won so many advocates to the conviction I expressed in the Alton convention. I have the highest regard for the United Mine Workers' organization and all its affiliated unions. I have the highest regard for all organized labor, and if there is one that has not made as much progress as another perhaps we who are successful are somewhat to blame that those who are weaker are not as strong as they might be. While the discussion has been going on I have been meditating with myself whether I ought not to offer some substitute motion at this convention which would preclude the convention taking any definite action at this time. However, I cannot reconcile a motion of that character with the conviction I have on this subject and when I express my convictions on this it is because they are my truthful and honest convictions. You boys know I am opposed to the referendum system as applied to the Illinois State Federation of Labor. I indicated some of the reasons a year ago. My belief in those reasons has been strengthened since then and I am confident that as time goes on those convictions will be stronger day by day and year by year.

Now, there is no analogy between state elections, elections in society as a government and those in a voluntary organization of groups of workers such as you represent here. The Illinois State Federation is a federation of organizations that have complete autonomy within their own ranks, and this organization has not the power, has not the force that the Illinois government has to enforce its laws and rulings. We are a voluntary organization solely and purely. I trust

whatever final conclusion may be reached upon this that those who may be defeated will take their defeat as graciously as those who met defeat a year ago. I believe time proves right and I believe we are right on this question of electing men in the Federation at conventions where we can see them in action, where we can become acquainted with their personalities, where we may find what character of men they may be.

Referendum! It has been shown on this floor here the abuses, it has been demonstrated throughout the proceedings of this convention. I recall when I was presiding the other day that President Walker in defense of his report dealing with the attack of Senator Sherman on President Gompers, indicated clearly the powers and the dirty influences at work to interfere with the election of the United Mine Workers, and the inference was that it is not only opposition within the United Mine Workers, but that Mr. Sherman himself may be actively engaged in destroying the man who has opposed and has condemned him by seeking his defeat among the miners.

We might go into every organization and find the same influences, not only within, but influences without, condemning men who deserve the highest praise from the labor organizations. It is at conventions when the character of men who have been condemned can be cleared. In the conventions they are accorded an opportunity of making explanations of their conduct and leaving those who have heard determine whether they are justified in returning them to office or not. And many other evils might be cited. No matter what system you have you are going to have abuses, you are going to have politics. In every group of men, wherever there is an organized group, politics enter into it. There is politics in the church and there is politics in every group of human beings.

Delegates have spoken about being approached as soon as they left the trains at former conventions. I have been approached in this convention,

not by any candidate but by some zealous friends of the referendum asking me to support their friends in the present referendum election. You see it is there, and we lay the way open for a more subtle form of politics, for men will go into the locals and make insinuations of wrong doing and crookedness on the part of some man without that man being accorded any opportunity of defense.

My convictions are well known. I don't care what you do; I know that time will prove the right course. My conviction is that the time will come when we will all realize that the best method of election is to have the men face those who are to cast the ballots for them. I hope that whichever side may prevail we will go out just as we have always done to build up the Illinois State Federation of Labor. In conclusion I agree as to the high mentality, as to the splendid loyalty and as to the great accomplishments of this Federation under the leadership of John Walker and Victor Olander, but remember that they were elected originally in a convention and not by referendum.

Secretary Olander in the chair.

President Walker: If there ever was a time when I liked to express my convictions on any matter I have intense convictions on it has been when it looked as though I was going to get a licking when it was done. I generally felt when I was in the majority as though I was some big fellow licking another because I had the power to do it, and I could not speak with the same feeling in the matter under those circumstances I could when I appeared to be in for getting a licking. And from indications, at least, it seems possible I may get one this time, and because of that I want to make clear my position and convictions in this very, very important matter. And what I want to say will not reflect upon any man here or any organization represented here. I want to make that clear. I think the whole bunch of you have been doing the very best you could and that your

organizations are the very best organizations you can make them.

The one big objection to the initiative and referendum method of election as expressed here was the lack of information on the part of the rank and file in order to enable them to vote intelligently; the second big objection was the expense involved, and the third big objection was the inconvenience in connection with it. I realize that a great many of the men here are in deadly earnest in opposing the referendum method of election for these reasons. I believe they are absolutely honest. I want them to feel that is my view with reference to them and their action. At the same time I don't think any man living can be any more earnest or honest in his opposition to their views than I am.

Then there is the objection of outside influences possibly being able to control an election under the referendum method. The milk wagon drivers of Chicago have about the only organization that is in a position to be able to consistently object on the ground of expense in this matter, because they have had their full delegation at practically every convention since they affiliated with the Federation, and so far as getting information from the convention is concerned they have been at just as much expense under the referendum method of election of officers as they were under the old method of electing in the convention.

The members of the average organization that has two, three, four or five hundred members feel they can get from one good delegate and from the proceedings about as much information from the convention as they could if they sent five or ten delegates and they can have their views at least expressed to a convention on the different questions that come up just as clearly with one good delegate as they can with three, four or five. They can do that in a large convention. Everybody cannot be heard or we would never adjourn. I know at least one local union that under the old method had thirty-three delegates on

the floor of the convention and under the new method they elect one. It may be the saving they will make in the lesser expense for delegates will more than enable them to conduct properly a referendum election in their local for the officers of our Federation. It was stated on the floor of other conventions that that local paid only the expenses of six delegates. I want you to draw your own conclusions. If there were twenty-seven delegates here paying their expenses and working without wages they must have been noble, self-sacrificing, intensely interested trades unionists; and if they were not, if they did not do that, there must have been some influence on the floor of this convention that was not altogether representing the real views and sentiments of honest working men in the local union from which they had credentials.

I heard one of the Board members say that the governor made the statement that he wanted a certain man elected president of this Federation, and for that reason he sent all the game wardens of the state to the convention that year. In the past we have had the mine managers, the direct representatives of the coal operators, seated in this convention, not because, as trades unionists, they were seeking to better the conditions of mine managers as trade unionists, but for the purpose of controlling this convention in its elections and in questions vitally affecting it, in almost every instance in opposition to the interests of men and women working for a living. You know men came here brazenly and fought to protect such men as Joe Cannon, men who gave their entire lives to opposing the labor movement. They were not paid by trades unionists, they were not paid by real, honest working men and women, but they were paid out of the slush fund of the crooked political organizations and sent here to serve their purposes. This is not theory, this is not imagination, it actually took place on the floor of the conventions of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in the past.

I know what the possibilities are of influencing the rank and file, of assassinating men's characters through newspapers and cheap hirelings, even under the referendum method, but that influence can just as easily be exerted in the selection of delegates to come to the convention, and I know it costs less to buy a few delegates than it does to buy the whole rank and file. In my judgment, at least in that particular respect, the facts are in favor of the referendum election.

If there is any one thing that has really got to be done that we cannot dodge, that has to be done no matter how much work has to be done or how much expense has to be incurred in order to do it, if we ever want to make the labor movement so absolutely safe and pure and right that no crooked influences, no matter how great they may be, no matter how much money or anything else in the way of inducements they may have at their disposal to bribe men and women, if we want that movement placed where it is absolutely safe we must educate the men and women who are actually working back home to understand what they are doing in every phase of it. If we had every trade unionist thoroughly educated so that he would know and understand the men and measures, then all the crooked, dirty politicians on earth, inside and outside of our movement, would not be able to swerve it one iota from the right path in anything that affects the labor movement, and until the rank and file do know and understand there is always going to be that danger.

And, friends, my judgment is that in the matter of the rank and file really getting information, we might be able to overcome that with not so very great a financial expenditure as to make it impossible. We have the proceedings of these conventions printed verbatim, every word said here by every delegate is written down in that book, and if any member in the state wants every particle of information that can be gotten there is not only nothing standing in the way of his

getting it, but I don't know of an officer or active member that will not go out of his way to help him get it. If every member would get the record, and in addition get the reports of delegates as to things that are not in the records, he can fairly well judge as to the men and the measures. I do not believe it will be so hard, and I think it is one of the things that must be done. I know that is one of the defects in the referendum election now, but that has got to be overcome in order to make the movement safe, even though you elect the officers by the old method. There is no chance of making it safe until the members have that information.

The average worker has got to be awakened to a realization of the fact that this movement means so much to him that no reasonable expense or effort ought to be spared by him to be fully informed on everything in connection with it. And that can be provided for; we have the machinery now; it can be arranged for, and I venture the assertion that if every member of the Illinois State Federation of Labor were to get a copy of the proceedings of this convention and read it over, then at least, in so far as selecting men for office that have been in this convention is concerned, they can be pretty well informed when the next election rolls around in that way and by getting information from delegates. I think there is not a man but could satisfy himself beyond any reasonable possibility of doubt as to the honesty and ability of every man who has been here taking an active part in the work of the convention. It is only the men and women who take an active part on the floor of the convention you men and women are able to judge, and you can get that in the record as well.

Some reference has been made to our organization, the Mine Workers. I think it has as many defects as any organization that is represented here; I think, too, it has enough good things in it to make the average trades unionists really like it when he gets to know it. It is true we have our weaknesses;

yes, and we make our mistakes. I don't think there are any of you here but have those weaknesses and make those mistakes, and if we are not as far advanced as we should be we will be grateful for any assistance you can give us and we will be glad to make that progress as quick as possible. I can speak with knowledge of it better than I can speak of any other organization represented here, perhaps, but I want you to know and feel there is nothing that has given more satisfaction to the Miners' Union in connection with the Illinois State Federation of Labor than to know they have in their own hands the power to select the men that serve as officers. If the rank and file were to take these proceedings and read them and obtain every particle of information they could get, no matter who you elect as officers, you would not be able to sidetrack them very easily and we would be able to make more progress than we would with the very best officers when they have that information.

The mine workers are not going to quit the Illinois State Federation of Labor. If you defeat them in this proposition they will come back here in the next convention with enough delegates to re-enact it. When the Illinois mine workers believe a thing is right they don't quit and run when they are beaten, they just shut their teeth, tighten their belts and come back with a stronger effort. Don't think the mine workers will pull away, for they won't; but if the referendum is discontinued they will be disappointed, they will feel badly about it, they will not have the same feeling of satisfaction they have had up to this time.

With this constitution liberally construed, which enables each local union to hold its elections almost at its own time and in its own way, there will be no need of any great expense. I think it can even be further liberalized. I think Delegate Bruce said it would cost \$3,000 to elect in Chicago. How many members have you, Delegate Bruce?

Delegate Bruce: About 3,000 in Chicago.

President Walker: That would mean 25 or 30 cents a year for each member. While I would like to save them that amount if I could, even though it is necessary to pay that, I think it will be better to pay than to take any chances on that proposition.

I sincerely hope the referendum method of election will be continued in our Federation. I don't know that I will ever be a candidate for official position in the Federation again, so there is no personal feeling entering into what I say. All I desire is to do what is for the best interest of our organization. I hope you will not take the other step; if you do, I hope everybody will do the best possible for the coming year—and don't forget to bring your full delegations to the next convention.

President Walker in the Chair.

A motion was made and seconded to close debate.

Delegate Haywood, Mine Workers: A point of order. The matter of a referendum was referred to a referendum to decide. It will have to be referred to a referendum to change it.

The point of order was declared not well taken.

The motion to close debate was carried.

Delegate Moyer, Mine Workers: I would like to ask this convention what position it will place the miners' delegation in when they go home if they lose the referendum.

President Walker: Your question is in the nature of an argument and is not in order.

Delegate Moyer: I want to know the predicament it will place the miners in when they go home.

The motion to adopt the minority report was carried by a vote of 249 in the affirmative and 205 in the negative.

President Walker: The chair declares the motion adopted.

Delegate Short, Chicago: I listened with some considerable attention to the statement of the chairman that indicates that if the referendum had been defeated in this convention we would have had plenty of miners in the next convention to again place it in the laws of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. I am going to promise you now, Mr. Chairman, that I will endeavor to have the Building Trades Council of Chicago go to Joliet in a body and defeat the referendum.

Delegate Conlon: The chairman said in the event this proposition had been defeated the mine workers would come in force next year. Sitting back here yesterday I heard an official of the mine workers say he would go up and down the state and use his influence to have the miners withdraw from this convention if the referendum should be defeated.

Delegate Woll: I rise to a point of order. This matter has been disposed of and no further discussion is in order.

President Walker: The point is well taken.

Delegate Ferris, Lathers: I would like to know if there is such a thing as a roll call of delegates in this convention?

President Walker: No roll call has been specially prepared.

Delegate Ferris: I explained in the discussion where I stood and where our organization stood. I now ask that in the next convention we have the privilege of a roll call on that very subject which seems to be in the minds of the delegates here and upon which they seem to think a fight will be made.

President Walker: The Secretary informs me that he has always been in shape to call the roll at any time the convention desired it.

Delegate Bruce: As one of the opponents of the referendum here I think we have had a fair fight.

President Walker: I don't think there is any ill feeling, but this will contribute to a better feeling and a better understanding.

Delegate Bruce: I was against this sincerely. We brought this in, we put up our argument and we were, I believe, honestly and conscientiously defeated. I therefore move that we make it a unanimous vote.

Delegate Hammond: I well second the motion to show I am a good fellow.

President Walker: There have been objections raised to making it unanimous and we will not act on that matter further.

Report of Sub-Committee of Committee on Organization.

Delegate Gaude, Chairman: Your sub-committee of the Committee on Organization appointed to confer with the Excelsior Stove Co. in regard to the dispute of the Polishers and Stove Mounters begs leave to report that we called up Mr. Fischer and asked for a conference before the convention adjourned. We were informed that he was out of the city. We met the manager, Mr. Anton Ohnemus, and stated the case to him. He said he would take the matter up with Mr. Fischer upon his return and try to arrange for a conference.

CHARLES GAUDE,
JOHN FAHY,
JOHN AUGUSTIN.

The report was received and made part of the proceedings of the convention.

Delegate Sneed, Mine Workers, obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following:

Resolution No. 64.

Quincy, Ill., Oct. 20th, 1916.

To His excellency, the Governor of the State of Illinois, Governor Edw. F. Dunne.

Dear Sir:

On three different occasions your attention has been called to the deplorable state of affairs existing in Rosiclare, Hardin County, Illinois, where mine owners have imported thugs and gun men who are acting as mine guards and who have been given commissions as deputies by the sheriff of the county, notwithstanding the fact that they are on the payroll of the mining corporations. They have driven men, women and children from their homes at the point of guns and threatened them with death if they did not leave there. They have threatened the village officers, the mayor, trustees and policemen in the same manner, and on three instances through your good offices agreements have been reached in which the mining corporations have agreed to comply with the law, to recognize the constituted local governmental authorities, to desist from intimidation and threats, beating up of strikers or shooting them, and permit them to live in their own homes. In each of these three instances, just as soon as your representatives left that community, they proceeded to ignore their agreement entirely, violate the law and defy the lawful authorities and again drive the people out of their homes. Breaking the last agreement made by Adjutant General Dickson, representing yourself.

They are threatening to drive all miners out of their homes in the community by brutal force through the power of their criminal gun men and hired thugs, unless they go to work in the mines at the terms of the mining corporations.

In view of this condition, which has continued over a period of six months, we feel that the time has arrived when the state should take drastic action to restore law and order in that commun-

ity; to enable the peaceful citizens there to return to their homes and stay there; to enable the village officers to resume their function and to protect every man, woman and child in their rights as citizens in our county and state. We are asking that you immediately proceed with whatever state forces may be necessary to establish law and order in that community; that you deport the criminals and thugs, strike breakers and scabs that have been imported to brow-beat and terrorize those people and prevent the citizens of that community from establishing American standards of wages, working conditions, hours and treatment, and of life, and to restore to the striking miners, their wives and children, the protection they are entitled to as law-abiding citizens.

A motion was made to adopt the resolution and instruct the secretary to immediately notify Governor Dunne of its contents. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Woodmansee in the chair.

Delegate Woll: This convention has shown a decided difference of opinion upon a number of subjects. However, there is one subject upon which this convention is undivided, and that is in a message I am asking to convey to Mr. John Walker, our retiring president of the Federation. It is a message which I feel myself incapable of doing justice to. I feel that I am not able to express the feeling and thought which permeates the mind and heart of every delegate in this convention, including the speaker. We all have come, not only to recognize John Walker as a most efficient and able leader and executive of this Federation but more as a man fully imbued with the ideals, hopes and aspirations of the common working class.

Our friends have considered how best we might express that feeling. We know as an organization we do as well as we can to pay for services rendered, but there is something greater than mere payment for services rendered, and that is a feeling of kindness and of friendship which

is within our hearts which is one of the intangible—I would not disgrace it by the term of property—but one of the intangible principles of humanity and brotherhood which we are trying to express today.

We have been trying during this week to do that which we believe is only right to do, and we have in our own voluntary way, each doing what little he could, to contribute to a fund, not to give the fund, but in some appropriate fashion present you with a token of the esteem in which this entire labor movement of Illinois holds you, Mr. John Walker—our John. Unfortunately, we are not in a position at this immediate moment to present that token to you; it will come to you in due time, and when it does come we want you to know that it is a token of the true feeling of love we feel for you as a man, as a leader, as a trade unionist. Mr. John Walker, you have our highest regard and esteem, and contrary to the statement that you may not serve officially again this Federation, we hope the time may come when we can call upon you, officially or unofficially, to give your undivided time as you have in the past.

The entire delegation arose and applauded President Walker for some time.

President Walker: Mr. Chairman and Friends—All I can do is to repeat what I have said before, that there isn't anything in this world that I hold at a higher valuation than the friendship of the honest men and women in the trade union movement. There is only one thing I would not do in order to have that feeling, and that is that I would not do anything consciously to injure you. There is only one thing I would do knowingly that would bring to me your illfeeling, and that would be if I thought doing that would be the best thing for you.

I think, perhaps you have given to me the most valuable thing I could get in this life. Of course, being associated with the movement in Illinois more intimately than with the move-

ment in any other part of the country, although I have a rather wide acquaintance throughout the nation, this expression coming from the men and women of our state with whom I have spent the last thirty-five years of my life and before whom almost every act every day has been published, I feel that, notwithstanding the mistakes I have made, I have not done so badly. This expression from you shows that I have earned the highest wages I could get. I have the same feeling for our movement now I have always had.

It is difficult for me to speak in response to the statement made by Brother Woll. If I were to tell you the reasons why I am leaving I would be put in the light of seeking my own self-interests in other directions, and I cannot do it. I have said about all I can say in my report, and that is that there is not a position I ever held I hated more to leave than the position I am filling now. There is not an active man or woman in the movement in this state whose respect and friendship I have not felt I possessed, and I felt I could get their assistance in this work at any time I needed it. The work could not be made pleasanter and I dislike as strongly as a person can to leave it. I want you to believe me when I say if I had not felt it was a duty I owed to the organization I am a member of that weighed more even than my duty to stay in this position I never would have decided to take the course I did. That is about the only thing on earth that could have influenced me to go in that direction, and I want to assure you of my thorough appreciation of your attitude in this matter. I will repeat again that you cannot get rid of me; there is only one way to get me out of this movement, and that is for me to die or you fix it so I cannot remain in it. Until I die I will be ready to render you helpful service.

Delegate Woll: The token that will be given to Mr. Walker will be selected later and a reproduction of it will appear in the News Letter, so that every delegate can at least see a reproduction of what has been given.

Delegate Haywood: The miners of Illinois realize that the State Federation of Labor is losing one of the men, or the man, rather, who has helped it make more progress than any man, I believe, who has been connected with it. John Walker is coming back to the mine workers at the request of the mine workers. Men in Illinois have written John Walker time after time this past year to come back into our ranks because we need him. That is why he is leaving the Federation. We want him in the United Mine Workers and we need him there and it is the belief of the Illinois Mine Workers that he is going to get there.

Secretary Olander: I do not know how many of you fully appreciate just what kind of a convention this has been. There are amongst you none who have had the opportunity to follow the actions of the body as closely as your secretary, and I want to tell you the record made will be a joy to the heart of any sound trade unionist familiar with it. When you read the record you will find you have set a lead for every state federation in this country on some very important questions.

I want also to remind you of the good feeling that has prevailed throughout the convention. I don't think there is one among you who meets more of the delegates personally than does the secretary. In the first three days of the convention usually some irritating things happen on account of errors in credentials, unpaid per capita tax accounts and other matters, many of which make it necessary for the delegate concerned to call at the secretary's office before being seated. It is a remarkable fact that in this convention, with a larger number of delegates than ever before attended a convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in all the rush and hustle of the first three days, I have heard not one single irritating word, not even a momentary flash of resentment, nothing but good nature on every side.

During the time we were discussing the question of the referendum, a ques-

tion, by the way, I have talked over with many of the delegates and representatives of organizations in various parts of the state during the past year, and I know there is very strong, earnest and honest feeling on both sides, we had some very lively debates—all with a hearty expression of good-will. Then some "threats" broke out. And what were they? Why, the delegates threatened they would bring more affiliations to the State Federation of Labor. Just what is needed. Build up the Federation. I am going to call on you to make good on that.

That's the spirit I take it. Now I want to say to the delegates, you have laid down a program, a very serious one that will require some work and effort to carry out. As the secretary of the organization I am going to lay the responsibility squarely on your shoulders, accepting fully my own share of it. You have laid out the plans. You must help carry them out and you have got to help furnish the means, the spirit, to help arouse a feeling throughout the movement that will make success possible. I will take occasion to remind you of this in the very near future. Personally, I want to thank every one of you. I have never had a better time nor a more pleasant occupation than acting as the secretary of this convention, in spite of the great amount of work that has had to be handled.

Delegate Short: For Secretary Olander's information I desire to inform him that was not a threat; that was a promise.

Delegate Bruce, Chicago: There has been good feeling all the way through this convention. I hope it will continue for the next year and for many years to come. We have lauded John Walker as president. It was his due. It is also due to the other officers of the State Federation. I speak at this time of one of the greatest men that has ever stood beside President Walker in this movement and he comes from Chicago, Victor Olander. We can go along with the miners with John Walker, the miners

can go along with the Chicago delegation with Victor Olander.

I therefore move you that we tender a rising vote of thanks as we have already tendered to the president, to Victor A. Olander and the rest of the officers of the Illinois State Federation of Labor for their good and efficient work during the past year.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous rising vote.

President Walker: I move that the convention extend our sincere thanks to the trades unionists of Quincy and vicinity for their kindness and courtesy to us while here, and for their

help in enabling us to do our work properly. (Seconded and carried by unanimous rising vote.)

Delegate Blisser, in behalf of the trade unionists of Quincy, thanked the delegates for the manner in which they showed their appreciation of the efforts of the local labor movement, and for the help that had been given the organizations of Quincy.

At 5:30 p. m., October 20, 1916, after the delegates, lead by Delegate Fishwick, had joined in singing "Auld Lang Syne," President Walker declared the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

Respectfully submitted,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "J. A. Olander". The signature is written in a cursive style with large, sweeping loops.

Secretary-Treasurer.

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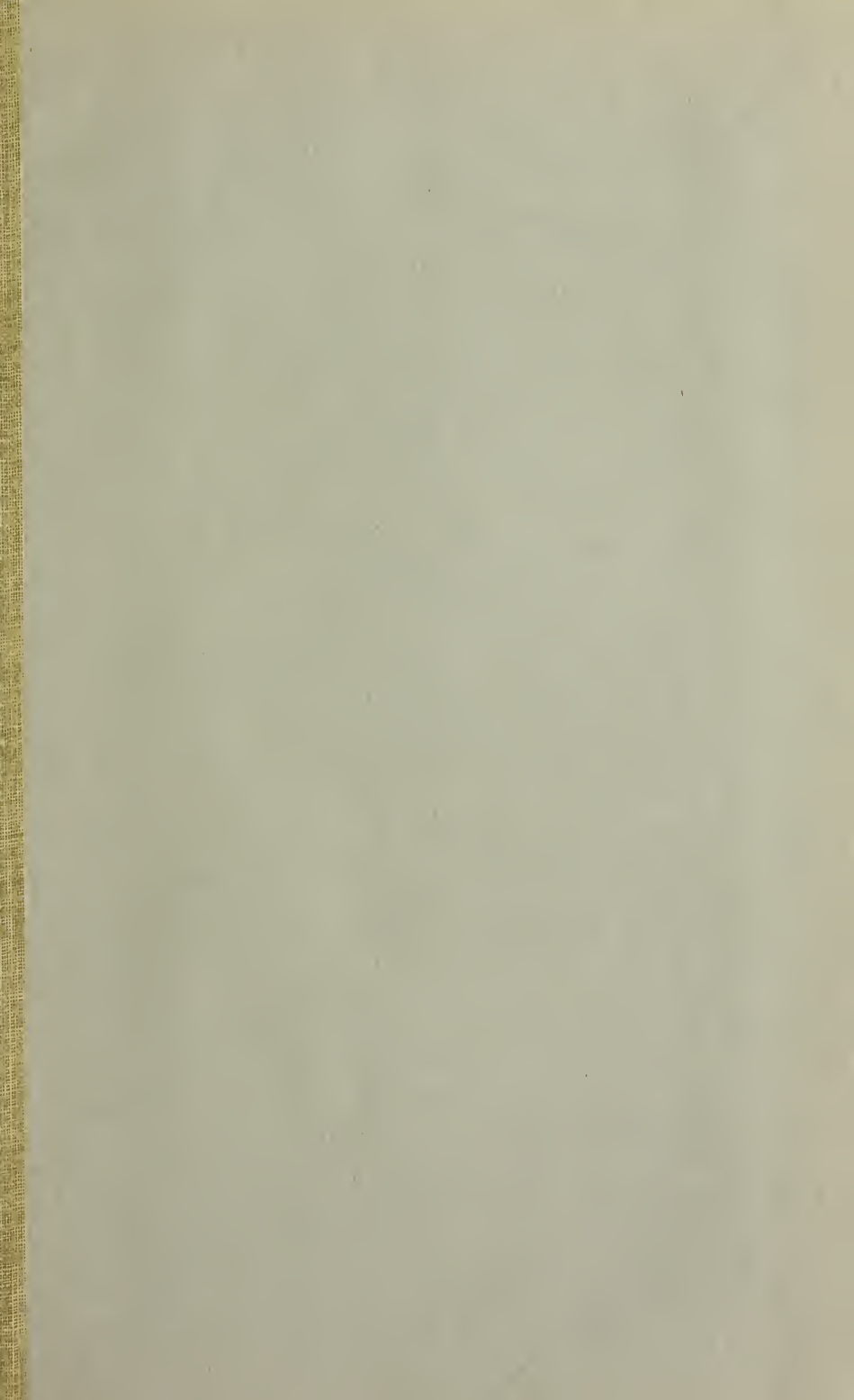
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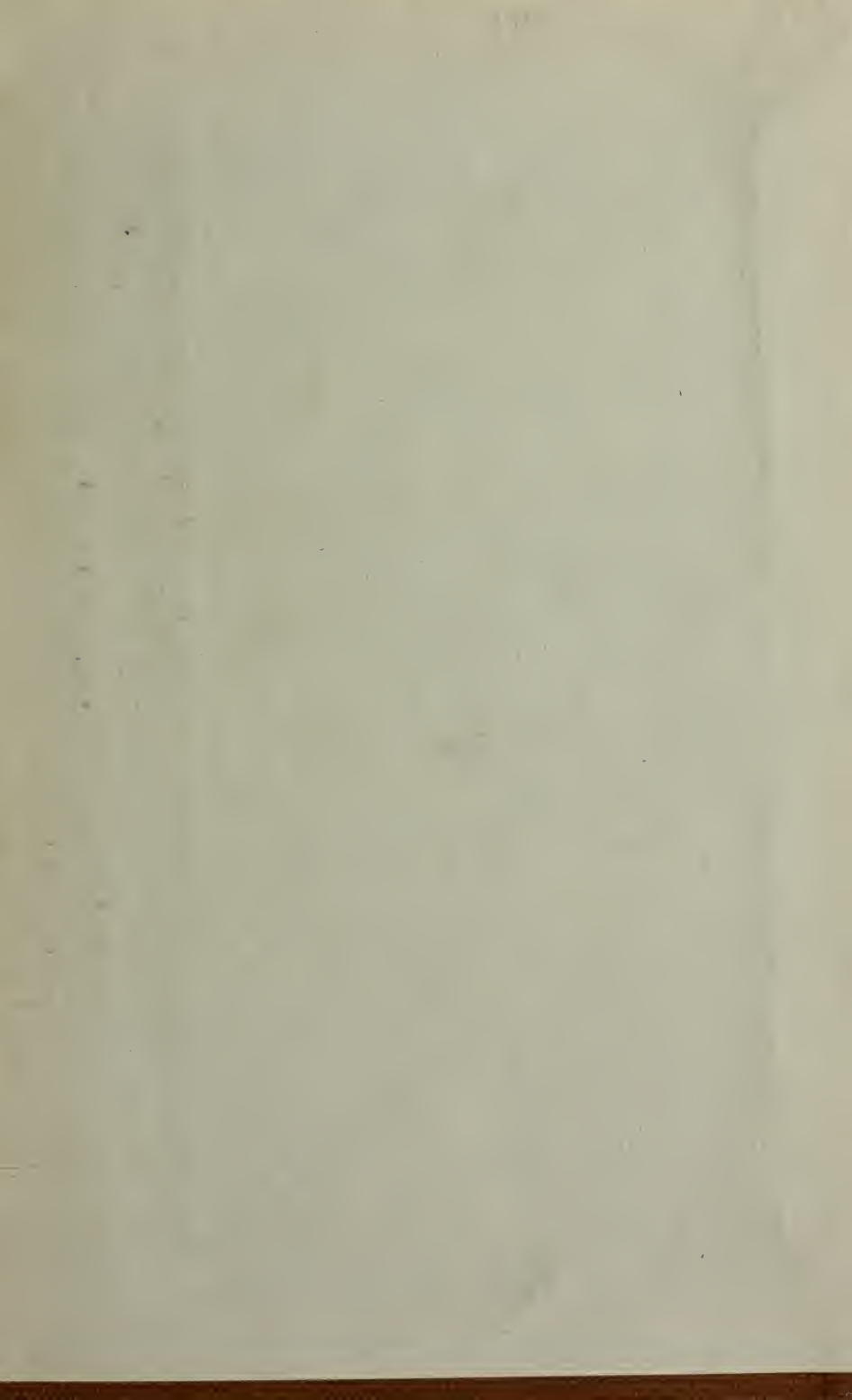
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